Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

078599

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

078599

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA TODAY

JANUARY 15, 1989

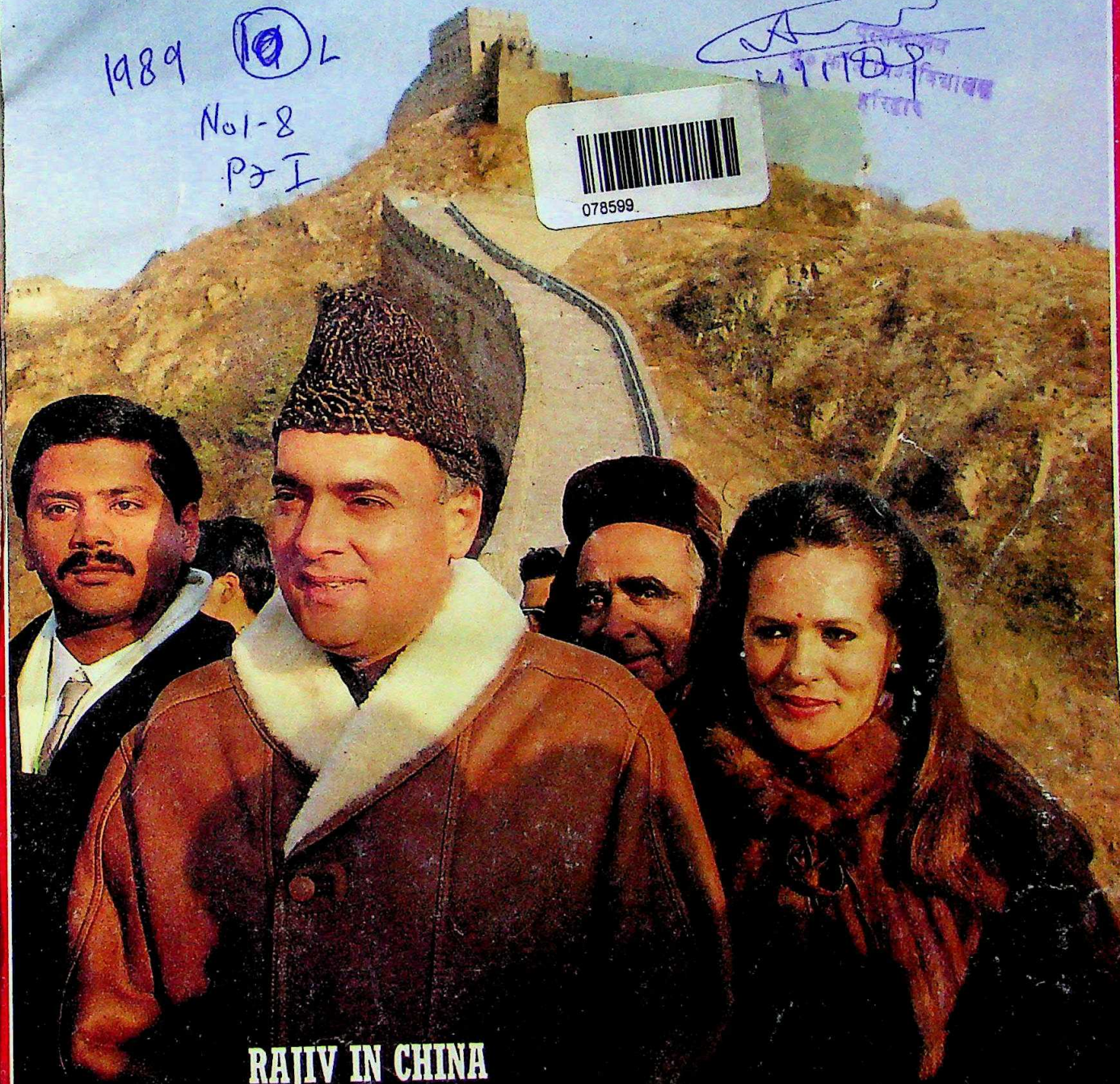
RT-1307

NEWSMAKERS '8

ALSO

1989 (10) L
No1-8
Pt I

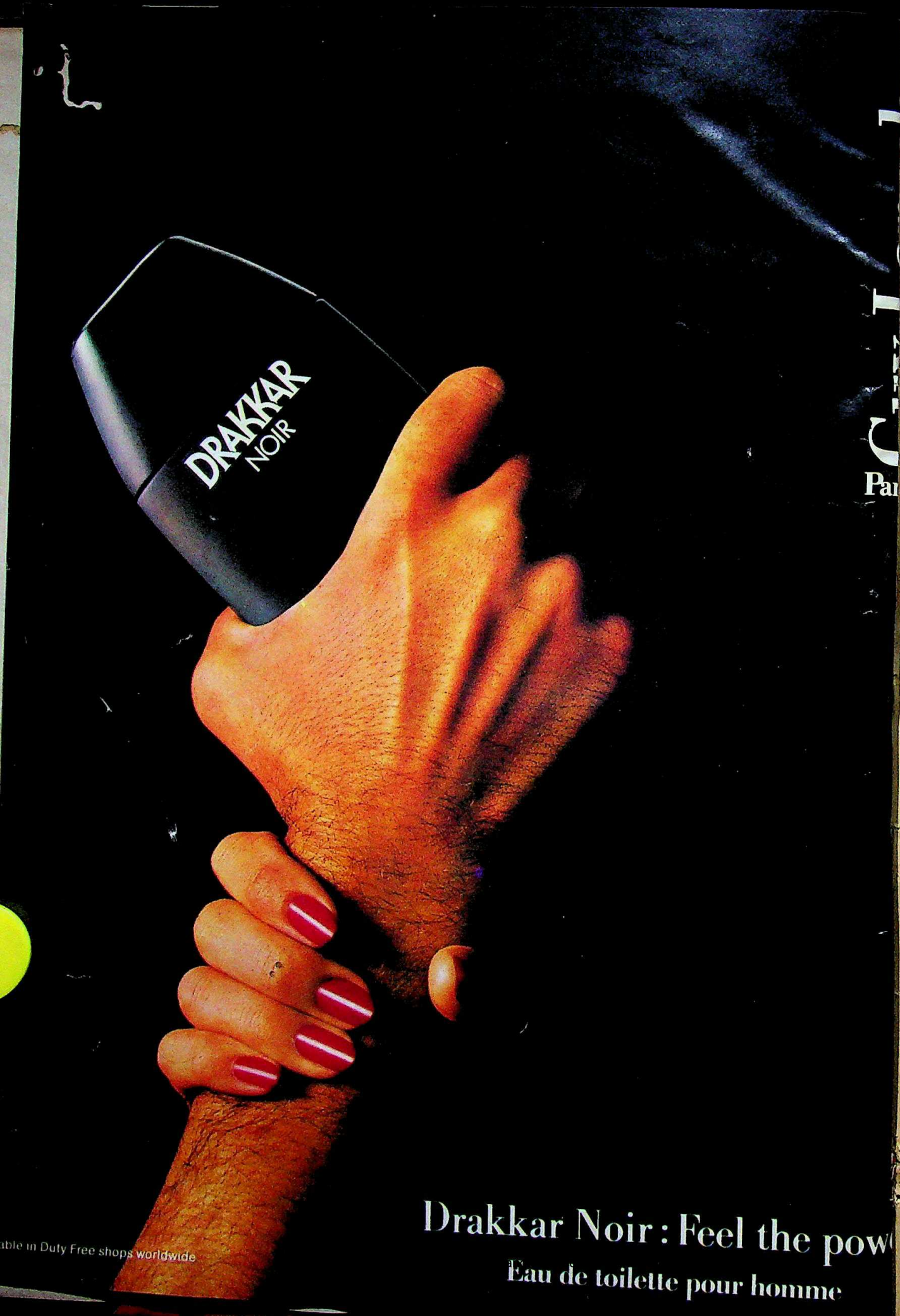
078599



RAJIV IN CHINA

BREACHING THE WALL

Rajiv and Sonia Gandhi at the Great Wall of China


DRAKKAR
NOIR
Drakkar Noir : Feel the pow
Eau de toilette pour homme
able in Duty Free shops worldwide

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA TODAY
THE COMPLETE NEWSMAGAZINE

VOLUME XIV NUMBER 1
FOR THE FORTNIGHT JANUARY 1-15, 1989

EDITOR
AROON PURIE

EXECUTIVE EDITOR — INDERJIT BADHWAR
DEPUTY EDITOR — DILIP BOBB
SENIOR EDITOR — PRABHU CHAWLA
PICTURE EDITOR — RAGHU RAI
FEATURES EDITOR — SHEKHAR GUPTA
ASSOCIATE EDITOR — RAMINDAR SINGH
ASSISTANT EDITOR — P.G. MATHAI

CORRESPONDENTS
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT — RAJ CHENGAPPA
NEW DELHI — MADHU JAIN, PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA, SIMRAN BHARGAVA, DAVID DEVADAS, PANKAJ PACHAURI, SURAJEET DAS GUPTA
AHMEDABAD — UDAY MAHURKAR
BANGALORE — CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA
BHOPAL — N.K. SINGH
BOMBAY — M. RAHMAN, SALIL TRIPATHI, S.N. VASUKI
CALCUTTA — KAMALJEET RATTAN
CHANDIGARH — VIPUL MUDGAL
HYDERABAD — AMARNATH K. MENON
LUCKNOW — DILIP AWASTHI
PATNA — FARZAND AHMED
SHILLONG — RAMESH MENON
TRIVANDRUM — SREEDHAR PILLAI
NEWS COORDINATOR — SANDHYA MULCHANDANI

ART EDITOR — SHIRLEY JOSHUA

CARTOONIST — AJIT NINAN MATHEW
CARTOGRAPHER — B.K. SHARMA
PRODUCTION IN-CHARGE — ANURADHA KAPOOR
LAYOUT ARTISTS — ANUP GUPTA, PEALI DUTTA GUPTA, PRABAL MANDAL, KAMINI SINGH

ASSISTANT PICTURE EDITOR — BHAWAN SINGH
PHOTOGRAPHERS — PRAMOD PUSHKARNA, PRASHANT PANJIAR, NAMAS BHOJANI, SHYAM TEKWANI

COPY DESK — VIDHU KHANNA, NANDITA SARDANA, SABA NAQVI BHAUMIK

MARKETING DIRECTOR — MOHINI BHULLAR

REGIONAL MANAGERS ADVERTISING
BOMBAY — NEENA MONGIA
NEW DELHI — NAGINDER RISHI
CALCUTTA — MEERA PAUL

ADVERTISING MANAGERS
MADRAS — R. ANAND
BANGALORE — S.J. NAIDU

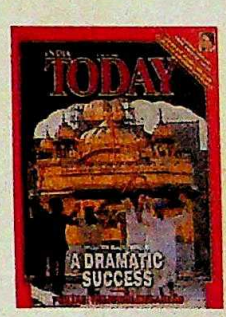
● EDITORIAL OFFICE LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. F-14/15, CONNAUGHT PLACE NEW DELHI 110001. PHONE: 3315801-4. TELEX: 31-61245 INTO IN CABLE: LIVMEDIA. NEW DELHI ● SUBSCRIPTIONS: INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT. POST BOX 69. FARIDABAD HARYANA ● TRADE CIRCULATION: INDIA TODAY CIRCULATION MANAGER. F-14 CONNAUGHT PLACE. MIDDLE CIRCLE. NEW DELHI. PHONE: 3313076-8. TELEX: 31-62634 INTO IN ● ADVERTISING OFFICES: 28 A&B JOLLY MAKER CHAMBER II. NARIMAN POINT. BOMBAY-400021. PHONE: 2026152, 2029326, 2029435. TELEX: 11-5373 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA. BOMBAY ● K-9. CONNAUGHT CIRCUS. NEW DELHI-110001. PHONES: 3325378, 3323576, 3321323 AND 3321273. TELEX: 31-62124 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA. NEW DELHI ● FAGUN CHAMBERS. 26 COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ROAD. MADRAS-600105. PHONES: 477188, 479161. CABLE: LIVMEDIA MADRAS ● 74/1ST. MARKS ROAD. BANGALORE-560001. PHONE: 568448, 579037, 579089. CABLE: LIVMEDIA. BANGALORE ● 12C EVEREST 46C CHOWRINGEE ROAD. CALCUTTA-700016. PHONE: 445398, 447726. CABLE: LIVINMEDIA. CALCUTTA
● COPYRIGHT 1987 LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. REPRODUCTION IN ANY MANNER IS PROHIBITED. PUBLISHED BY AROON PURIE FOR LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. NEW DELHI AND PRINTED AT THOMSON PRESS INDIA LTD. FARIDABAD HARYANA ● INDIA TODAY DOES NOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RETURNING UNSOLICITED PUBLICATION MATERIAL ●

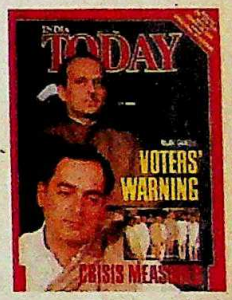
LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

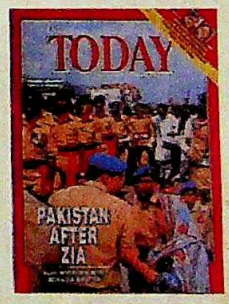
LAST December 15 we became a teenager. Thirteen years old. By the standards of other publications that have been around and are now celebrating sesquicentennials and related tongue-twisters we may be seen as being in our infancy. But that's hardly the way we feel.

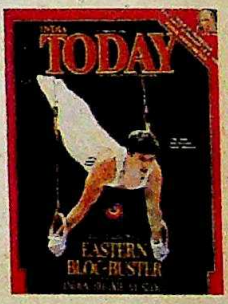
We are young. But the burden we shoulder is onerous and leaves no room for flights of fancy, whimsy, or irresponsibility. We err, yes. But often through the fault of omission rather than recklessness. And when we do we take pains to draw lessons for the future. And this is a duty we impose on ourselves by choice.

After Rajiv Gandhi took office, we interviewed him in January 1985. The peoples' expectations of him, the young prime minister said, were "scary." We knew what he meant. There is a level of sophistication in the country today that has never existed. Sixty-three per cent of our readers are under 35 years of age. And 50 per cent spend more than two hours each reading the magazine, according to a survey of 17,250 readers, conducted by the Marketing and Research Group, last September. Their expectations from a magazine like INDIA TODAY *are, indeed, scary. They demand we handle the business of giving them a product of quality—with care, gravity and purpose.*









THE subjects we cover cannot be glossed over or dealt with amateurishness. Coverage of national politics, religion, the economy, international relations, defence, the arts is a never-ending test of a publication's credibility and maturity. And we have been lucky that our editorial concerns have matched our readers' expectations of us.

For example, in 1987 when Rajiv Gandhi's fortunes were declining dramatically because of party dissension, electoral reverses, conflict with President Zail Singh, and the Bofors revelations, three of our four best-selling covers—"Crisis of Leadership" (July 15), "The Challengers" (August 15), and "Is Rajiv a Winner?" (August 31) dealt with the prime minister's mounting array of problems. In 1988, the people didn't appear to be looking at Rajiv Gandhi with the same intensity as they did the previous year. There were other interests. The three best-seller covers were on the future of Pakistan after Zia, Operation Black Thunder in Punjab, the Seoul Olympics, with "Voters' Warning,"—on Congress(I) reverses in the by-elections—coming a close fourth.

The country's increasing interest in neighbours also paralleled our editorial thrusts. In 1988 we sent correspondents to Sri Lanka six times, to Pakistan thrice, to Kampuchea to watch Indian architects restore ancient monuments, to Afghanistan, the Burmese border, Maldives, and China.

If anything, 1988 was pregnant with the new year in which will be born anew the trends and crises—perhaps in a more definitive form—that we reported and analysed. It will be an exciting year, an eventful year, an election year in which our readers will demand that we not just equal but also better our performance of the past. And this is just the kind of challenge we love.

INDIA TODAY WISHES ITS READERS A VERY HAPPY NEW YEAR.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE FIRST EVER INDIA TODAY YEARBOOK IS ALL THAT YOU COULD WANT FROM A DIARY

1989 Of the many diaries produced every year, only a few merit your attention. And even fewer still a place on your desk.

The first ever INDIA TODAY YEARBOOK 1989 is one such diary because like INDIA TODAY, it is produced to excellent quality standards.

In addition to being a diary which helps you plan your day, week and year, the YEARBOOK contains invaluable information on the Indian economy, politics and travel.

It has sections on states and major cities and 12 pages of colour maps. The INDIA TODAY YEARBOOK has information which you need to have on your desk and at your finger tips.

The INDIA TODAY YEARBOOK comes in an ideal size (222 mm × 289 mm) for your desk and is covered in burgundy red with gold leaf embossing. Your initials too can be embossed at a nominal charge. For companies, there is a special offer.

To order your copy, please use the coupon given below. An early order is requested as we intend printing very few copies of this very special diary.

Yes. Please send me _____ copies of the INDIA TODAY YEARBOOK 1989 at the basic rate of Rs. 250* per copy. Please also gold stamp the initials as given below (maximum three initials only) at an extra charge of Rs. 10 per book.

My cheque/DD for Rs. _____ in favour of LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. is attached.

Initials _____

(If more than one YEARBOOK is being ordered, then please give initials separately for each copy)

Name: Mr/Mrs/Miss _____

Mailing Address _____

_____ Pin Code _____

Mail coupon with your remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd., to : **Living Media India Ltd.**, P.B. No. 69, Faridabad-121 007, Haryana.

*Inclusive of sales tax and registered postage.

FOR MORE THAN 10 YEARBOOKS

Yes. We wish to place our order for _____ YEARBOOKS. A print of our company logo alongwith a listing of initials is attached for free gold stamping on the cover. Our payment for Rs. _____ is enclosed.

Name of person placing the order _____

Designation _____

Company's name _____

Company's address _____

_____ Pin Code _____

Mail coupon with your remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd., to : **Living Media India Ltd.**, P.B. No. 69, Faridabad-121 007, Haryana.

*In a maximum area of 6 sq.cms.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IN FOCUS THIS FORTNIGHT

Breaching The Wall

The relations between India and China—deep-frozen for the last 26 years—finally seemed to thaw with the formation of a joint task force to solve the thorny border issue. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China marked a new beginning in bilateral relations. A report.

COVER STORY 22

Invoking Legacies

With the crucial elections to the Tamil Nadu, Mizoram and Nagaland legislative assemblies just a few weeks away, battle lines between the parties have been drawn. In each of the three states, the Congress(I) is ranged against the might of formidable regional parties.

SPECIAL REPORTS 34

Ballot over Bullet

Last fortnight, the people of Sri Lanka elected Ranasinghe Premadasa president by the most slender margin in 35 years. Yet, the poll signalled their desire for an end to the continuing violence and political uncertainty in the island. A report with a profile of the newly elected President:

SPECIAL REPORTS 44

Newsmakers '88

INDIA TODAY takes a look back at the achievements, events, and newsmakers of 1988, with separate sections on Bofors, the Opposition, Controversy, Mavericks, Business, Cinema, Television, Aviation, Sports and a round-up of the other major happenings of the year.

NEWSMAKERS '88 85

A Messy Battle

The Chhabrias are once again involved in a tangled take-over attempt. Their target this time round is the Rs 103-crore construction company, Gammon India. However, resistance from the company's management is stiff and the Chhabrias are now readying to go to court.

BUSINESS 143

Eclipse of the Parallel Form

The 12th International Film Festival that opens in the capital this fortnight, will be remembered, above all, for the invasion of the Panorama section by several commercial film makers. Parallel cinema, it seems, has lost the battle without even having put up a token resistance.

CINEMA 166

CONTENTS

COMMENT 11
CAPITALOOK 14
VOICES 19
INDIANOTES 20
COVER STORY
Rajiv Gandhi in China: Breaching The Wall 22
SPECIAL REPORTS
Tamil Nadu: Invoking Legacies 34
Mizoram: The Bubble Bursts 38
Nagaland: No Scruples 43
Sri Lanka: Ballot over Bullet 44
CURRENT EVENTS
Haryana: Patriarch's Problems 51
Bihar: A Political Farce 57
Darjeeling: Hope of Peace 63
Gujarat: More Fissures 64
Maharashtra: The Truce Ends 69
Electoral Reforms: Halfway House 73
STATENOTES 81
NEWSMAKERS '88 85
Politics: Star Crossed 86
Opposition: Clashing Egos 88
Controversy: A Volatile Mix 90
Mavericks: Carving Fiefs 97
Punjab: Blindman's Buff 98
Bofors: Boomeranging Scandals 100
Cinema: Romantic Rites 102
Television: Messianic Mode 104
Business: The Year of the Raider 106
Sports: Uneven Run 110
Aviation: Nosediving 113
Neighbours: New Beginnings 116
The Year: Power, Pain and Plenty 118
Voices '88 125
TRADE WINDS 132
BUSINESS
Company Profits: Touching A New High 137
Gammon India: A Messy Battle 143
Tax Amendments: Causing Alarm 151
The Markets: Shares Slide 155
THE ECONOMY MONITOR 160
CINEMA
Film Festival: Eclipse of the Parallel Form 166
MEDIAWATCH 170
RELIGION
Ayodhya: A Myth Exploded 175
AVIATION
Commercial Aircraft: The Russian Invasion 176
SCIENCE
ASLV: Damning Findings 183
THE ARTS
Bombay: Utsav Time 184
EYE-CATCHERS 188

Cover photograph by PRASHANT PANJIAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Excellence that's not out of your reach.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Aesthetic craftsmanship perfected over centuries of tradition created especially for you at Gangotri.

Discover the finest in Sarees and Silks, Handlooms and Furnishings, Tweeds and Shawls, Carpets and Durries, Brassware and Pottery, Chikancraft and Woodcraft.

GANGOTRI

Show window of handicrafts and handlooms from Uttar Pradesh

UPEC *The U.P. Export Corporation Ltd.*

Showrooms : New Delhi—Baba Kharak Singh Marg, **Bombay**—World Trade Centre, **Hyderabad**—Abid Road, **Bangalore** — Residency Road, **Lucknow** — Hazratganj and Aminabad, **Allahabad** — Civil Lines, **Agra** — Taj Compound, **Calcutta** — Lindsay Road, **Nagpur** — Mount Road, **Bhopal** — Hamidiya Road.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CATCH-22 SITUATION

The cover story on Rajiv Gandhi ("Snap Poll Dilemma", December 31) shows the state of the prime minister's mind. By holding a mid-term poll he could get into further trouble as there is a good chance that the Opposition will unite if the elections are held in the near future. By not holding snap polls he might do more damage to his credibility as he continually makes bad decisions.

Ballia, Uttar Pradesh — RIPU SUDAN SINGH

■ The situation prevailing in the Congress(I) is so sad that infighting in the party alone will dampen Rajiv's chances at the hustings. The way things are he has no need to worry about the Opposition as they can only fight amongst themselves.

Secunderabad — P.S. RANGANATH

VICTORY FOR DEMOCRACY

Benazir's rise to power ("The New Challenge", December 15) is a remarkable achievement. This should encourage Muslim women to come out of their veil and take part in important matters.

Titagarh, West Bengal — SEIKH MOHAMMAD

■ November 16 is a red-letter day in the turbulent history of Pakistan when the electorate gave a mandate for a free society and democracy. The world, in general, is showing a trend of free expression which even communist giants, USSR and China, reflect.

Hats off to the PPP—the Patience and Perseverance Party. The army should neither be leftist nor rightist but concentrate on left-right, left-right.

Shimla — VIVEK MOHAN

WRONG IDENTIFICATION

One of the photographs in your article "Vulnerability in the Skies", (December 15) is not that of a MiG-21, but of a Sukhoi Su-7 ("Fitter") in use by the IAF as a ground-attack fighter. There is no mistaking the characteristic patch on the wing-root leading edge and the swept-back wing, compared to the MiG-21's delta wing. Moreover, in one place you have called the MiG-25 "Trishul" and in another "Garuda". Which is right?

Bangalore — VINOD S.

Due to wrong labelling the picture of a Sukhoi Su-7 was used instead of the MiG-21. The MiG-25 is "Garuda" and not "Trishul" as mentioned in the article. The errors are regretted. —Editor

PILOTS' OPINION

It is unfortunate that in an otherwise balanced article on Air-India ("The Maharaja's Travails", December 15) pilots have, by inference, been portrayed as unreasonable and disruptive. Since such a perception in the public mind maligns our members unfairly, we wish to state the following facts:

Pilots have never been against long-haul flights.

What we are opposed to is the administrative order and the unilateral decision in its introduction.

Our difference with the management in the introduction of these flights was not on operating long-haul per se, but in the management's refusal to provide an additional commander on board these flights as a safety measure.

Pilots reporting sick is a myth deliberately perpetuated by the management to embarrass and humiliate us.

During the period when the management embarked on a vilification campaign stating that the pilots were agitating and disrupting flights, only six pilots had reported sick and they had informed Operations Department 24 hours prior to the departure of the flight.

Bombay — S. RAGHAVAN
president, Indian Pilots' Guild

AN EXCLUSIVE CITY

It is true that a 'Bombay culture' has come into being which is different from the traditional Indian culture ("Manhattan Syndrome", December 15). Though its citizens are self-centred, there is something in Bombay which is absent in other parts of the country. It is loathsome and lovable at the same time.

Calcutta — JAYDEEP GUHA THAKURTA

■ The article refers to my design store Ensemble in a manner that I find offensive. It would have been a good idea if your reporter had spent more time in New York before he started drawing a parallel as there has been a lack of research. He obviously has never seen Saks Fifth Avenue or else is confused by the difference in concepts between a department store and a boutique such as ours. We have no pretensions of trying to be like Saks and are merely trying to show what we consider to be excellence in Indian design and craftsmanship.

Your reporter has no right to assume that it is "to our eternal regret" that we are in such "dilapidated surroundings". If he knew Manhattan better he would have seen a parallel with Soho. While I would have been perfectly happy to accept any constructive criticism, I find it completely unbecoming that your magazine should judge what others are doing particularly in a subject like fashion where you do not have a qualified reporter.

In conclusion I must add to your credit that it was your cover story on fashion that originally inspired us to start the store.

Bombay — TARUN R. TAHILIANI

DIVIDED LOT

The baseness of our elected representatives was clearly revealed in "Battle of the Bilge" (December 15). Bickering, bamboozling and hoodwinking have become the mores of political life in the country. These crooked politicians have made a mockery of democratic norms and institutions.

Tilaiya, Bihar — ASEEM K. JHA

BETTER TRANSLATION

In "A New Bag of Tricks" (December 15) it was mentioned that *kuudu, guudu, gudda* in Telugu was equivalent to roti, kapda, makan. Instead, it should have been roti, makan and kapda.

Tumkur, Karnataka — P.V. SRINIVASULU

SENSIBLE STAND

Any political observer would consider the Jamaat's new political stand ("Secular Act", December 15) an important event. This policy has proved that fascism in any form has no future. This has a lesson for everyone—the ruling party, the Opposition, the RSS and the Shiv Sena.

Bangalore — ASHOK M.

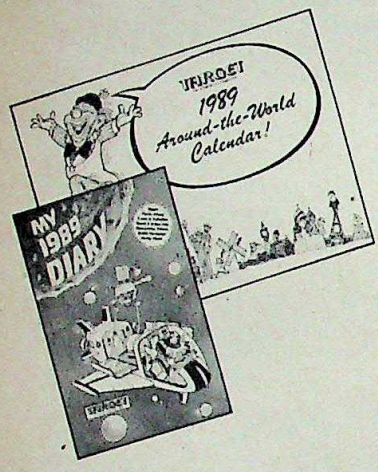
CLOWNS TO THE CORE

An important point you have missed in "Day of the Villain" (November 30) is that the present-day villains are no

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Yearlong gifts for your children



The Target 1989 Diary has all the things children love. Jokes, hints, things to make n' do, amazing facts ... and of course pages and pages for them to record the year.

It's perfect companion is the Target 1989 calendar with 12 funny around-the-world cartoons in full colour.

Fill up the coupon below and gift them a year full of fun.

But hurry ! As the Target Diary has been a sellout for two years running. So book your order now to avoid disappointment.

TARGET
THE CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE

I'd like to gift my child
☐ Target 1989 Diary—Rs. 35.00
☐ Target 1989 Calendar—Rs. 20.00
☐ Both—Rs. 49.00 (at a saving of Rs. 6.00!)

My cheque*/DD for Rs. _____ in favour of Living Media India Ltd. is enclosed.

Name : _____

Address : _____

_____

Mail Coupon to :
Living Media India Ltd.,
P.B. No. 69, Faridabad-121 007, Haryana.

*Please add Rs. 6/- for cheques drawn on banks other than those in Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Bangalore.

INTERFACE 6322

longer frightening. Their attire and dialogues do not instil fear, but laughter.
Roorkee — VIDUL PRAKASH

■ You have quoted Amrish Puri as saying: "In Satyug it was Ravana, in Kalyug it's me." But Ravana lived in Tretayug and not Satyug.
Varanasi — ASHUTOSH KUMAR PANDEY

THE REAL CULPRITS

Though opposition parties cannot be fully exonerated for infecting Indian politics with religion, it is the Congress(I) that deserves the real blame ("Stirring the Cauldron", November 30). The party has been tacitly encouraging communal elements.
Neyveli — M.V.V.S. REDDY

FITTING CRITIQUE

Your editorial on Doordarshan ("Denying a Public Right", November 30) is a well-deserved condemnation of the partisan presentation of news and views. It is fast developing into a medium for building up a personality cult, which is injurious to the democratic values of our society. In Andhra Pradesh, Doordarshan serves to highlight the views of the Opposition and the governor, while underplaying the state Government's role.
Hyderabad — G.S.S. MURTI

SUPERB CAMPAIGN

Indian troops did a splendid job by protecting Maldivian President M.A. Gayoom's Government from a coup attempt by mercenaries ("A Close Shave", November 30). Had the mercenaries succeeded, it would have made the Indian Ocean region a politically turbulent one.
Meerut — SHASHANK SHEKHAR

UNEQUAL TREATMENT

It is quite incomprehensible, to the point of annoyance, to note that INDIA TODAY always refers to Mohammed with a prefix 'Prophet' ("Political Scapegoat", October 31), but is not equally charitable towards Christ and the Hindu gods who are more often than not referred to on a first name basis. Don't you feel it is high time you treated all religions alike?
W. Hartford, US — DR SANDEEP GUPTA

BAD MAINTENANCE

The plight of Ideal Jawa ("In a Coma", December 15) is simply the consequence of inept management. The company is now dreaming of a good market by producing 175cc bikes. The need of the hour is a machine which is sufficiently powerful and fuel efficient.
Burdwan, West Bengal — ASOKE NATH

MYTHICAL UNITY

Your article on the Opposition ("Divided They Stand", December 15) shows that opposition unity is a myth. As the parties try to show unity their leaders are becoming disunited. In the 1977 Janata experiment, unity preceded a split, whereas now a split precedes unity.
Sircilla, Andhra Pradesh — K. SRINIVAS

WAR OF ATTRITION

The lucid editorial ("Demoralising Drift", December 15) rightly laments the Centre's stubborn refusal to look for an alternative in Punjab. As President's Rule enters an unprecedented 20th month the distinction between democracy and a police state seems to blur. With the bureaucracy entrenched and the judiciary largely sidelined, the rule of law has given way to unprincipled expediency. At the lower rungs of the administrative ladder a vested interest has developed in maintaining status quo. Rajiv's visit to the state last September far from de-escalating passions, added to the cynicism and fatalism.
Calcutta — SARAN SINGH, *IAS (retd)*

CLEARING THE AIR

I never accused the financial institutions of colluding with raiders ("The Stalking Game", September 30). The quotation attributed to me is incorrect.
Madras — M.V. ARUNACHALAM
chairman E.I.D. Parry (India) Ltd

MAGICAL MEDIUM

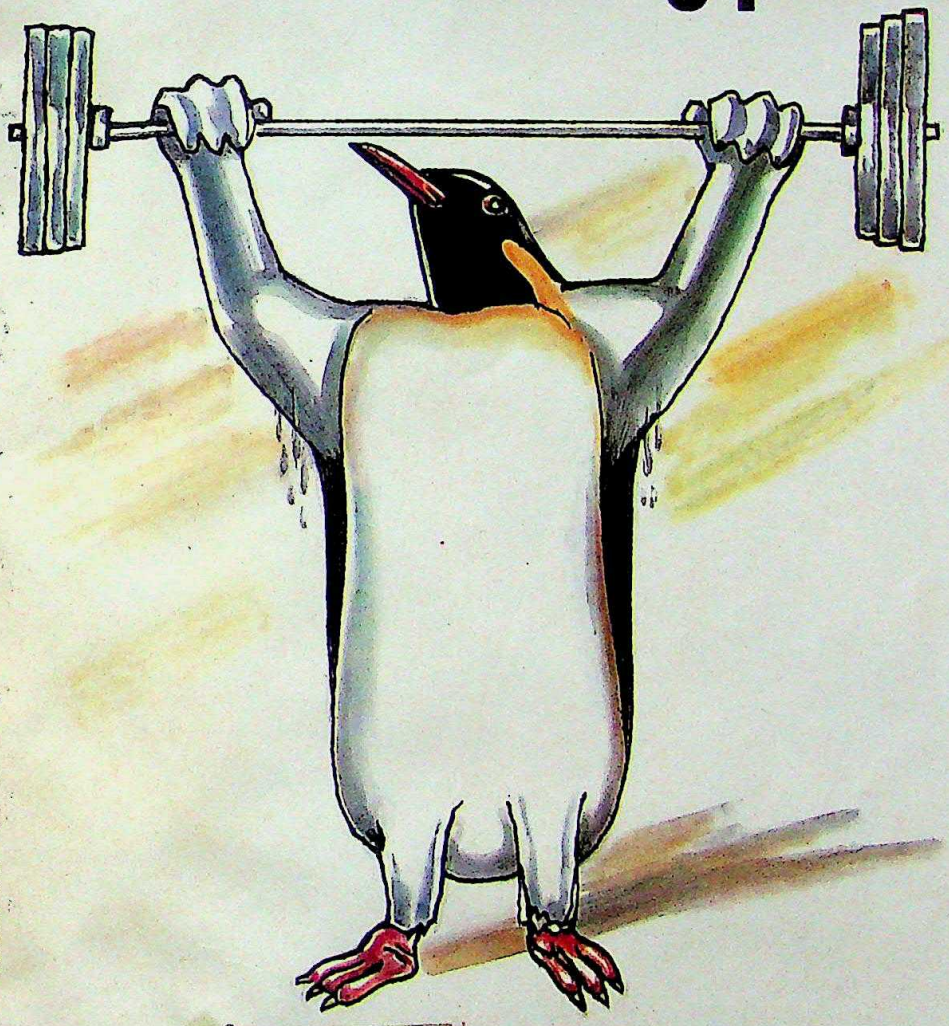
Your article on the use of magicians by N.T. Rama Rao ("A New Bag of Tricks", December 15) is quite interesting. It is nice that the chief minister is trying to elevate the status of artisans in the state. Magic is the right medium to communicate any message to the rural people.
Hyderabad — RADHESYAM DHUVALIA

■ In one of your earlier articles you have rightly called N.T. Rama Rao "Drama Rao". The man is irrepressible and will stop at nothing for votes. But we have to hand it to him that he is two steps ahead of the Congress(I) in charming voters. His means are also more legal.
Indore — VIMAL DATTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Its toughness is just one of its strong points



"A tough body bears a tougher heart."

Pardon the misquote, but we must say, it aptly describes a Kelvinator refrigerator.

Its strength lies in its strong heart – the 'Power-Saver' compressor. It cools fast, makes ice even faster. Irrespective of the atmospheric temperature outside. It lives admirably upto its name by consuming minimal electricity. Also, no amount of voltage fluctuation can disrupt its smooth functioning.

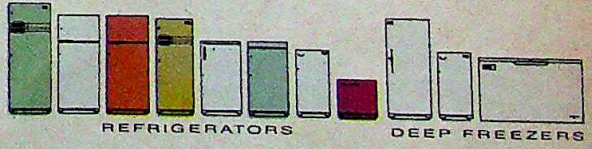
Tough body, made of cold-rolled steel and sturdy ABS liner, lends extra strength to its exterior as well as the interior. Giving it a longer life.

You'll also be surprised by the quantity you can store in it. Because its thoughtfully designed interior does away with nooks and corners for maximum space utilization.

And a wide range of convenient models and delightful colour schemes give you the widest choice available.

So what you finally get is a tough refrigerator. Built that way to work smoother.

Sold and serviced by :
Expo Machinery Limited
Pragati Tower, 26 Rajindra Place,
New Delhi-110 008.



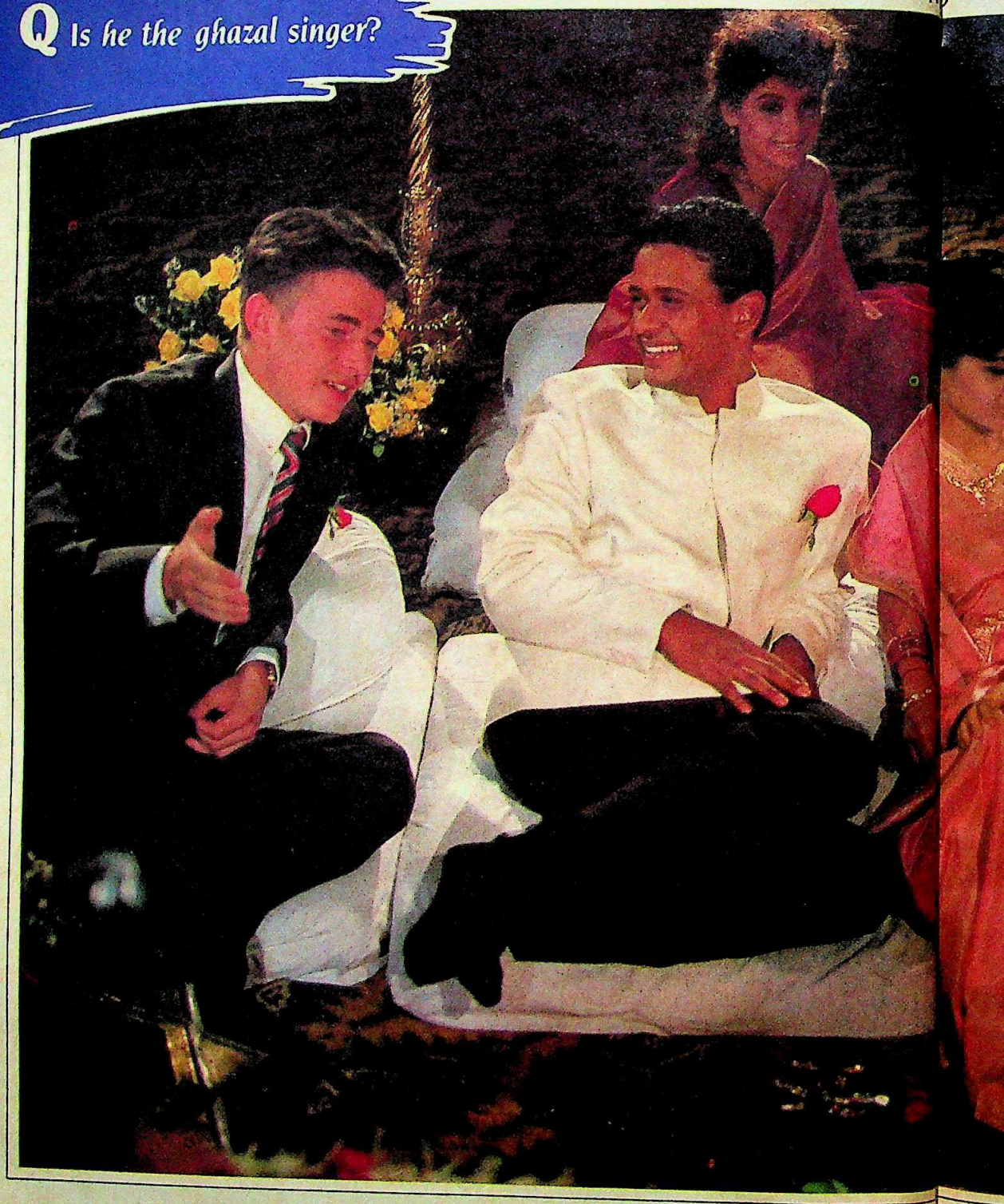
Kelvinator®
Refrigerator
"It's the coolest one."

Mitad-4711B

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Q *Is he the ghazal singer?*



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

M N D 'S S A P P H I R E

A No. He's conducting evening classes in Latin.

Raymond's
The final word

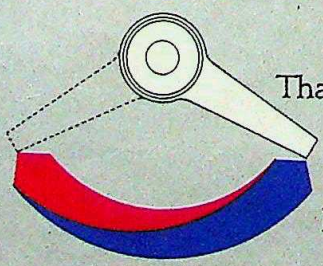
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RANUTROL HANSA AQUA MIXER. THE EASIEST WAY TO GET HOT, COLD OR AS-YOU-LIKE-IT WATER.

With the Ranutrol Hansa Aqua Mixer, a single lever does it all.

Just flick the lever and you get hot water or cold water. Or any temperature in between. Move the same lever up, you get more water. Move it down, you get less. Simple, isn't it.



That's the wonder of ceramic cartridge technology from Hansa Metallwerke AG, the world's largest seller of aqua mixers.

So, if you want to take it easy in your bathroom or kitchen, all you have to do is choose from a range of stunning designs.

RANUTROL HANSA
AQUA MIXER
From Hansa Metallwerke AG, West Germany.

For a free booklet, write to: Auto Controls Private Limited, 414, New Delhi House, 27, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi-110 001. Tel.: 331 6464/0137.
Branch Offices (Tel.)–Bombay: 492 7125, 492 0297, 23 3629, 23 4424. Calcutta: 29 1755. Madras: 47 6723. Bangalore: 57 8846.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

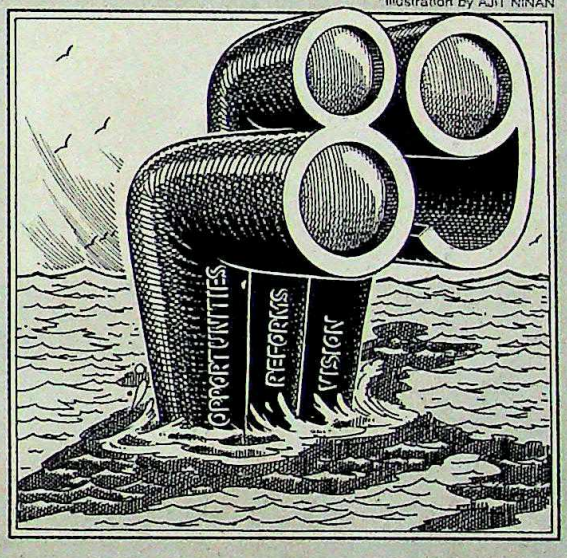
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Challenge of Modernism

NINETEEN eighty-nine will doubtless be a political year. A year during which the ruling and opposition parties will pander to, mollycoddle, and cajole a public increasingly aware of its ability to write the destinies of the aspiring and the powerful in electoral ink. And times such as these are not when leaders either make promises to keep or bold decisions of lasting civic consequence. Effective governance and issues are usually sacrificed at the altar of sloganeering, waffling, and indecisiveness. The shadow of the ballot-box is enough to drive all but the very brave into a submission of convenience and compromise.

And yet, an election year can be rich with opportunity in which leadership can emerge with dazzling brilliance and work a new magic on a people opiated by shibboleths and constrained by shackles. Familiarity with the old ways breeds not only contempt but also complacence; newness can be the harbinger of fresh awakenings. And 1989 may be just the year for some imaginative politicians (even though finding them is a task equal to that of Diogenes with his lamp) to strike out boldly, discard the soporifics of the past, gamble on an original agenda for change and let the devil take the hind most. Perhaps a surefire formula for defeat. But also the promise of a historical milestone. A freshet of monsoon breeze in the befouled air.

Illustration by AJIT NINAN



Four years ago we needed no such lamp. Destiny, biology, and history had worked in tandem to give the nation a man for whom the seasons of change had beckoned for so long. For surely, was not Rajiv Gandhi the original *glasnostian?* Was not that 1985 speech to the All India Congress Committee in Bombay—that every partyman termed a disaster—applauded across the country as an example of true grit? How long ago that all seems. A dream that exploded in mid-imagination.

The dream had placed everything within the ambit of political possibility. Streamlining the bureaucracy. Ridding the party of corrupt MLAs. Encouraging qualified women and technicians to join the party. Speeding up the process of clearing industrial projects under the "one window" system. Lowering rates of taxation and indexing incomes for inflation-proofing. Letting sick public sector units die. Appointing ombudsmen to expedite public grievances against the established bureaucracy. It was a practical, hands-on, no frills approach. Most certainly the product of a modern mind. Now only kaleidoscopic fragments of that dream survive.

And the revival of modernism—or its burial—is what is most at stake in 1989. The Opposition's electoral platform with its emphasis on slowing down the pace of industrialisation where labour is abundantly available, increasing the role of the public sector, parity of prices between industrial and agricultural goods, sounds outright medieval. The knee-jerk answer to this is to take a more-medieval-than-thou approach and come up with a host of populist free-lunch schemes, increasing the role of the state in the lives of India's citizens, and further debilitating private endeavour.

But in the context of India's development modernism must mean just the opposite—decreasing the role of the state, and getting the Government off the backs of the people. Modernism must mean freeing the productive and creative energies of the people—a genius they have demonstrated whenever hampering government controls are lifted.

Modernism must also mean thinking big. Not deeming India as a Bhutan or an Albania or a Burma but as a nation capable of taking great social and economic strides after its own idiom and identity. And the demand for modernity must not mean just getting the Government off the backs of commerce and industry in order to speed up and increase productive employment, the only proven method to break the poverty cycle. It must also mean a qualitative change in the face of the Government in areas where it come into contact with the underprivileged.

The politics of modernism is never a quick fix or a guaranteed vote-catcher. And in any concerted effort to get Big Government off the backs of the people a forward looking party must create, first of all, the initiative to change. There is no reason why, even at the grassroots level, there should not be generated a demand for quality and services, with the bureaucracy being forced to deliver.

If anything, the last four years have brought into sharp relief some of the broad areas which hinder the economic and social growth of this land. The coming year could be a golden opportunity to take these issues to the public aggressively and with devotion. Why not, for example, alter the entire planning process and ask the Planning Commission, instead, to look at broad charter areas by adopting a multipoint, deadlined action programme: wasteland development; housing; family planning; drought-proofing; basic needs like water and literacy; the rebuilding of libraries, science laboratories, and bridges which are sliding into an irrecoverable state of decay; computerising land records to protect poor farmers from corrupt patwaris.

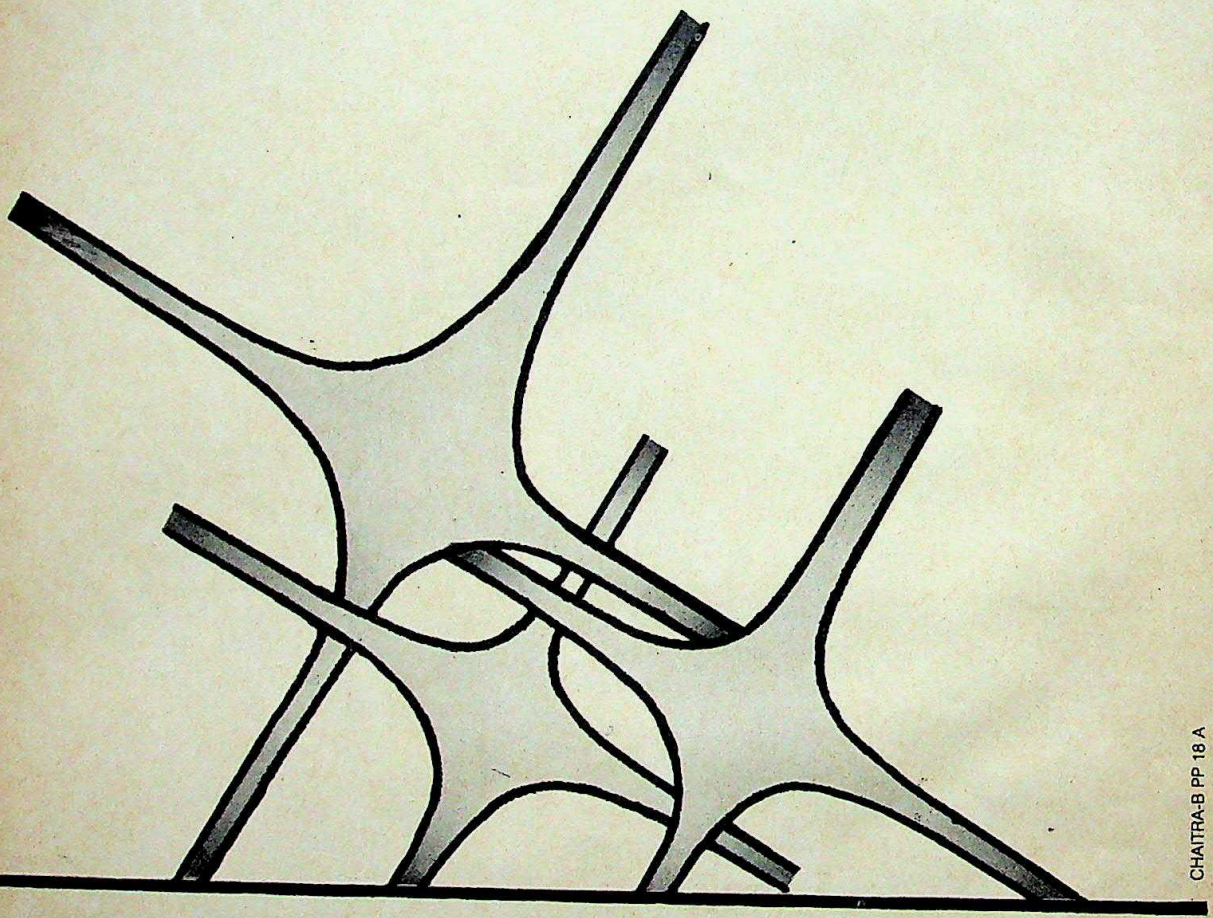
The measures would have to go hand in hand with massive internal deregulation, administrative reform starting with the prime minister's over-centralised office and going down to the major governmental irritants for the poor: banks, post offices, police, ration shops.

Nineteen eighty-nine dawns bristling with challenges for the brave. It beckons to leaders the people can feel good about once more. To those who can be clean, play clean, and epitomise the role-model. It beckons to those capable of grabbing opportunity by the horns. Any takers?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Enterprise, not size, is the criterion for pioneering



CHAITRA-B PP 18 A

Core to our commitment is our spirit of innovation.

It's a spirit that touches every activity.

From sourcing. We've tapped agricultural waste for the manufacture of speciality papers. A first in India.

To technology. We've successfully incorporated highly advanced, microprocessor-based technology, leading to high productivity and quality.

To indigenisation. The manufacture, for the first time in the country, of papers like glassine and greaseproof.

To environmental control. We've incorporated, and market, the revolutionary, energy-efficient, anaerobic technology that creates biogas energy in the process of treating effluent.

These are but a few in our line of firsts.

Because we've never let mere size get in the way of pioneering.

Creating new challenges — since 1885

PUDUMJEE PULP AND PAPER MILLS LTD.

Jatia Chambers, 60, Dr. V.B. Gandhi Marg, Bombay 400 023

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It took us 1460 days to become No.2 in the competitive world of Non- Banking finance...

Now, give us 2 minutes to glance through our tremendous growth.

Our Quadrennial Report:

CAPITAL

We had assured through the Prospectus, for our first ever public issue allotted in November 1984 to raise our capital to Rs.1 crore,dividend of 20% for the year ended 31.3.1985. We did more than keep up our promise and paid dividends at the rate of 20%, 20%, 22% and 24%, respectively for the last four years. With the recently declared Interim Dividend of 12% for the year ending 31st March 1989, the said shareholders would receive 98% dividends, within this short period, which is a record.

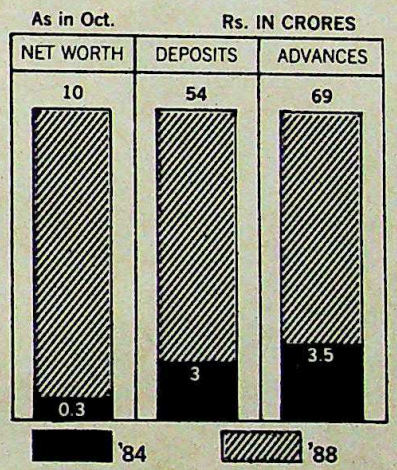
After two Right Issues made in 1986 and 1987, our paid up capital today stands at Rs.309 lakhs. The Reserves and Surplus as on 30.9.1988 (subject to audit) stood at about Rs.700/- lakhs–yet another record.

As the depreciation provided on our assets amounts to over Rs.4.6 crores, the internal generations of the Company amount to as much as over Rs.11 crores — still another record.

The Earning Per Share, which stood at Rs.10.07 as on 31.3.1987, went up to Rs.10.70 as on 31.3.1988, which is the highest amongst all the units in the industry. Likewise, the Book Value of the share, which stood at Rs.25.03 as on 31.3.1987 went up to Rs.28.67 as on 31.3.1988. In several other parameters too, we compare very favourably with other units. The present market quotation of around Rs.25/- (Financial Express, Bombay dated 3.12.88) for our share of Rs.10/- shows a respectable appreciation.

DEPOSITS

The Deposits of the Company which stood at less than Rs.3 crores in October 1984, crossed Rs.54 crores as on 31st October 1988, showing an annual growth rate of 425%. We have been pioneers in extending to our depositors several innovative features, which have been widely emulated by others. We have about 1,15,000 depositors today, with their number increasing at about 5,000 per month, who place with us these days over Rs. 3.5 crores every month — a further record.



ADVANCES

Our Advances comprising of Stock-on-hire, Leased Assets and other loans, which stood at about Rs.3.5 crores in October 1984, had gone up sharply to over Rs.69 crores as on 31st October 1988, showing an annual growth rate of 483%. Over 3600 vehicle advances to the extent of Rs.47 crores have provided employment to about 72,000 people. Over 37,000 consumer durable loans to the extent of Rs.28 crores have helped improve the quality of life of as many as about 2 lakhs people.

RAPID EXPANSION

We have established 34 Branch Offices spread over six States of India, 15 of them with Sakthi Safe Vaults, yet another of our pioneering venture. 6 more Branch Offices and 8 Vaults will be commissioned before the end of the current year. These will include a third Branch and two Vaults in Bombay and a Vault in Delhi. Most of the Vaults are housed in our own premises.

By inculcating the habit of savings, particularly in rural areas and providing the much needed socio-economic benefits to improve the quality of life,mostly among the middle class, Sakthi Finance is now poised for a much faster growth that will brighten the horizon of everyone that comes within its fold. Why don't you also join us?

Thus, our track record speaks louder than any thing else!

SAKTHI FINANCE LIMITED

SAKTHI FINANCE LTD

Executive Chairman: S.N. PAI
Regd. Office: 475, Dr. Nanjappa Road,
COIMBATORE-641 018.
Telephone: 32240, 30500
30047, 31904, 35586
Telex: 0855-479-SAF IN

Isn't this achievement really extra-ordinary?

5.12.88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

UIPC:SF:17:88

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Bogey Men

● Golfing prowess is often the secret weapon in a bureaucrat's armoury. This proved true during two recent negotiations between Indian and Malaysian Government delegations, the first on air services and the second on India's bid for a contract to build a Rs 50-crore airport in

eastern Malaysia.

The aviation negotiations in October had become stalemated because Air-India was opposed to Malaysia's request for permission to operate an air service to Delhi. The action then shifted to the golf course when Shashi Kant Misra, secretary of the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation, invited Malaysian Transport Minister Dr Ling Liang Sik for a game. The Malaysian minister scored a bogey when he declared that it would be embarrassing for him to go back home without securing the Indian Government's permission for the flight to Delhi. Two hours before Sik's flight to Malaysia, permission was granted, courtesy Misra.

Sik, on his part, repaid Misra's friendly gesture later when the two met again before a golf game, this time in Malaysia. India had been asked to compete in international tenders for the Sibu airport contract. Misra took the matter to Sik who personally delivered to him a letter of intent for India to build the airport.

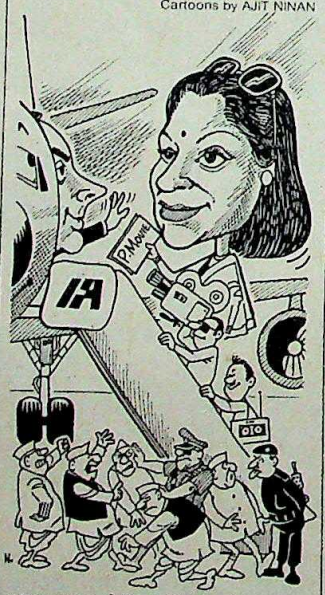
Reel Proximity

● Simi Garewal, actress-turned-movie maker, gained fame in her new role after her sensitive documentary on Raj Kapoor. The effort so impressed several high-level advisors in the Prime Minister's Office that they readily agreed to let her make a documentary on Rajiv Gandhi as well.

From films to politics is an easy transition and Garewal, her researchers and camera crew have been busy gathering titbits about Rajiv, his family, his friends, his style of functioning and government. No other film maker or journalist has been given the kind of untrammelled access to Rajiv—and even Sonia—as has Garewal.

Last month Garewal and her crew followed Rajiv to Uttar Pradesh and Tamil Nadu and got to "shoot" him from a ringside seat. Predictably, Congress(I) stalwarts have be-

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN



gun grumbling. They feel Garewal is overstaying her welcome at their expense—getting more time from the boss than they do. In particular, they are miffed that during Rajiv's trip to Madras many of them who were slated to travel with him were offloaded to accommodate Ms Garewal.

Youth Power

● The proposal to unleash the 18-year-old vote as part of the electoral reform package did not enjoy the kind of unanimous support from the Congress(I) high command as appeared to be the case during parliamentary discussions on the subject.

In fact, several senior cabi-

net-level members were seriously opposed to it on the ground that it can become a weapon in the hands of the Opposition which has welcomed the proposal from the very beginning.

Party members opposing the measure argued, in private, that the Congress(I) has not particularly attracted the youth, and that the Youth Congress itself has become an inactive and fractious organisation. During the last important test of young voters' preferences—the elections to the Delhi University Students' Union—the party failed to bag any seat notwithstanding the campaign under the banner of Rajiv Gandhi.

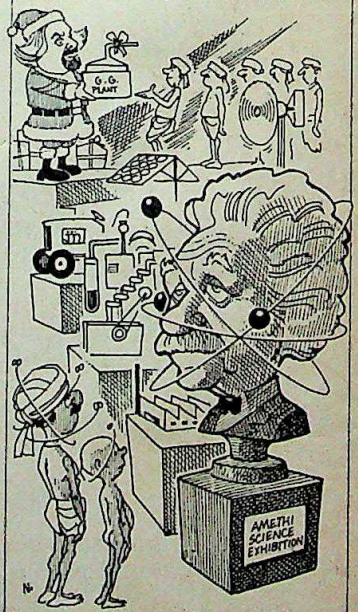
It was not representative of young voters as a whole, argue the bill's proponents, because the party has been targeting the rural youth. Even so, say the opponents, opening the floodgates for about 50 million new voters without giving them something tangible in return in terms of policies and programmes, could trigger off a dangerous political deluge.

Political Science

● It's big bash time again for Amethi, the prime minister's pampered pocket borough. And what's about to take place there is a *mela* with a difference—a week-long science *mela*.

Coordinating the jamboree will be no less an apex body than India's top scientific organisation—the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. More than a dozen other departments, including the technology mission of Sam Pitroda and the agricultural institutions of the country, will line up their latest exhibits to give the rural Amethiwallahs a little bit of Einstein and Newton to chew on.

The affair will cost an estimated Rs 1 crore. Among the exhibits will be the best of seeds, fertilisers, farm equipment, carts and breeding techniques developed by the country's own experts. What the



participating organisations don't relish is that after the week-long *mela*, they will have to leave the exhibits for distribution among Rajiv's electorate as new year presents. But then, as one scientist remarked: "This is a perfect example of the science of politics."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Binatone Quartz TV. With the unique power of Quartz Technology that locks the Doordarshan signals to 100 millionth of a second precision! To give you sharp, natural pictures with stunning depth of colours. No wonder more and more people are buying Binatone Quartz TVs today. See Binatone. Then decide.

3 YEAR GUARANTEE ON PICTURE TUBE.

1958 - 1988 30 YEARS BINATONE WORLDWIDE

Binatone

'QUARTZ' TVs

SIMPLY YEARS AHEAD

For further details on Quartz Technology, visit your nearest dealer or write for a colour leaflet to: 'Quartzy' Binatone Electronics Ltd. 23/4788-90, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110002.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When HMT developed n Cell, WIDIA matched their ex with the Multiflex Tooling Sy

HMT endorses WIDIA :

"The FLEXIBLE TURNING CELL offers numerous benefits like flexible automation and unmanned turning operations. And to fully exploit its potential it requires state-of-the-art tooling and tool monitoring systems.

WIDIA MULTIFLEX TOOLING and WIDATRONIC TOOL MONITORING SYSTEMS have justified their role in terms of design, product engineering and performance."

WIDIA technology goes a long way in successfully introducing total tool management system in India's first ever Flexible Turning Cell. While Multiflex Tooling enables automatic indexing of tool magazine and changing of tools, Widatronic System monitors tool breakage and collision.

WIDIA also offers tool identification system – Widatronic ICS. It is designed to complement Flexible Tooling System to further increase reliability in automated manufacturing.

While R&D sets the pace at WIDIA, its product engineering ensures world class quality and precision. That's what results in extraordinary performance from a high-tech product range – both standard and custom built.

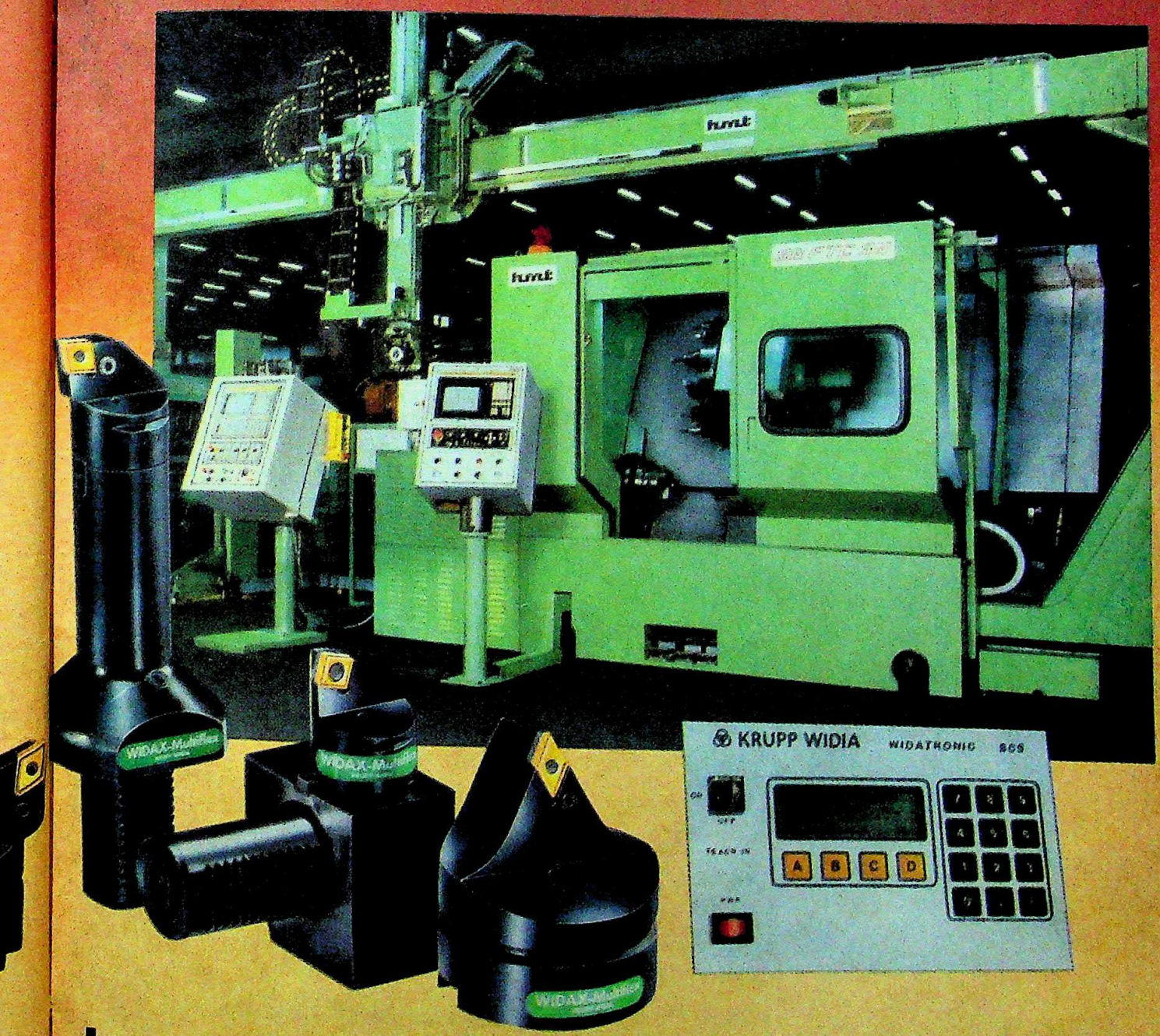
Product Innovation. A constant commitment to customer needs. Effective response. Together with the right technology and support services to upgrade productivity. Ensuring the WIDIA advantage on the customers' shop floor.

WIDIA. The dynamic innovator h

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ed India's first Flexible Turning
eir exacting requirements
g System.

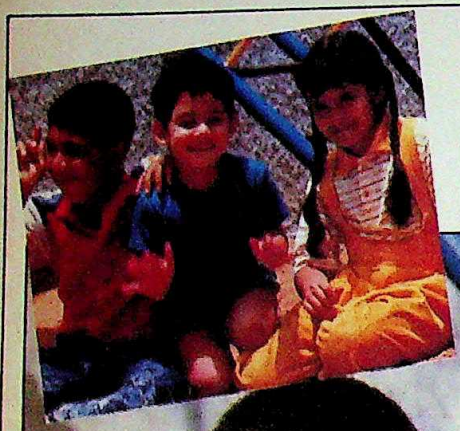


orn hard-metal technology

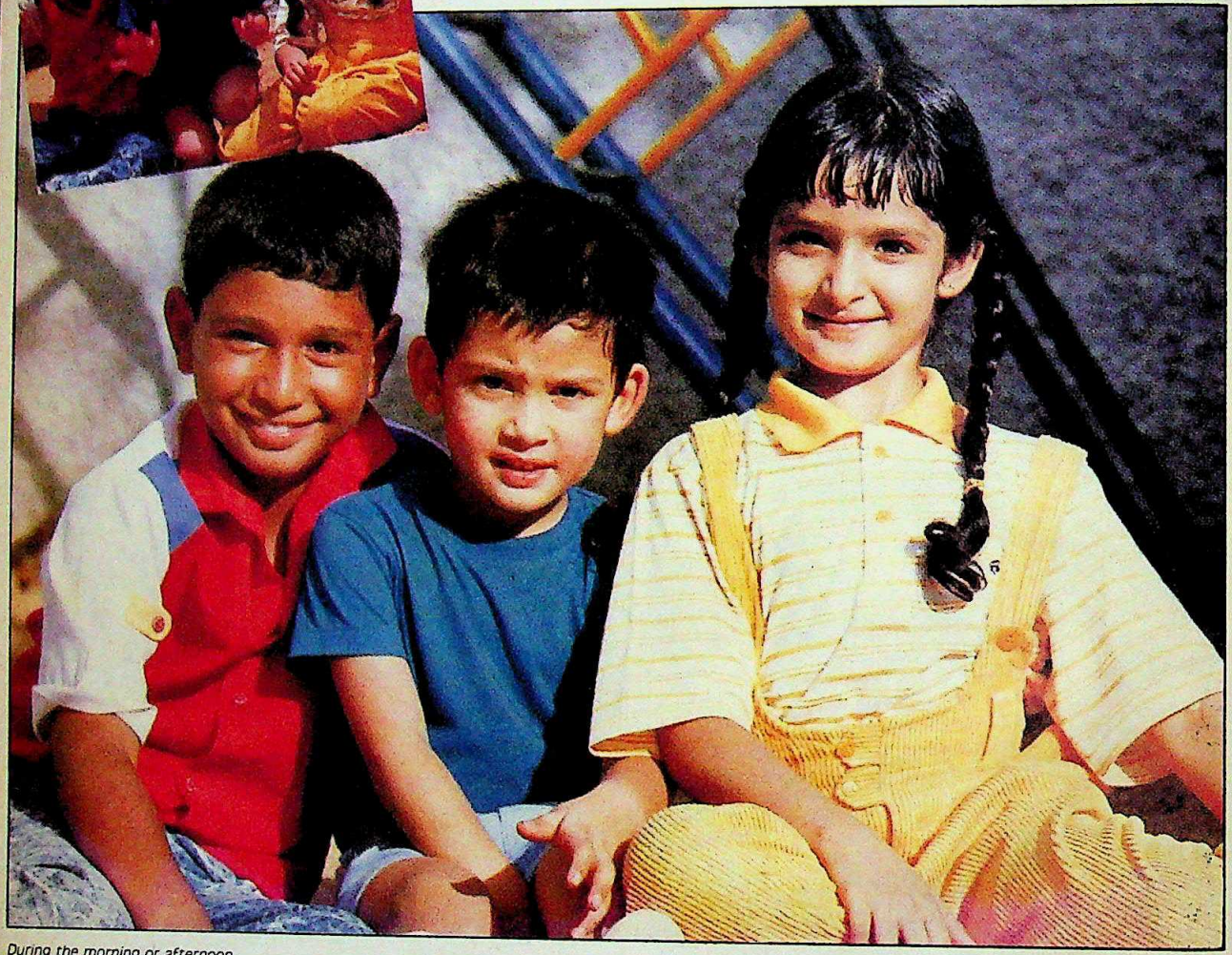
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

CLARION-BL/WIDIA/8892

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Have you cast dark shadows on your children's faces?



During the morning or afternoon, the light spreads evenly outdoors to give a clear photograph.

Indu shows you how to take better photographs.

Want a nice, sunny photograph of your kids outdoors? Make sure you click them in the right light.

Avoid taking photographs between eleven and two in the day. At this time, the light falls on the subject directly from top and is distributed unevenly. The result is that you get a photograph with heavy shadows.

The best time to photograph them is in the morning, between seven and ten-thirty. Or later in the day, between two and five. The light falls from the side and spreads evenly on the subject. You get a clear, bright photograph — for your family album.

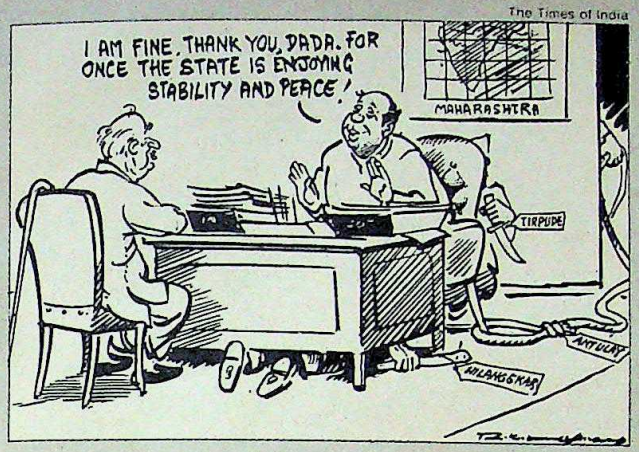
Keeping these tips in sight helps. So does a good quality colour film. Like Indu. The colours are rich and lasting.

इन्दु
INDU

Hindustan Photo Films Mfg. Co. Ltd.
(A Government of India Enterprise)
Indunagar, Udhagamandalam 643 005
Marketing Headquarters, Subramanian Buildings, No.1 Club House Road, Madras 600 002.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



• *Rajiv Gandhi (is) just like a diamond. Don't destroy this diamond, I appeal (to) you with folded hands.* ■ KALPNATH RAI, Congress(I) MP, in *Newstrack*

• *The differences within the opposition parties are not as costly to the country as the dumb silence of Congressmen.* ■ V.P. SINGH in *Sunday Mail*

• *I do not mind if today somebody regards my party as a Hindu party.* ■ L.K. ADVANI, BJP chief, in *Onlooker*

• *The Congress cannot afford to go for elections without consulting Kanshi Ram.* ■ KANSHI RAM, Bahujan Samaj Party leader, in *Sunday*

• *The governor's office has been degraded to carry tales against elected governments to those above.* ■ N.T. RAMA RAO in *Frontline*

• *It was dangerous to think of playing the Sikh card, because it could end up with a reply in the form of a Sind card.* ■ BENAZIR BHUTTO in *The Telegraph*

• *I believe in Soniaji as one believes in God. No one can shake my faith in her.* ■ BHASKAR PANDEY, UPCC(I) leader in *Indian Express*

• *Some are born to birthdays, some achieve them and others have birthday celebrations thrust on them.* ■ Comment on Sonia Gandhi's birthday bash at Lucknow in *The Times of India*

• *Who is there to tell him (Darshan Singh Ragi) that he should stick to keertan and leave the leadership of his panth to more experienced hands?* ■ KHUSHWANT SINGH in *The Sunday Observer*

• *My problem is that all papers write about my company; I can't go on contradicting every one of them.* ■ DHIRUBHAI AMBANI in *Gentleman*

• *This land has had love affairs with only two people. One was Lord Krishna and the other was Nehruji.* ■ H.Y. SHARDA PRASAD in *Probe India*

• *How can I respect someone like Raj Singh Dungarpur (chairman of the selection committee) who has never played Test cricket? What does he know about the pressure and hard work one has to put in to survive at that level?* ■ MOHINDER AMARNATH in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*

• *If anyone speaks to me in English, I say, baba say it again in Hindi.* ■ KELUCHARAN MOHAPATRA, doyen of Odissi dance, in *Society*

• *I am not interested in making a name. I am here to make money, money, money.* ■ RAJNIKANT in *The Sunday Observer*

FILL UP

this coupon and listen to your favourite sound: a child's laugh.

Fun and laughs are as vital to a child as the air he or she breathes. And good clean fun is what the Disney Today comic magazine is all about.

So why not fill up this coupon and make everybody happy.

Save upto 20% on cover price

Mail to:
Living Media India Ltd.
Subscription Department
Thomson Press Building
P.B. No. 69 Delhi-Mathura Road
Faridabad-121 007 (HARYANA)

I want a subscription for my child. Here is my ☐ Annual: Rs. 96/- ☐ 6 monthly Rs. 50/-subscription for the English edition.
I am paying by :
Cheque/M.O./D.D. No. _____
Please mail my copy to:
Name _____
Age _____ Sex _____
Address _____
_____
_____
School _____
Parent/Guardian's signature _____
Please draw remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd.

114

© 1987 THE WALT DISNEY CO., USA.

WL COMICS
Disney TODAY
Available every fortnight in English and Hindi.

MILESTONES/DT/114 a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

COSTLY CAPSULES

■ Mohammad Hasan Sheikh bound for Dubai from Bombay did not look a very healthy person when he came to the airport. And unfortunately for him, officials of the Narcotics Control Bureau had been tipped off that he was carrying contraband.

They frisked him and put his bags through the X-ray machine. Though the machine neither blimped nor beeped, there was something decidedly suspicious about the man—he did not seem able to shake off his lethargy. Certain that there was more to him than met the eye, the sleuths packed him off to a nearby hospital.

Sheikh kept protesting that he had taken enough capsules. As it turned out, he had taken too many: no less than 197, each an inch-long.

And the capsules contained not medicines but foreign currency notes—Rs 7.50 lakh worth of them. They were soon purged out.

The moral of the story: don't count your notes before they are purged.

SPLITTING HONOURS

■ For commuters who pass regularly through the Dadar railway station in Bombay, scuffles and fisticuffs are a common sight. But a recent squabble between two ticket-checkers of the railways caused much mirth and made many rushing commuters stop in their tracks.

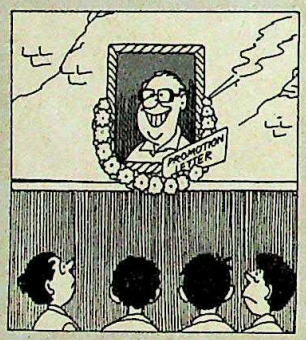
Standing shame-facedly near the two warring officials was a man who had apparently been caught travelling without a ticket. What foxed the public was that instead of getting tough with the offender, the two railway officials were battling each other.

The reason soon became clear to the gaping crowd:

professional rivalry. Each ticket-checker claimed that he had caught the man. As sparks flew and fingers pointed accusingly, the number of spectators grew.

It was then that the ticketless traveller, quick to seize his chance, promptly did the vanishing act: he merged with the thronging crowd and slipped away to safety.

GRAVE NEWS



■ A promotion in a government organisation is not always achieved as a result of hard work. Often, it is granted much in the manner of divine grace after years of penance (read: service).

In keeping with this tradition, a message recently arrived at the home of a former schoolteacher in Rajasthan. Lalit Mohan—his family learnt—had been promoted as headmaster of a nearby government secondary school. But there was just a slight hitch, if one may call it that. To borrow a phrase from the Government's vocabulary, the recipient of the honour was unfortunately unable, for unavoidable reasons, to accept the promotion.

Lalit Mohan had been dead eight long years. Nor was the Government entirely ignorant of the fact. It had been regularly sending the dead man's family a pension.

Yet another instance of the Government practising Christian charity: its education arm knoweth not what its social welfare arm doeth.

SWADESHI ZEAL

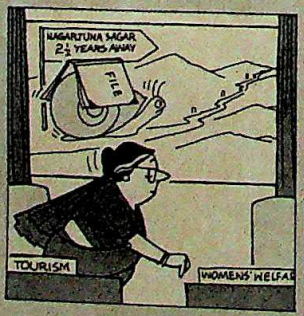
■ Water is scarce in Gujarat and so treated as a precious commodity. Even so, the eagerness with which people flocked to a water handpump in Porbandar seemed a bit excessive to the police. Especially since this year's monsoon has been excellent and water wasn't in such short supply.

Thus the police decided there was no harm in getting a taste of the elixir. They pumped out a little of the stuff and got the surprise of their lives: gushing out was good old country liquor. And its supply seemed endless: it took six hours of hard pumping before the fount ran dry, after

yielding 12,000 litres of *desi* liquor, the source of which turned out to be an underground tank with a storage capacity of 50,000 litres.

Making country liquor may have been the best way Porbandar's residents knew of implementing the *swadeshi* teachings of their greatest son—the Mahatma.

A FILE'S PROGRESS

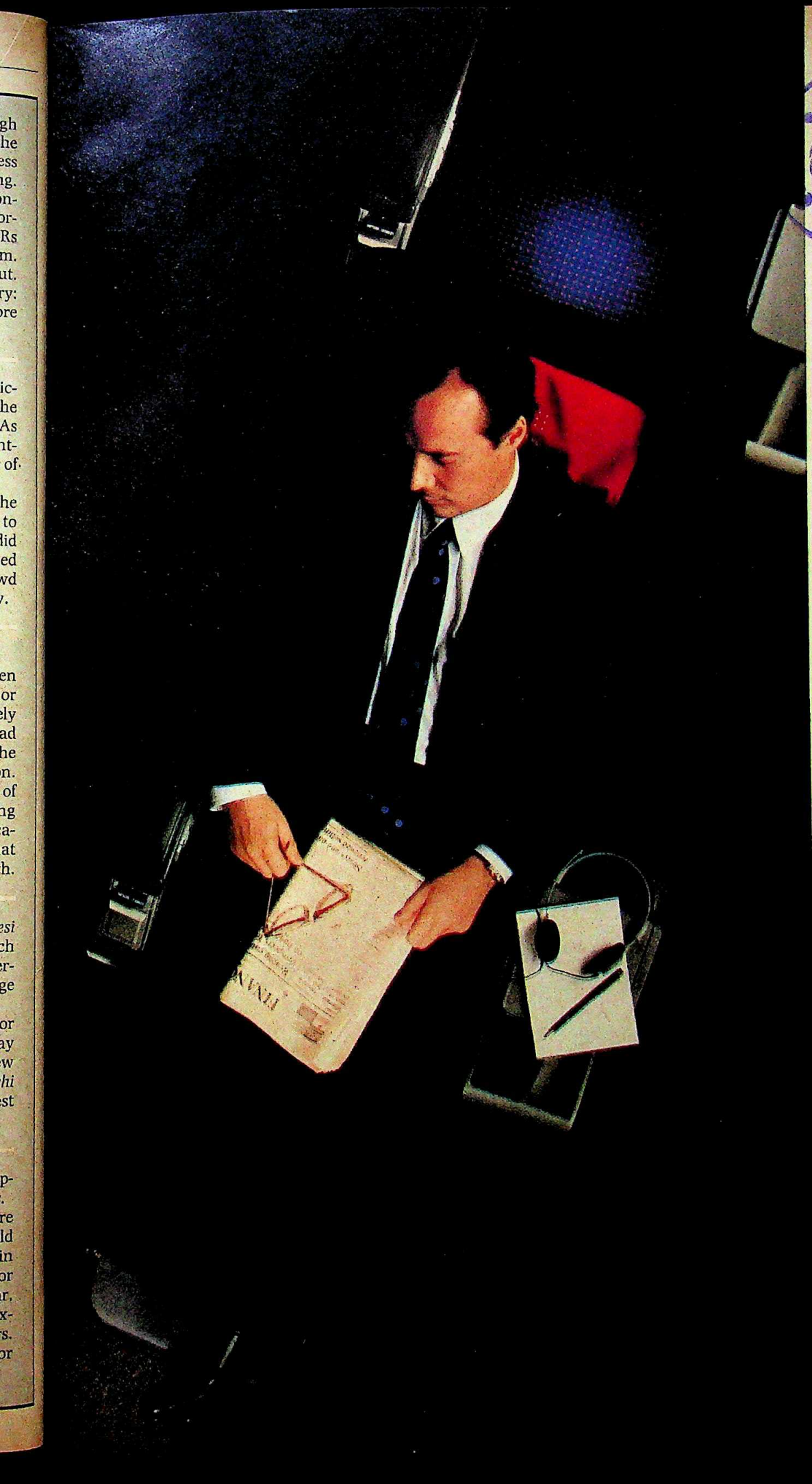


■ Nagarjunasagar is just 140 km from Hyderabad, the capital of Andhra Pradesh. That's as the crow flies. As the snail crawls it's probably a year away. A government file took far longer to cover that distance—two years and eight months, to be precise.

The file began its odyssey when it was sent to Nagarjunasagar for answers to questions asked in the state Assembly. Pratibha Bharati, then the tourism minister, marked the file urgent and sent it on. But it wasn't destined to have an easy journey. Months and, no doubt, several Homeric adventures later, it reached the information department in Nagarjunasagar.

Now, officials there are not sure whether they should reply to Bharati's queries in the file about the facilities for tourists in Nagarjunasagar, as she is unlikely to be anxiously awaiting the answers. She is now the minister for women and child welfare.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



पुस्तकालय
028597
जवाहरी विश्वविद्यालय

IT'S A LONG HAUL WITH ANYONE ELSE.

British Airways new Club World has been created to ensure that you arrive relaxed and refreshed on all your long haul journeys.

Whether you're flying simply to London or onwards, with British Airways Club World you'll be ready to take on the world.

It's little wonder experienced fliers choose the world's favourite airline.

CLUB WORLD

BRITISH AIRWAYS
The world's favourite airline.®

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAJIV GANDHI IN CHINA

BREACHING THE WALL

SO striking was the symbolism it could well have been stage-managed. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi bundled up against the frost-fingered winds, negotiating the steps of the Great Wall of China that meanders on into infinity. That he undertook the climb at all was in itself a gutsy gamble—akin somewhat to Hillary setting out to conquer Everest.

For 26 years, relations between the two Asian giants have been deep-frozen, activated only by hostility and armed tension. The two countries have held eight rounds of talks on the prickly border issue (INDIA TODAY, December 31, 1988) without any hint that a thaw was possible. The last high-level bilateral visit was in 1954. And, the legendary inscrutability of the Chinese leadership ensured that the outcome of Rajiv's five-day China sojourn last fortnight was as shrouded in mist and mystique as Beijing's congested streets.

Finally—and appropriately—the symbolism matched the substance. At the official banquets, the exquisitely-carved vegetable decorations were in the form of a dragon symbolising China, a peacock symbolising India and two doves, symbolising peace. The symbolism didn't end there. For three days, as Rajiv and his aides bartered across the negotiating table and struggled to capture bits of Chinese culinary exotica with their chopsticks at official banquets, the sun broke through occasionally before finally bathing Beijing in unexpected warmth.

Nothing could have summed up the visit better. At the end of the second day, senior Indian officials had given the accompanying media the unalloyed impression that a major breakthrough had been made on the border question. The air of euphoria quickly vanished when Rajiv gave no such indication at his press conference the following day. Then, early next morning, the last day of his stay in Beijing, came the announcement that the two countries had agreed to set up a joint task force to find a solution to the border issue.

That alone was a significant enough achievement. The fact that there is no agreed-upon timeframe for resolving the issue means that the true diplomatic worth of Rajiv's visit will only be evident a year or two later. Rajiv himself was at pains to downplay any suggestion of a major breakthrough: "I take a more pragmatic view....I see it as a new beginning."

Rajiv's caution was understandable. Solving the complex border issue is like strolling blindfolded through a minefield. The fact that the officials entrusted with that tricky task are the same ones who have held eight rounds of unfruitful talks adds a dose of pessimism. But viewed against the backdrop of the barbed antagonism that has sculptured relations between the two giants since the 1962 conflict—and the broader implications of a Sino-Indian rapprochement—the level of mutual understanding and acceptance of views during the visit means that the

Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Great Wall of Hostility has finally, and perhaps permanently, been breached.

For that, a major share of the credit was not so much Rajiv's as it was of the Grand Old Man of China—the 84-year-old, ailing Deng Xiaoping. If Rajiv deserves credit for taking the gamble of flying blind to Beijing, it was the all-powerful Deng who undoubtedly orchestrated the turning point during his emotion-charged meeting with Rajiv.

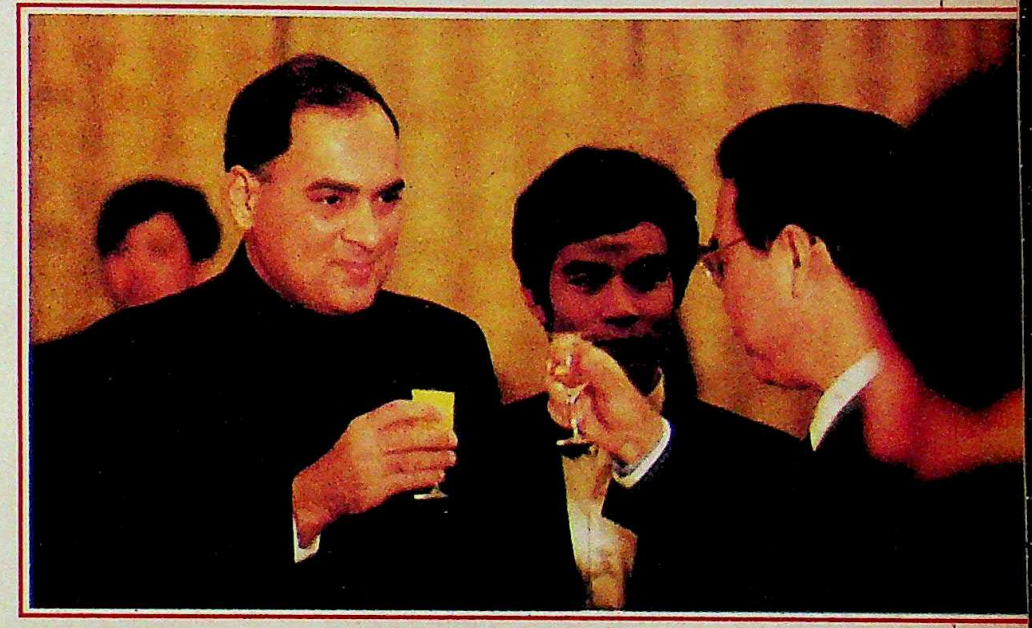
The tension in the air was almost touchable as the two leaders converged from opposite ends of the cavernous Great Hall of the People. Deng, the famous pudding face animated by a twinkle in the eyes, shuffled forward, then stopped, realising Rajiv was still some distance away. The make-or-break enormity of the occasion was reflected in Rajiv's mien as he moved hesitantly forward, his face set and exuding a certain nervousness. Throughout the three-minute-long handshake, he remained unsure and overawed, answering in monosyllables as Deng rambled into reminiscence.

In China, however, symbols and semantics are infinitely more important than official declarations. Deng's opening remarks welcoming his "young friend" and suggesting they "forget the past" was an overt indication that he was literally holding out a hand of friendship. And the next few minutes of their meeting was broadcast through loudspeakers, not so much for the benefit of the world media as for China's one billion people. The fact that he spent 90 minutes with Rajiv discussing the changing international scenario and his vision of the balance of power was another signal. A semi-recluse, Deng rarely spends over 30 minutes with visiting leaders. Thus, without actually saying so, Deng was giving his blessings to a burial of the past and the start of another long march towards normalisation of Sino-Indian relations.

In that one meeting also lay the key to India's strategy. Before the visit, a section of the foreign office and some China-watchers had criticised the timing of the visit. China and its leadership is currently in rapid transition and, on the surface, a visit at this stage made little sense. But paradoxical as it may sound, Indian officials say that was precisely the reason for opting to go now. Deng's authority is currently unquestionable but his ailing health means he has at best one or two years before he fades into history.

In stature, however, Deng enjoys the same kind of reverence that Mao Zedong once did. The Indian calculations rested on the fact that the new 'collective leadership' in China—dominated by Prime Minister Li Peng and General Secretary of the Communist Party of China's Central Committee, Zhao Ziyang—will take some time to acquire the omnipotent authority that Deng still commands.

Consequently, it was obvious that Deng was the only leader who could take a clear-cut decision and provide the all-important thrust. "The key factor was that once Deng gives the go-ahead, you are going to have a decision that is irreversible. In that context, the timing could not have been more ideal," says a senior Indian diplomat, adding: "Neither could the visit have been arranged too close to the Indian general elections since that would have made it suspect in Chinese as well as in Indian eyes."



■ **(Clockwise from right) Rajiv and Premier Peng toast each other; arrival ceremony at the Great Hall; Rajiv at X'ian**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The other impetus was the Soviet Union. Moscow is overly keen on encouraging New Delhi to mend fences with Beijing, as it is itself doing. Gorbachev had given Rajiv a candid assessment of the situation in China during his recent visit to Delhi and advised that it was best to break the ice while Deng was around.

The final factor was the Chinese military who are vehemently opposed to any border agreement with India. At the moment, however, they dare not oppose Deng whose official designation is chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China. Nor is the influence of the military as all-pervasive as it once was.

But even though Deng has the authority he is now something of a father figure with little official responsibility in day-to-day affairs. The official response, thus, had to come from people like Li Peng and the new rising sun of Chinese politics, Zhao Ziyang. The Chinese had consequently tailored Rajiv's programme to give themselves time to evaluate the genuineness of New Delhi's intentions.

While Rajiv spent most of his second day in China sampling the justly famed Peking Roast Duck over lunch in a Beijing restaurant and visiting the Great Wall at Badaling, a 90-minute drive from the Chinese capital, top Chinese leaders were huddled together assessing the initial talks and deciding on their final response.

THE first indication that the reaction would be a positive one came at Rajiv's meeting with President Yang Shangkun on his second morning in Beijing. As Rajiv rose to make his farewells, Shangkun drew him aside and confided: "Don't worry, your visit is a success." Further confirmation came at the dinner hosted for Rajiv by Zhao Ziyang after the former's return from the Great Wall. The length of the dinner meeting in itself was unprecedented and it was clear from the sudden warmth that the Chinese had made a decision to include the border issue in the agreements. But, understandably, they were not willing to let Rajiv steal their thunder and make the announcement at his press conference; they wanted it to appear in the joint statement at the end of Rajiv's stay in Beijing. Early the next morning, shortly before Rajiv emplaned for X'ian, the nuts and bolts of the border agreement were finalised.

For New Delhi, the implications are broad-ranging and mainly positive. From the tone and wording of the joint statement, it is evident that there is likely to be no more tension on a vulnerable border that has tied up such a large chunk of Indian troops and equipment. And there will be no more armed incursions along the border as in the case of Sumdorong Chu.

In the assessment of Indian officials, the talks also imply that China will no longer provide arms and training to the underground rebels in the sensitive Northeast. Intelligence sources claim that the last batch of Tripura National Volunteers rebels who crossed over into China one week before Rajiv's visit was politely turned back by the border guards. "What

■ Chinese soldiers marching in Beijing's main square

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that means is that we will finally have a stable Northeast which is in itself significant," says an Indian diplomat.

In broader terms, a Sino-Indian rapprochement gives New Delhi much greater diplomatic manoeuvrability as well as increased clout. India's relations with both the superpowers are now reaching a new high. More important, Rajiv has managed to establish an enviable personal rapport with Gorbachev as well as with incoming US President George Bush. Now, with a third major power as a possible friend, New Delhi is endowed with unprecedented flexibility in its foreign policy. "China was the missing link," says a senior Indian diplomat.

Not that the Indian initiative is solely Rajiv's. Few people are aware that Mrs Gandhi took a decision to settle with the Chinese and made secret efforts to lay the foundations for this a few weeks before her untimely assassination. She had sent her emissary Ram Nath Kao, the former boss of the Research and Analysis Wing, to Beijing with a comprehensive proposal to settle the border dispute. Kao was actually in Beijing, holding covert talks with Chinese leaders on October 31, 1984, the day she was slain. The talks were aborted and the proposals shoved into cold storage.

■ **Rajiv meets Deng (below); the two leaders exchange views**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But neither has the motivation been all that one-sided. For Beijing, the compulsions are equally, if more subtly, in evidence. China is currently going through a paroxysm of economic and social reconstruction. In such a situation, Beijing is overly keen that there be no over-spending on the military nor any diversion of crucially-needed funds.

Even more important is the Chinese long-term view of the future balance of power as so eloquently enunciated by Deng during his 90-minute meeting with Rajiv. According to top-level sources, Deng went out of his way to put Rajiv at ease and reassure him on China's intentions and motivations. "Frankly, we did not expect him to be so warm and forthcoming. His mind is as sharp as ever and the warmth and friendliness he exuded was a sure sign that he was making a special effort," says an Indian official present at the talks.

After nostalgically recalling his meetings with Nehru and his dealings with Mrs Gandhi, Deng suddenly became serious, turned to Rajiv and said: "You are young. You are the future. We are receding into history. There is a new generation of leaders now and a global desire to live in peace and end conflict and tension. It lies in your hands to shape the destiny of the new world order. Use it wisely."

DENG then proceeded to wax philosophical, reminding Rajiv that India and China together accounted for 1.8 billion people, almost 40 per cent of humanity. "Our sole aim should be to improve the lives of our people. We can only do this by working together. We are in a similar socio-economic situation. We have both made mistakes and we can learn from each other. Why can't we share our experiences, our successes and failures? There is much we can achieve together. We achieve nothing by being antagonists. Specially when the world is moving towards an era of peace and prosperity."

But more remarkable than that was Deng's candid assessment of the future course of world history and of the Asian region. "It was a sober, balanced assessment that was astonishing in its perspective and its frankness," says an official. Deng, for instance, scoffed at recent predictions by leading political scientists that the next century will be the century of the Asia-Pacific region. "By the middle of the next century, China will be a middle-level power only," he told Rajiv. "The old alliances are changing and we must change with them. Unless we encourage that change and work together we will both be left out in the cold. We must employ pragmatism and not rhetoric."

That Deng was being so forthright was yet another gesture of symbolism. He would have hardly confided his belief that China will eventually be a middle-level power if he was not absolutely convinced that a Sino-Indian rapprochement was inevitable. Equally, the fact that Rajiv was a scion of the Nehru family may have influenced his attitude.

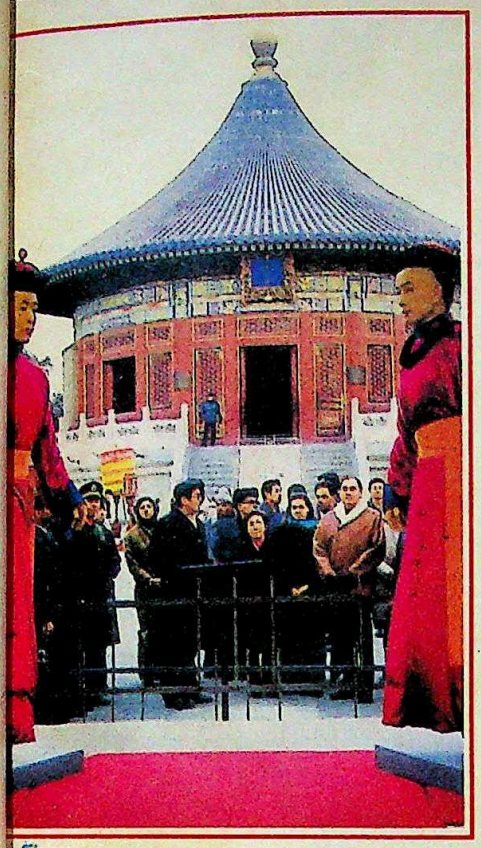
There is also the acceptance among the Chinese leaders that India is now infinitely better equipped and better prepared militarily than in 1962. The Indian Army has succeeded in shipping the controversial but effective Bofors howitzer to the border and New Delhi's rapid deployment of troops and the effectiveness of its Maldives operation have added to India's strategic capability.

But the overriding factor perhaps was

■ **Rajiv and Sonia examine terracota warriors in X'ian**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



that China today is in the midst of metamorphosis. The results of Deng's modernisation and opening out to the world are now visible—and dramatically illustrative. Beijing is still a drab and somewhat depressing city populated by grey, soulless buildings. But its skyline is now dominated by giant construction equipment erecting modern skyscrapers and flashy American-style hotels. A host of Japanese companies and banking houses are expanding their commercial influence, while affluent Chinese from Taiwan and Hong Kong are setting up foreign collaborations.

ON the obsessively clean streets, the ubiquitous bicycle is still king but there are an increasing number of Japanese and European cars. Hoardings that once carried revolutionary slogans and portraits of ecstatic, one-child families now advertise Maxwell House coffee, Carlsberg beer and Toyota cars.

The most dramatic change is in the younger generation. The drab, uniform tunics that were once compulsory attire are now rarely in evidence. The young dress in a riot of colours and fashions and seem to exude an unusual air of self-confidence and independence. Private enterprise, if not overtly visible, is nonetheless an increasing reality. But the changes have also obviously raised their expectations. There is a thriving black market for dollars and foreign exchange certificates, the only currency that foreigners are required to use. Young Chinese couples stand hand-in-hand in shop windows or crowd the 'Friendship Stores' eyeing—and buying—consumer goods as if in fear that the dream may evaporate.

According to the *China Daily*, Beijing's English language newspaper, most marriages now cost an average of 20,000 yuan (the average monthly urban wage is 400 yuan). The high expense is mainly on setting up house in a modern apartment and stocking it with what are increasingly seen as essentials—modern furniture, refrigerators, stereo systems, televisions, video recorders, washing machines and vacuum cleaners.

All this means that the Chinese Government cannot afford to slow down the pace of economic reform. As it is, China

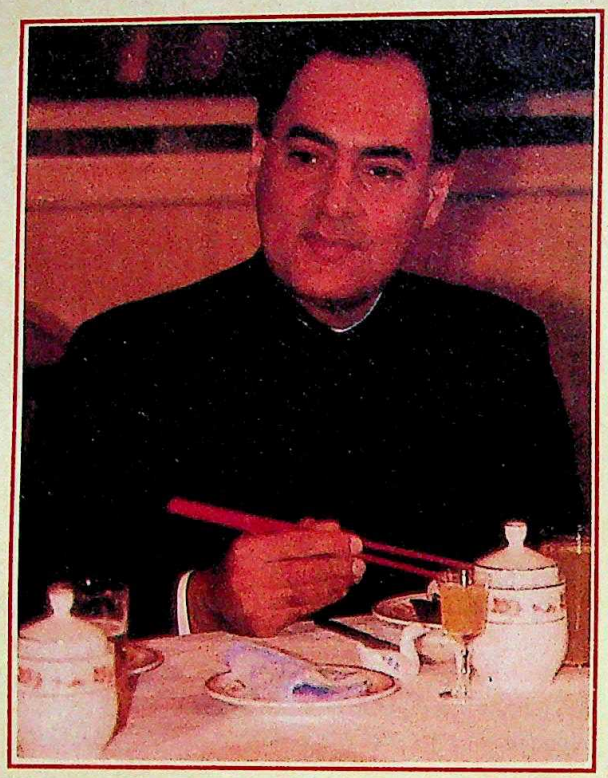
■ **Official talks in progress (below); and Rajiv at the Temple of Heaven**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has been hit by a devastating drought that has crippled agricultural output. Inflation is running at around 17 per cent and unemployment is a serious concern. Thousands of rural Chinese have been flocking to cities like Beijing—a criminal offence under the Chinese system—in search of jobs and money. Prostitution in the larger cities is also visibly on the rise. That the Government has preferred to turn a blind eye to prostitution and illegal migration is an indication that it is seriously concerned about pushing every effort into rapid development.

In that context, a Sino-Indian rapprochement will also give a major boost to bilateral trade and economic cooperation. India is far ahead in areas like electronics and computers while China can provide invaluable inputs in fields like agricultural production and bio-technology. The agreements on cooperation in science and technology are likely to benefit both countries in no minor measure.



But among senior Indian officials in the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of External Affairs, there is a guarded optimism. There are still considerable differences on issues like nuclear weaponry (Rajiv, however, categorically stated in Beijing that Indian intelligence believes there are no nuclear missiles targeted on Indian territory) and the Indian military presence in Sri Lanka. Chinese leaders in private made it clear that Beijing was opposed to the presence of Indian troops in Sri Lanka. There are also serious differences on issues like Kampuchea and Afghanistan.

New Delhi has obviously opted to downplay the Tibet is-

■ **Rajiv using chopsticks; and (below) at an official banquet in X'ian**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sue in the broader interests of a Sino-Indian thaw. Tibet is a highly-emotive issue with the Chinese and the fact that there were anti-Chinese riots in Lhasa just five days before Rajiv arrived gave it an added sensitivity. Rajiv's advisers, however, had clearly decided that bending backwards on Tibet would be the only way to influence the Chinese to be more responsive to a settlement of the border issue. Rajiv made it clear that India would not allow any anti-China activities by the Tibetans in India and reiterated that New Delhi considered Tibet an "autonomous region" of China.

Official sources claim that the stand India decided to take in Beijing on the Tibetan issue was made clear to the Dalai Lama in Dharamsala before the visit. "He understood the imperatives. It would have been counter-productive for us to get into a long-drawn argument over Tibet when there was so much at stake. We didn't want to rock the boat," says an official. Consequently, the Tibetan issue was barely discussed.

The crucial element now is the speed with which the gains in Beijing are capitalised upon. "It is important to keep the momentum going. It would be tragic if we miss this chance," says an Indian official. The border issue is obviously the biggest obstacle. The joint statement at the end of the visit laid emphasis on a "fair and reasonable settlement" which would be "mutually acceptable". That is much more difficult than it sounds. India has claimed 14,500 square miles of barren, mountainous territory in the Aksai Chin region of Ladakh. China claims 34,000 square miles of Arunachal Pradesh.

IN addition, any territorial concessions by New Delhi—concessions which are implicit in the joint statement—would be violative of the parliamentary resolution of 1962 which is against the ceding of any territory to China. But having taken the plunge it is now up to the Rajiv Government to convince the Indian public of the advantages of a Sino-Indian thaw and the need to re-examine and perhaps rephrase the 1962 resolution.

On its part, China has other diplomatic priorities. Last week, in a poll conducted among the editors of the leading Chinese newspapers to decide the most significant events of 1988, Rajiv's visit ranked seventh out of the 10 selected.

The most daunting obstacle, of course, is history. The euphoria of the '50s (*'Hindi-Chini-bhai-bhai'*) nosedived into hostility that has lasted a quarter of a century. In 1978, China attacked Vietnam while the then Indian foreign minister of the Janata regime was on an official visit to Beijing. And, the serious border clash in the Sumdorong Chu valley took place just last year.

All that means that the hands across the Himalayas are still loosely grasped. Rajiv's visit has opened a chink in the bamboo curtain and only the coming months will tell just how durable and mutually advantageous the new warmth will be. In that sense, the "new beginning" is very much like a Chinese banquet—appetising and savoury but full of unknown ingredients and a bewildering variety of unfamiliar dishes.

—DILIP BOBB in Beijing

■ **Rajiv touring an industrial unit in Shanghai**

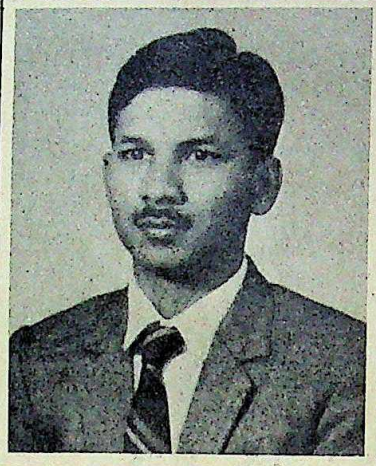
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VARINDER AGRO CHEMICALS LIMITED

Regd. Office : 85, Industrial Area, Ludhiana

VARINDER AGRO CHEMICALS LIMITED



Speech delivered by the Chairman, Mr. Rajinder Gupta at the Annual General Meeting held on 6th December, 1988

Ladies & Gentlemen,

I have great pleasure to welcome you all to this Annual General Meeting. I bring you cheer with the news that your Company has now **turned the corner** and has reported a year of **net profits,** though we have always been making cash profits right from the first year of our operations.

PERFORMANCE

The year under review was a difficult period as the country reeled under the severest ever drought of the century. Coming after four successive years of poor monsoons, it made things even more difficult. The fertilizer companies suffered even more because of a severe glut in the industry due to heavy imports.

Despite these adverse conditions, your Company's performance was outstanding and better than in any previous year. This was the first year your Company reported a **Profit before Tax — of Rs. 101 lacs.** Production of SSP went up to 96521 tons as against 73505 tons in the previous year, registering an increase of 31%. The most significant feature of the year was the **phenomenal capacity utilization — 146% of the installed capacity.**

Higher productivity, better price realisation and increasing popularity of the Company's brand with the farmers were the other main reasons for the improved performance. It is a matter of pride that your Company has been chosen by the Fertilizer Association of India for their prestigious **award for excellence in performance.**

PROSPECTS

I look forward to the future of your Company with justified optimism. The country has now been blessed with timely and bountiful monsoon. The robust Rabi and Kharif sowings optimistically indicate that the demand for fertilizers will touch higher levels. This encouraging spectrum is substantiated by the production target of foodgrains fixed by the Government at 170 million tons for the current year. This will need to be matched with adequate and reliable supplies of fertilizers, including SSP. **The future indeed looks promising.**

EXPANSION

Your Company has already undertaken **modernisation and expansion of the existing SSP complex** at an estimated cost of Rs. 160 lacs, being financed through loans and internal accruals. This programme, to be implemented by January 1989, will lead to higher production, energy savings and profitability.

CURRENT WORKING

I am happy to inform you of further improvement in the first 5 months of the current year. The Company has produced 45,000 tons of SSP (previous period 38,000 tons), and **has recorded a capacity utilisation of 163% —perhaps a record for the SSP industry.** After the current expansion, the production capacity will further increase. The Company expects to do better than last year and the shareholders can look forward to a **rewarding future.**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While concluding, I would like to record my thanks to the workers, staff and officers at all levels for their dedicated work, to my esteemed colleagues on the Board for their invaluable counsel and guidance, to our bankers and the Punjab Government for their continued support, and above all, to you shareholders, for reposing faith in us.

NOTE : This does not purport to be a record of proceedings of the Annual General Meeting of the Company.

Sobhagya/271/88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Poised for Peace

THE silliest question to ask about Rajiv Gandhi's China visit is whether it is a success or a failure. Labels are devices designed to protect us from thinking. The point is that a great cold war barrier has been broken after 30 years. One more stream joins the newly-flowing global mainstream of dialogue and cooperation with the ebbing of the tides of conflict and confrontation. Two walls—China and Pakistan—keep India confined to the barren region of South Asia, overloaded with conflict or potential for conflict. The China wall has fallen. The Pakistan wall will hopefully collapse likewise. India then will be able to act on the global front as a major power of today, a great power of tomorrow.

What happens between India and China matters for the entire world. When war happens, its heat radiates to world politics. When peace and amity transpire, creative human visions dance on the horizon of time. In Beijing in December, Rajiv Gandhi and three pre-eminent Chinese leaders, Deng Xiaoping, Zhao Ziyang and Li Peng, said in one voice that the two countries would work "very hard" to resolve the border issue in two or three years. With that end in view, they set up a border commission chaired by the heads of the two foreign office bureaucracies. They will work not only within the framework of a set of agreed principles but under the monitoring eyes of ministers, even prime ministers. The time-frame is important, a yardstick of accountability. The prime ministers will have to tell their peoples and the world what progress they make as they slog for a settlement.

The relationship today stands liberated from the chains of the border dispute, from the shackles of the bitter memories of 1962. When a man like Deng said let's forget the past and make a new beginning, the prime minister of India could only respond with a warm yes, and that's what Rajiv Gandhi did. So it's a new beginning for the two largest Asian neighbours, both wiser from the scars of the past, both weathered in the storms and stresses of domestic and foreign conflicts, each armed with a treasure of experience of handling common problems, the two capable of doing great things together. Deng treated Rajiv to a Socratic dialogue as he had done Nixon and Kissinger in February 1972 and will do Gorbachev coming April. He indicated a direction for the new Sino-Indian beginning. Deng did not prescribe a route of march. This will have to be worked out by the leaders.

Were the Chinese earnest in their wish for good relations and a mutually acceptable settlement of the border? Yes, and the proof is that Prime Minister Li Peng will be coming to India this year to add momentum to the new beginning. Before then Gorbachev will have his summit with Deng. Rajiv and Benazir will have met in Islamabad. Perhaps the Japanese prime minister and the Soviet president will have exchanged visits too.

> "The China wall has fallen... It is a new beginning for the two neighbours, both wiser from the scars of the past, the two capable of doing great things together."

What unprecedented movements of minds will be taking place from one end of the Asia-Pacific expanse to another. The journey to Beijing makes India a full partner in the exciting process of recasting world politics in the mould of dialogues and cooperation. Gorbachev's lone initiatives of two years ago are now a powerful cascade of initiatives taken by many nations. To Rajiv's credit, he has now concretised the loftily worded Delhi Declaration to the realities of India's relations with China and Pakistan.

To suggest that he acted under Gorbachev's pressure is to miss an entire world process-in-the-making. The Chinese leaders engaged in a comprehensive dialogue with Rajiv on the world condition. Surely not under Gorbachev's pressure. The West Europeans are building their own little bridges to the East. Surely not under Moscow's pressure. The new world process is at this time more than an "emerging tableaux", as the late Andre Malraux would have called it. India merits the role of one of its major architects. That it is now, thanks to the end of the cold war with China, another major architect.

A good visit has shored up more than what even an optimist had dared to expect. The Indian performance in Beijing, however, bears smudges of the clumsiness that has become typical of the Rajiv administration. The appointment of a border committee was an excellent idea. But why keep it to the indifferent care of the same officials who have had eight rounds of talks without producing anything but an ocean of words? The difference, of course, is that they will work under political direction, and, if they get bogged down once again in crusty bureaucratic style, the negotiations will be rescued by ministers.

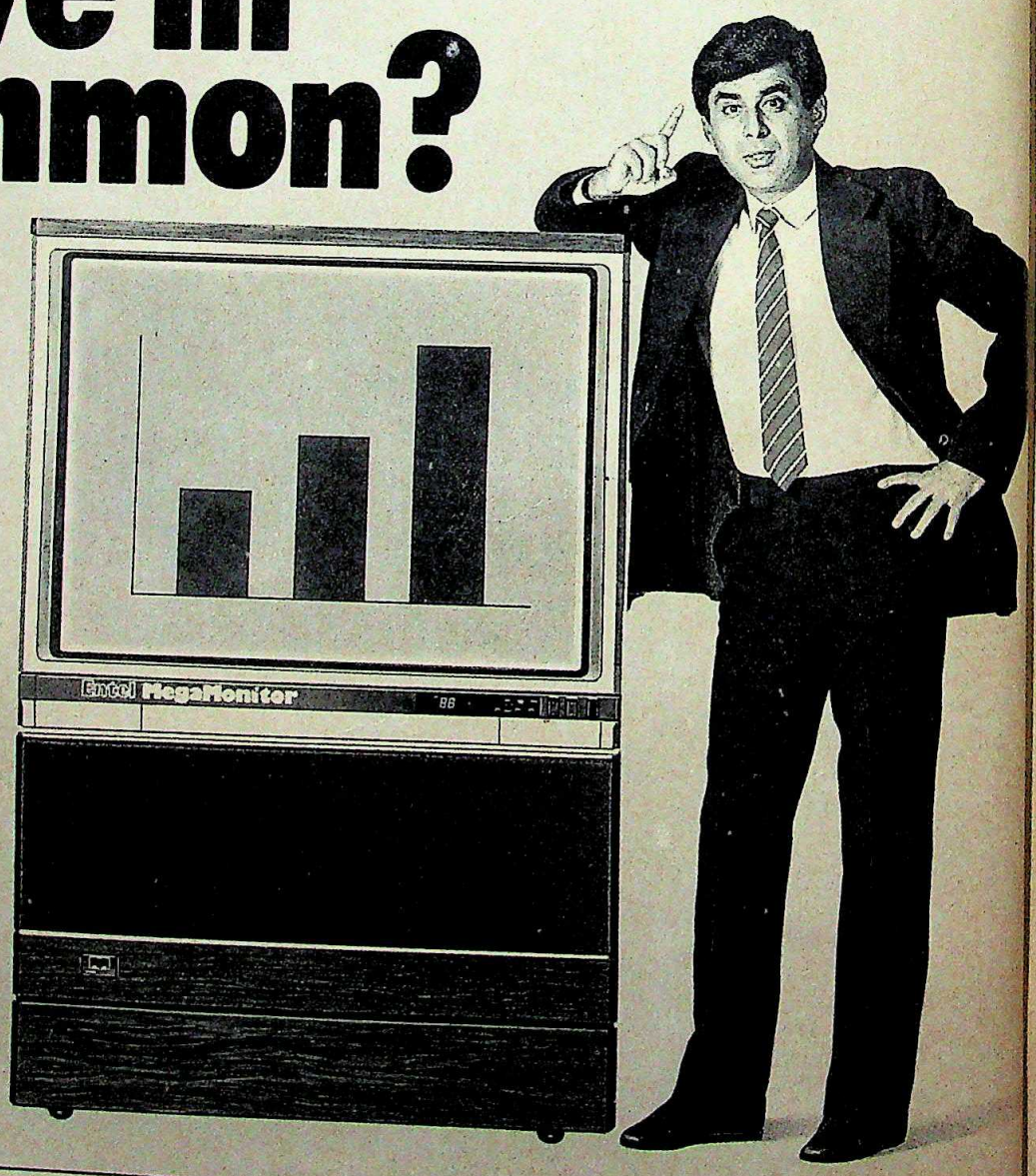
But is the present Indian foreign minister quite convinced that there should be a "new beginning" in India-China relations? Does he have a clear idea of what a new beginning would mean? Hasn't the prime minister denied the foreign office a meaningful role in his China visit thereby creating a climate of cynical sulk in South Block? Is giving the co-chairmanship of what virtually is an India-China joint commission to the commerce minister rather than the foreign minister not meant to be an insult to the minister for external affairs? Above all, the prime minister's own imperial indifference to implementation of his decisions will leave room for doubt if actual "hard work" on the border will move as fast in New Delhi as the Beijing formulations have jointly desired.

Rajiv Gandhi will have to face some criticism on Tibet, but that shouldn't deter him for the vast majority of Indians do not wish to see Tibet become a matter of contention between India and China. The Beijing accords are not directed against the Dalai Lama, who must settle his quarrels with the people and government of China to which Tibet belongs. The Chinese are very sensitive about Tibetan nationalism as we ourselves are about what we call Indian sub-nationalisms. Indeed the Dalai Lama owes it to India to work out a peaceful settlement of the Tibet issue with Beijing for the last thing Indians wish to see is a repeat of the melancholy history of 1959.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What do Bajaj Auto and Hindustan Lever have in common?



The Impact of High Technology

NEC

NEC Corporation, Japan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Winning ways, you might say.

Quality to the customer. Achievement-orientation in the employee. Self-reliance through R & D.

And effective communication, one might add. From the organisation. And within the organisation.

May we then dare point out that both Bajaj Auto and Hindustan Lever have acquired the Entel MegaMonitor.

Just like over a hundred other fine institutions all over India.

And thousands more overseas, who use the Entel MegaMonitor's counterpart. From NEC, Japan.

The Presenter's Favourite. In Board Rooms, Training Centres and Conference Halls

Training Managers, Marketing Managers, Admin Managers. Smart managers love the big advantages of the Entel MegaMonitor.

But first, what exactly is a MegaMonitor?

It's a giant colour televiewer

With a flat screen that's 4 times that of the homely twenty-inch. With perfect picture clarity and brilliant resolution. And a complete set of video and audio terminals. For a VCR, video camera, video disc, antenna, etc.

It's an out-size computer monitor

With a built-in interface, computer data can be presented just as easily.

It's a live sound system

With a plug-in microphone, the presenter's comments can be interpolated at will. A second microphone permits audience participation.

The Entel MegaMonitor. You're in control

With a wireless remote control in hand, you are literally the boss.

Besides, all the controls are simple. There is no need to have a technician hanging around.

There are no wires to trip over. None of the inelegance of front-projection video. None of the clumsiness of a separate sound system. (And of course, none of the miniaturising of the domestic TV.)

The Entel MegaMonitor. It's state-of-the-art

Behind the simplicity, there's high technology. From NEC, naturally. Pioneers in professional communication systems.

You name it, and the Entel MegaMonitor has it. PAL and NTSC options. Channel coverage from VHF 2 to UHF 69. Direct access channel selection. Voltage synthesised electronic tuning. Woofers and tweeters. Provision for external speakers. And more.

Professional features, put together cleverly — for amateur handling.

The Entel MegaMonitor. Is it too big for me?

Despite the screen size, it can be viewed comfortably from as close as 1.8 metres.

And it's no deeper than the domestic TV. The Entel MegaMonitor can fit snugly into a small boardroom. (Just as it can cope with an audience of hundreds, across 30 metres.)

The picture is so bright, you don't have to dim the lights. The audience can take notes — and interact.

The idea, as you can see, is effective communication. A cornerstone of every successful enterprise.

Join the Successful Communicators

Don't wait. Come for a free demonstration of the Entel MegaMonitor. See what it can do for you, and your organisation.

ENTEL COMMUNICATION PRODUCTS PVT. LTD
532 Sandhurst Bridge, Opera House
Bombay 400 007.
Telephone: 811 2541, 811 5245
Telex: 011-73965 FFFF IN

Sales & Service Offices all over India

☐ Please send us more information.
☐ Please have your representative call on us.
☐ Please arrange a demonstration.

Name: _____

Designation: _____

Address: _____

_____

_____

_____

Telephone: _____

Entel MegaMonitor

In the best company

NETWORK/ECP/1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS · 1989 ·

The elections for the Tamil Nadu, Nagaland and Mizoram assemblies come at a time when the nation is passing through political upheavals. The results of this mini-general elections will be a pointer to the bigger battle due this year, and will set the tone for them. With the stakes so high, the regional parties and the Congress(I) are concentrating on strategies—invoking the gods of the past, searching for high-profile candidates who can deliver, and whipping up parochial fervour. And with every passing day the din of battle grows louder.

TAMIL NADU

Invoking Legacies

Ghosts of former leaders dominate poll rhetoric

THE battle lines were clearly drawn last fortnight for the crucial Tamil Nadu Assembly elections. The tussle this time is strangely amongst the ghosts of three former chief ministers, M.G. Ramachandran, C. Annadurai and K. Kamaraj who still hold a psychic sway over the people of the state.

All strategic points and walls throughout the state have been plastered with life-size posters and cut-outs of the former chief ministers and nostalgic eulogies are being sung. There was hardly a leader, including Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who didn't swear by the name of one of these late leaders. The Congress(I) had even planned a massive rally in Virudnagar, Kamaraj's home town where Rajiv was scheduled to release the election manifesto. And in the cacophony of hero-worshipping were drowned the real issues and the merits of the candidates and the plight of the three-crore Tamil voters.

Yet all the parties went through the tortuous motion of selection of candidates and issuing cliche-ridden election manifestos. Though none of them could chalk out a well-defined poll strategy which would ensure their victory at the hustings, the stage was finally set for an epic four-cornered battle amongst the Congress(I), the two factions of the AIADMK, and the DMK-led National Front.

And in the absence of an effective slogan, each of the parties put more effort in the selection of candidates, wooing the cadres and the middle-level leadership and forging alliances with the smaller parties which could ensure block voting in a few pockets. As the last date for withdrawal closed, the state witnessed new alliances being forged with friends turning enemies and enemies becoming friends. Even the film stars who dominated the state's politics have shifted their loyalties to the new parties and new

■ Jayalalitha; and (right) Kamaraj's cut-out and Moopanar: encashing on past heroes

SHYAM TEKWANI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

leaders. And for the first time in Tamil Nadu's elections since 1972, the regional parties have been pitted against the Congress. Said G.K. Moopanar, TNCC(I) chief and the party's candidate for chief ministership: "For the first time we have given the people of Tamil Nadu a clear option to choose a national party to power and join the national mainstream. We will not let them down." Retorted M. Karunanidhi, the acerbic DMK chief: "We will not let anyone dilute the Tamil identity which only we can protect."

Despite the confusing picture there has been no dearth of candidates or money. Almost every party, barring the Janaki faction, received over 3,000 applications for the 234 seats. But it was the DMK which has gone through the screening and selection of candidates in an organised way. Karunanidhi and three other members of the party's parliamentary board sat for over 12 hours a day for 12 days and interviewed each candidate.

Though it is an open secret that M.K. Stalin, son of Karunanidhi, had a major say in finalising the list, often overruling the opinion of other senior members in the party, the DMK projected a united front. Nearly 50 per cent of those selected were new entrants, in the age group of 25 to 35 years. Weightage has also been given to professionals and those who had undergone imprisonment for the cause of the party. In all, 15 of the 22 former MLAs were given tickets. Interestingly, all the senior leaders, including Karunanidhi (Harbour constituency) and K. Anbazhagan (Anna Nagar) have opted for urban seats—the DMK's stronghold. Claimed G. Gopalasamy, DMK's campaign secretary: "We have given the best team to the people."

But DMK's arch rival Jayalalitha claimed even greater demand for her party's tickets. According to her over 5,000 applications were scrutinised by her party's seven-member selection board from which 1000 were shortlisted. Approval was given only after the background information about each candidate, stored in her personal computer, was checked out. Each aspirant had to deposit a refundable Rs 1 lakh along with the application. In less than a week she received over Rs 3.70 crore and the bank where the money was deposited had to post eight officials at the party's office for collecting it. Explained Jayalalitha: "We fixed such a big amount to eliminate non-serious candidates. But we have also chosen candidates who didn't have the money but deserved the ticket on merit."

The symbol of 'cock' which the Election Commission allotted to her faction after freezing the famous 'two leaves' symbol of the undivided AIADMK turned

M. KARUNANIDHI

"We will protect Tamil identity"

Muthuvel Karunanidhi, the 65-year-old DMK leader and former Tamil Nadu chief minister, is getting ready for the most decisive battle in his 30-year-old political career. Sitting in his room in Anna Arivalayam, the posh party headquarters, he talked to LALITA DILEEP. *Excerpts:*

Q. *What are the main election issues of your party?*

A. We are going to speak out against corruption of both the local opponents as well as of the Congress(I) which is still being dogged by the Bofors scandal. This is the first election since 1971, in which regional parties have been pitted against a national party.

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Q. *Who is going to be your main opponent in the elections?*

A. Most definitely the Congress(I). And we will have to deal with the Congress's huge resources and blatant misuse of state government machinery to its advantage.

Q. *Is it not going to be Jayalalitha ? She herself dubs the fight as being between herself and your party.*

A. Jayalalitha is not even worth a comment from me. I just don't take her seriously enough. There is no point in asking me this question.

Q. *Why do you think that the people will elect a regional party?*

A. Because we will be able to protect the Tamil identity. Only the DMK is left to safeguard the interest of Tamilians, their culture and their rights. No national party can ensure that. Moreover, if the Congress comes to power in Tamil Nadu it will impose Hindi on the state.

Q. *What has been your criteria for selecting candidates?*

A. We have given weightage to new faces. Nearly 50 per cent of the total contestants are those making their political debut. Another qualification which we have taken into consideration is that the candidate should be educated, preferably a professional who has been loyal to the party, and has also sacrificed a lot for the party.

Q. *Don't you think that the concept of the National Front has failed?*

A. No. We were willing to accommodate everybody according to their electoral base. We are not expected to surrender our dominant position.

Q. *Why are all the senior leaders of your party, and your son Stalin contesting from the city constituencies?*

A. It is much easier for us if we contest from the urban constituencies. This leaves us enough time to tour the state, helping our other candidates.

Q. *With multicornered contests, do you think any party will be able to get a majority of its own ?*

A. I can sense that the people are ready for a change. The 1986 panchayat and municipal elections where the DMK scored an impressive victory over AIADMK, even when MGR was alive, is a pointer to the changing mood of the people of Tamil Nadu. Tamilians want the restoration of Dravidian rule in the state.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

out to be a boon. According to local politicians, the new symbol will give her a distinct edge because the election is being held on January 21, the day of the *Thaipusam* festival, associated with Lord Muruga whose standard has the cock insignia. Moreover, Jayalalitha had acted in a film *Thani Piravi* in which MGR played the role of Muruga. Madras was in fact plastered with film posters of MGR and Jayalalitha soon after the symbol was allotted to her party.

In the Janaki Ramachandran camp, however, there was not much euphoria. The party had received the minimum number of applications and there was hardly any scramble for tickets. MGR's widow herself opted for Andipatti constituency, her husband's stronghold. The first list released by her faction included four former ministers, all of them belonging to the anti-Veerappan lobby. Amongst the initial announcements were the names of S. Muthuswami (Erode constituency) and P.H. Pandian (Cherannadevi in Tirunelveli district). She also forged an alliance with Sivaji Ganesan's Tamizhaga Munnetra Munnani which he floated after walking out of the Congress(I) last year.

For the Congress(I), the selection process proved to be the most troublesome. In all 3,970 applications were received at Kamaraj Bhavan, the party's sprawling headquarters. The pradesh election committee, headed by Moopanar—including five Central observers—camped in the city for two days but could not come to a consensus. Instead it led to dissensions coming into the open with T. Thangabalu, one of the PCC(I) general secretaries, protesting against

M.K. STALIN

Heir Apparent

THE 'Rising Sun' is not merely the symbol of the DMK in Tamil Nadu. It now also signifies the ascent of M.K. Stalin, 35, the third son of DMK leader M. Karunanidhi within the party hierarchy. Indeed, in the stellar role of the 'rising son' he threatens to eclipse the party's symbol in the coming electoral battle.

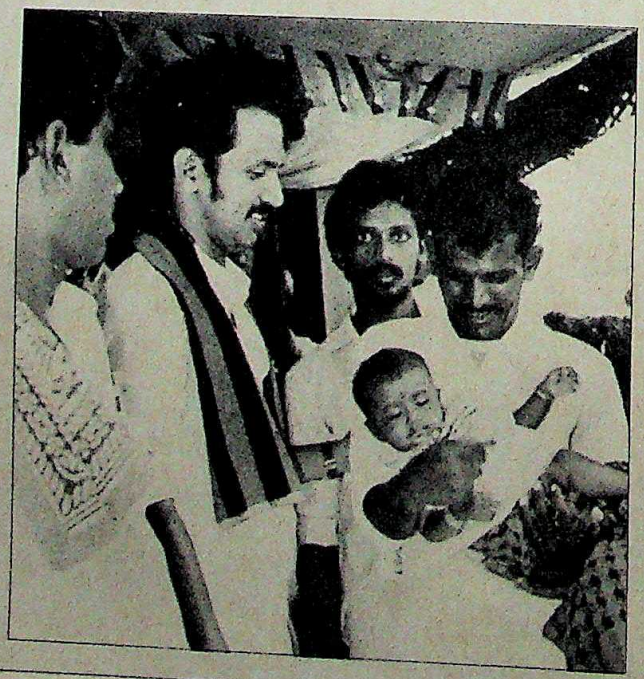
The elections will be crucial for the DMK supremo's successor-designate, who lost the 1984 elections by a margin of 2,000 votes to K.A. Krishnaswamy of the AIADMK. And they will mark Stalin's public debut after years of running the party show from behind-the-scenes.

The debut in any case is coming after much-publicised dithering by him and a categorical announcement by Karunanidhi that his son would not contest. The favoured constituency is likely to be Thousand Lights in Madras city.

Curly-haired and of a slight build that belies his years, Stalin heads the five-lakh-strong "Youth Wing" of the DMK. A member of the party since the age of 14, like his father before him, Stalin has been steadily consolidating his position in recent years. While studying at Madras Christian College and Presidency College, he continued to head the local division of the DMK. In 1976, after he graduated, Stalin was elected as General Council member. In 1981, the party's youth wing was launched with a Re 1 membership and soon it became one-lakh-strong. Today, its ranks have swelled to a staggering five lakh members, adding tremendous clout to Stalin's already considerable influence. Consequently, nearly 50 per cent of the party tickets have been allotted to his young cadres.

Stalin's rise is remarkable given the reinforced democratic and organisational structure of the DMK. However, there is no denying that his elevation has created sharp differences within the party. Says V. Gopalaswamy, MP and presently election secretary of the party: "Stalin is the rising star of the DMK, but he has come up from the ranks and worked hard for many years." Another senior member, however, is less charitable: "Stalin is where he is today because he is Karunanidhi's son." Doubtless he has alienated some of the old guard, who feel their seniority and contributions have come to nothing in the face of Stalin's phenomenal ascent.

■ DMK youth leader Stalin naming a newly-born child: controversial role



The man at the centre of the controversy is however not too sure that being Karunanidhi's son is such a plus point. Says he: "The fact that my father is the leader of the party is a disadvantage. I am scared of him and can hardly work up enough courage to speak in his presence." He carries his worshipful attitude far, declaring: "I also lack his extraordinary felicity with the pen, though I am trying to improve my skills with small contributions to our party paper."

Stalin, who is married with two young children, has definitive views on the coming elections. Says he: "I see the Congress as our biggest adversary, since it is an all-India party with the influence and money power that goes with it." He dismisses suggestions that the people will not vote the DMK back to power: "Our overwhelming victory in the 1985 panchayat and municipal elections is a clear indication of the thinking of the public. For 13 years, when we have been out of power, we have continued to serve the public highlighting issues like the Sri Lankan problem." He also disclaims that there are rumblings within the party.

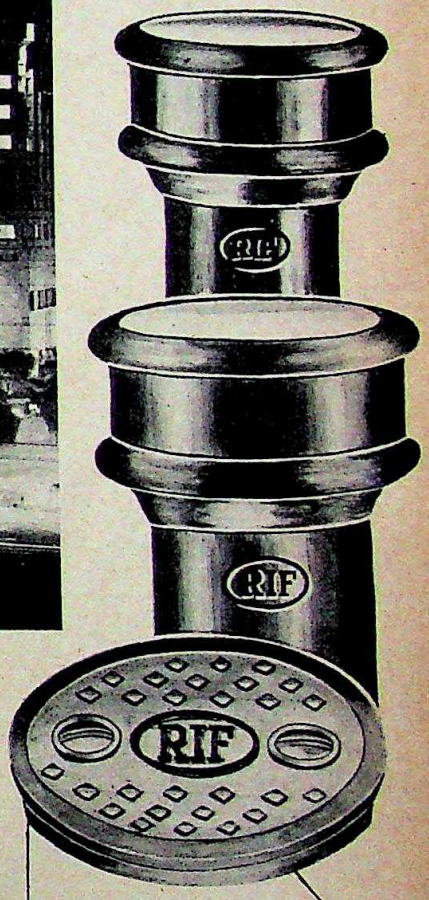
The truth in Stalin's assertions will soon be known. For the rising son holds the keys to Karunanidhi's electoral fortunes, and these are about to be put to the test.

—LALITA DILEEP

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Why the best builders always rely on this seal of assurance



It's obvious.
Because when it comes to choosing cast iron products, there can be no compromise on quality.

Every RIF product goes through stringent quality control. That's why RIF cast iron products are always more dependable. Leak proof, sturdier and able to withstand exacting weather conditions. It ensures hygienic sanitation.

So next time you recommend or buy a cast iron product, be sure it's RIF. Look for the RIF logo embossed on it, to ensure it is genuine.

- CAST IRON PIPES
- PIPE FITTINGS
- MANHOLE COVERS
- FLUSHING CISTERNS

RIF®

RAJ IRON FOUNDRY
Sultan Ganj Agra, 282004
Phones: 76360, 61315

Casting iron into excellence.

anubhuti

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the closed-door meeting. And two days before the prime minister left on his China trip, Moopanar and others met him in Delhi but were told to come out with a consensus. In fact, he deputed Sheila Dixit to sit with the Congress(I) leaders and ascertain the views of all the MPs before finalising the list.

Dixit met the state election committee members for two days at her office in the Parliament Annexe but could not thrash out a consensus. And when the Congress Parliamentary Board met on December 17, it decided to await the prime minister's return from China to finalise the list. This was because most of the prospective candidates, like Union ministers P. Chidambaram, R. Prabhu and M.L. Arunachalam and prominent MPs like Thangabalu, R. Kumaramangalam and Jayanthi Natrajan, were reluctant to face assembly elections. Their names were suggested on the plea that the Congress(I) could project a team for ruling the state. But when Rajiv returned from his China trip, the party was still not in a position to present him a final list. A list of 197 names was finally approved after a marathon seven-hour meeting with Rajiv.

The issue of alliances proved a taxing one for several parties and talks on electoral understandings continued until the very last date for withdrawal of nominations. The DMK aligned itself with the Muslim League faction led by Abdul Lateef and granted it five seats. It also struck an understanding with the CPI(M) and the Janata Dal. However, talks with the CPI broke down completely with DMK offering it only seven seats against its demand for 20. Finally the CPI struck an understanding with the Jayalalitha faction of the AIADMK.

Once it became clear that the Congress(I) would not align with the Jayalalitha faction, the national party allotted 25 seats to minor electoral allies. The Jayalalitha faction also came to an understanding with the Janata Party led by Pon Vijayaraghavan, granting it 21 constituencies and worked out adjustments with the Sivasami and Chellamuthu factions of the minuscule Toilers' Party and also one of the groups of the Republican Party of India. Talks between the CPI and the Jayalalitha faction were also concluded, with the communists being allotted 20 seats.

In the next few weeks the political jigsaw in the state is expected to fall into place. But right now it is the battle of the ghosts that overshadows all else and dominates the Tamil Nadu stage.

—PRABHU CHAWLA in Madras
with LALITA DILEEP

MIZORAM

The Bubble Bursts

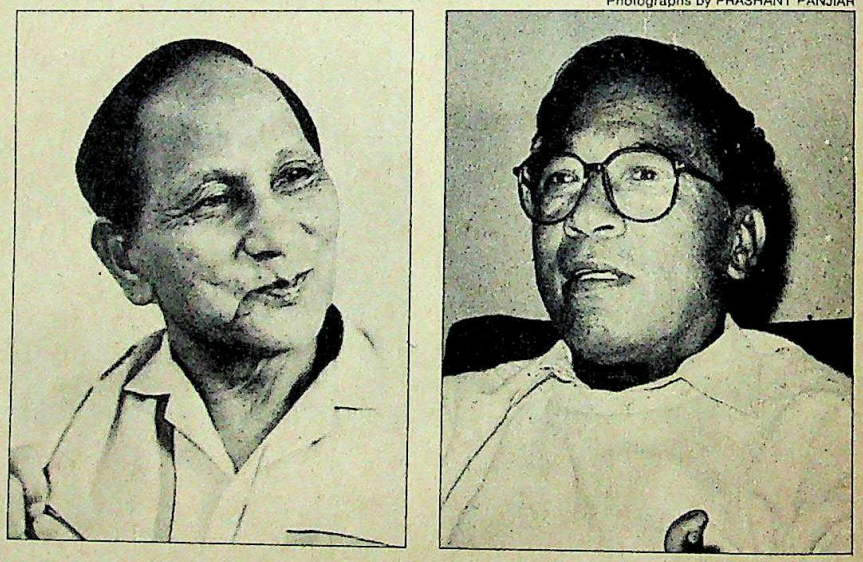
MNF faces a disenchanted electorate

WHEN Laldenga strode into power last year, the Mizos were exultant. The young and the old wept with joy to see the return of his underground Mizo National Front (MNF) army to the national mainstream.

Only 18 months later, the mood has undergone a sea change. The euphoria has vanished and so have the crowds that he attracted. The feeling is that the MNF has betrayed the aspirations of the Mizos. The people are not even sure that his government was less corrupt than the previous Congress(I) government.

ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS · 1989 ·

Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR



■ Brigadier T. Sailo (left); and Laldenga: no easy run this time

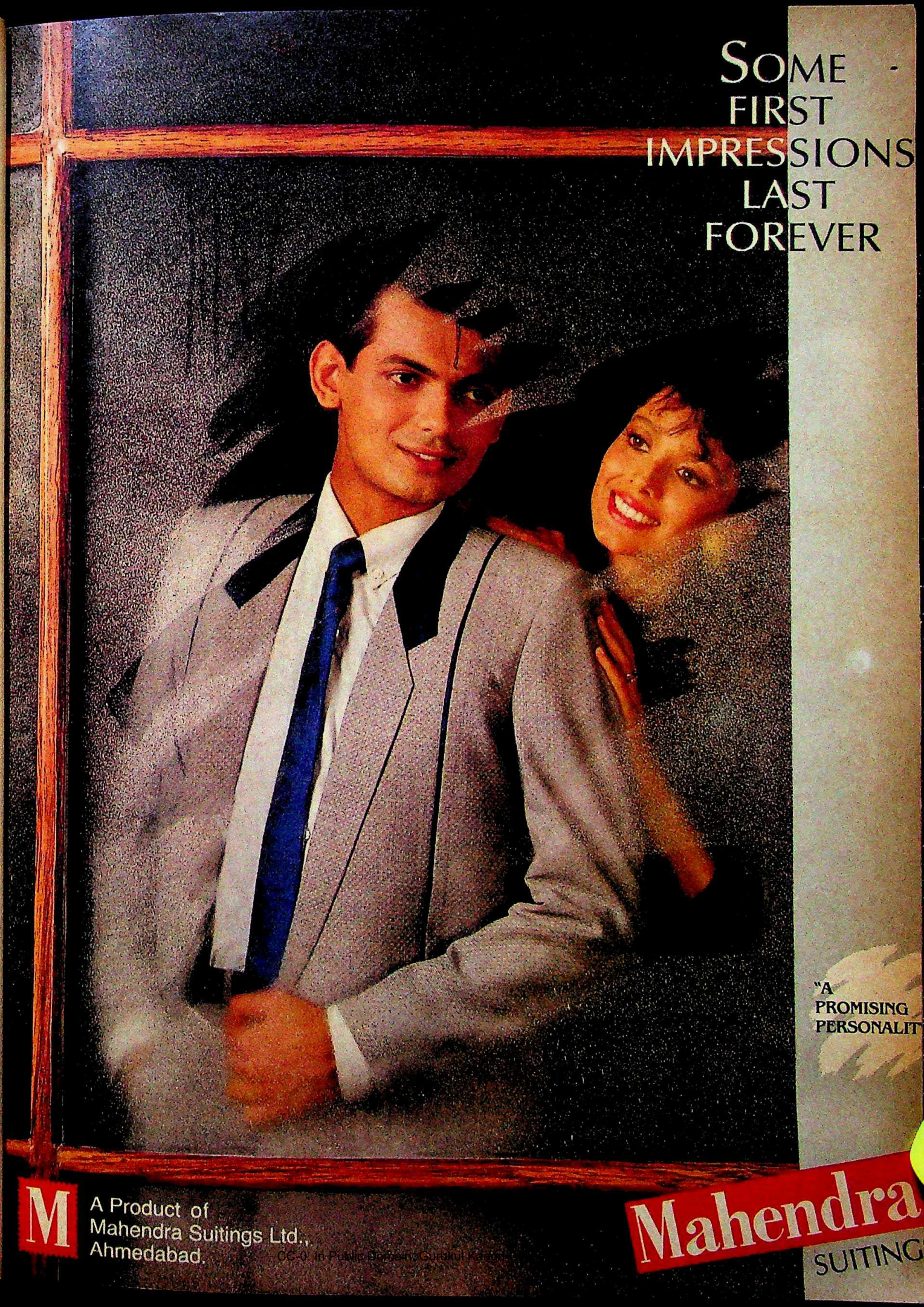
Last year the MNF won 24 seats, the Congress(I) just 13 and the People's Conference, a regional party, three. The three parties will be contesting the elections to 40 assembly seats, scheduled on January 21. The Congress(I) is to compete for only 34 seats as it has given six seats to the MNF(Democratic), a breakaway group. A vertical split in the party, encouraged by the Congress(I), took place in early September when nine MLAs deserted Laldenga.

Says Laldenga: "The people will vote us back into power. The Mizos do not like defectors and turncoats." Despite his brave words it is clear that Laldenga faces a tough battle. Most of his supporters have joined the opposition camp. Only those whom he favoured with government contracts and plum posts are left. He no longer enjoys the support of the youth who are now flocking to People's Conference meetings. Worst of all, the Church is unhappy with him over his move to distribute liquor permits early this year. Recently the churches of Mizoram issued a joint appeal asking the people to vote for candidates who are not corrupt and who will fight social evils like drinking.

The Congress(I), which had virtually lost its base in the state, is making inroads again. But by making the MNF(D) its electoral ally, it has created problems in the party. Partymen are bitter as it has narrowed their chances of getting a ticket. Says Lalthanhawla, PCC(I) chief and former chief minister: "This is only a passing phase. We are morally committed to accommodate the MNF(D). Our partymen will soon accept it."

Governor Hiteswar Saikia, a Congress(I) loyalist, is doing more to refurbish the party's image than any one else. As soon as President's Rule was announced on September 7, Saikia got busy. In a move calculated to touch the Mizo heart, rice, which was selling in the market at Rs 16 a kilo, was airlifted from Assam and the distribution system streamlined.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Wishing you
a very happy
and
prosperous
New Year

INDIAN RAILWAY
FINANCE CORPORATION LTD.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This year, take a fresh look at your tax planning. Invest in Railway Bonds. From IRFC... the Railways' fund of confidence. An organisation committed to the speedier development and modernisation of the Indian Railways.

Railway Bonds. Totally Tax-free. Fully secured. Offering you high yields but with zero risk. With interest payable right from the date of realization of application money. And redeemable at par after 10 years.

The revolution on rails is on. Cash in.
And make your New Year a truly prosperous one!

INVEST IN

9% TAX FREE RAILWAY BONDS

HIGHLIGHTS

- **Interest exempt from income Tax without any limit**
- Choice of 2 interest schemes — Cumulative & Non-cumulative
- 9% interest p.a., payable at six-monthly intervals under Non-cumulative Scheme
- Under Cumulative Scheme, total interest yield of Rs. 1411.71 —an annual return of 14.12%
- Under Non-cumulative Scheme, Bonds will be issued alongwith post-dated interest warrants which can be encashed automatically on due dates
- Interest payable right from the date of realisation of application money
- Investment exempt from Wealth Tax up to Rs. 5 lacs alongwith other exempted assets
- Easily transferable by simple endorsement and delivery
- Listing at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras Stock Exchanges
- Redeemable after 10 years
- Buy-back at par after 3 years for individuals
- Fully secured
- Accepted by Indian Railways as security in lieu of bid/performance guarantees, earnest money and security deposits

RAILWAY 9% TAX FREE BONDS

AWAIT FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENT

Lead Managers to the Issue

SBI Capital Markets Limited Bombay

Managers to the Issue

Indian Bank
Merchant Banking Division
New Delhi

INDIAN RAILWAY FINANCE CORPORATION LTD.
(A Government of India Enterprise)
Regd. Office : Ansal Chamber No. 1, Block A,
4th Floor, Bhikaiji Cama Place, R.K. Puram, New Delhi-110 066.

Sobhagya/290/88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The European Connection.

Short transit times, fast ground handling facilities and excellent onward connections make Lufthansa's Frankfurt the best gateway to Europe and the world.

Lufthansa

LH 5707-1 DEL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He got the Centre's clearance for a Rs 154-crore hydel project, which will make the state self-sufficient in power. Then Saikia turned to Aizawl's drinking water problem. He got the greater Aizawl water supply scheme completed on a war footing. He also tried to mitigate the grievances of government employees, teachers and policemen.

Thanks to him, Congress(I) loyalists in the bureaucracy are back in the reckoning. Lalkhama, former chief secretary, who was removed by Laldenga, has been reinstated and other Congress(I) sympathisers upgraded.

The Congress(I) manifesto attempts to please the majority Christian population by promising to revise the school syllabus to orient it with Christian principles and Mizo culture. The manifesto also favours 90 per cent reservations in government jobs for Mizos and at least one job per family.

While the MNF has nothing to boast of by way of achievements, Laldenga is projecting himself as a victim of immoral politics. He says that before he got started his government was toppled undemocratically by Rajiv Gandhi. The MNF manifesto is not very different from that of last year, promising food for all, an end to shifting cultivation and land to the landless.

But it is the People's Conference manifesto that has caught the imagination of the people. It says its goal is to unite Mizos living in neighbouring states and countries, amalgamate their territory and create a greater Mizoram.

Spinning the dream for the five lakh population of Mizoram and another 20 lakh living outside the state is Brigadier Thenphunga Sailo, president of the People's Conference and former chief minister. He has also organised an uniformed band of supporters called the Zoro Reunification Volunteers.

A section of the Mizos fear that if the movement—which has got tremendous emotional support—takes off, it will lead to fresh insurgency. Says Laldenga: "The Centre should be careful as the demand cuts across international borders." Adds K.L. Rochama, former Congress(I) MLA: "It is a dangerous movement."

Just a few months ago, the People's Conference was a virtual non-entity in state politics. Ever since Sailo raised the unification slogan in May, the party's ranks have swollen. Apart from this, the party has a comparatively clean image. Even though it is not likely that the party will emerge with a majority, it may decide whether Laldenga or Lalthanhawala will form the Government.

—RAMESH MENON

NAGALAND

No Scruples

Regionalism, chaos before poll

ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS · 1989 ·

THERE were two striking features of the electoral scene in Nagaland: the Opposition's anti-India rhetoric; plus the factional infighting within the Congress(I).

As election day, January 21, drew close, confusion and chaos characterised the Congress(I) camp as contenders for the chief minister's crown went on a collision course. Battling for the party's leadership were two former chief ministers—Hokishe Sema and S.C. Jamir. A reputed Naga leader, Sema had been the most recent occupant of the chief minister's chair. But in July, the defection of 13 of the Congress(I)'s 34 MLAs (in a House of 60) had led to the collapse of his government and the imposition of President's Rule on the state.

PRASHANT PANJIAR

■ Jamir: shrewd manoeuvres

A nationalist, Sema's uprightness had made him a misfit in Nagaland's corruption-ridden, xenophobic politics and he was unable to win the loyalty of his MLAs. In contrast, Jamir—who is alleged to have masterminded the Sema government's collapse—is a consummate politician, a survivor. And as the two men clashed last fortnight, the ultimate loser was the Congress(I): the party had no manifesto even three weeks before the polls; while the list of candidates was undecided till virtually the last moment. And in a hilarious twist, posters appeared in Kohima, saying that instead of Sema or Jamir, former minister Chingwang Konyak should be handed leadership of the party.

Laughing his sides off was President of the Nagaland People's Conference (NPC), Vamuzo. For the former leader of the Opposition in the dismissed assembly, December had been an uncommonly good month. Early in the month, the Guwahati High Court ruled that Governor K.V. Krishna Rao's report recommending dissolution of the assembly was "unacceptable". (The governor's decision had indeed been partisan since Vamuzo was clearly in a position to form a government as the 13 Congress(I) defectors had joined hands with his party and the speaker had recognised the coalition). As can only be expected, the Opposition will be using the judgement to embarrass the Congress(I). Admits Vamuzo: "The judgement will help us as the Nagas feel cheated."

Even more embarrassed than the Congress(I) is Governor Rao, whose removal has now become one of the Opposition's principal demands. Says Chalie Kevichusa, secretary-general of the NPC: "The judgement was an indictment of the governor who had acted as a Congress(I) agent." Added another NPC leader: "With Rao at the helm, free and fair polls cannot be held."

But the Opposition too displayed a remarkable lack of scruples, making anti-India propaganda their chief electoral plank. Maintaining that Indian "colonialism" had placed the Naga's identity in danger, NPC campaigners stressed that only a regional party can fulfil the people's aspirations. NPC leaders like K.L. Chisi did not baulk at whipping up Naga sub-nationalism to dangerous levels, suggesting that ultimately it was for the people to decide whether they wanted to live within the parameters set by the Indian Constitution.

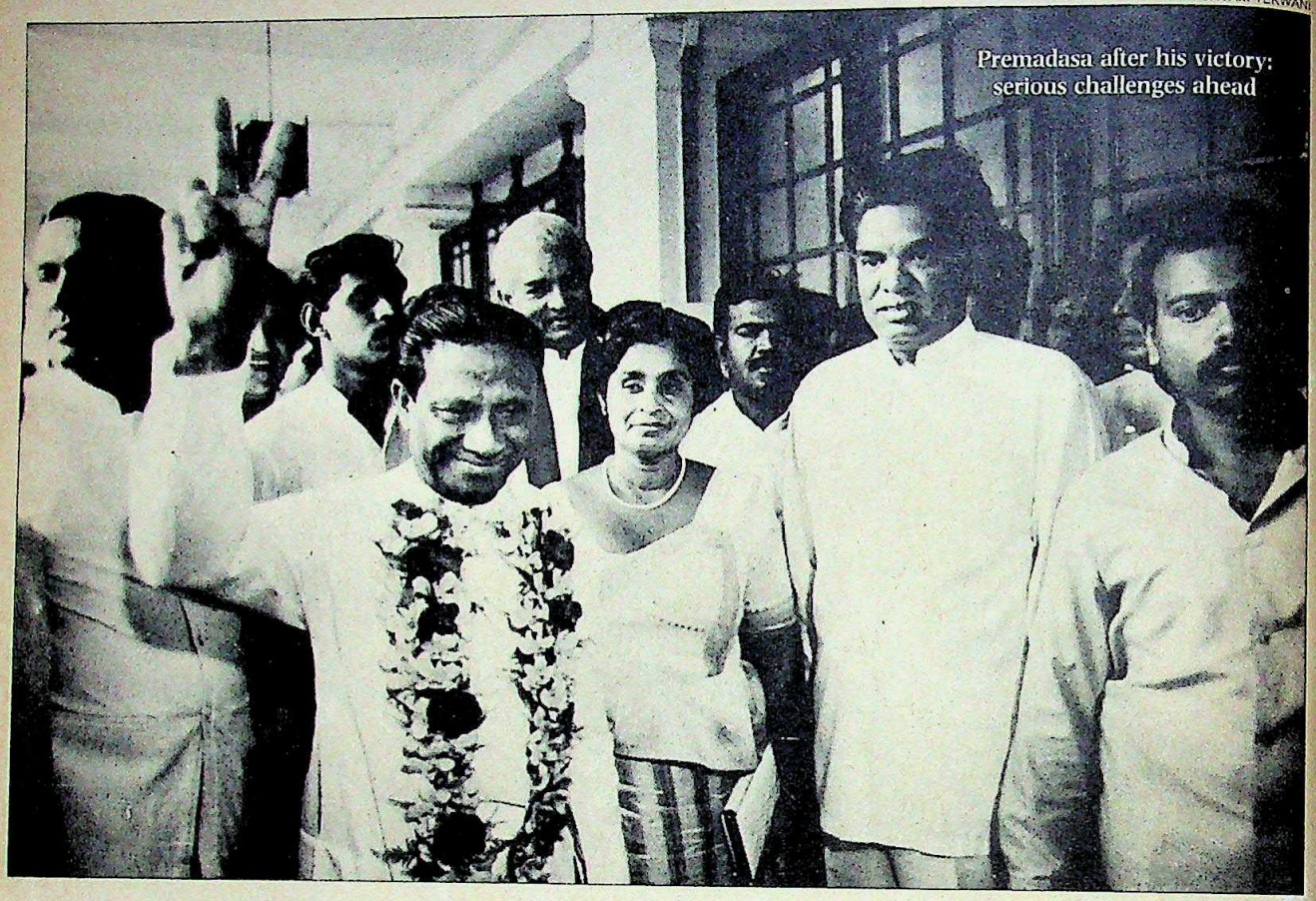
No match for the Opposition's jingoism, the Congress(I) sought refuge in money power. As votes in Nagaland are said to have a price, elections there are among the costliest in the country. So, to raise funds, government contracts were hastily handed out to pro-Congress businessmen. During the last polls the Congress(I) is estimated to have spent over Rs 30 crore to buy power in the thinly populated state of eight lakh. At that time, Jamir had raised a stink about the party's vote buying. This time around, he is unlikely to do so.

With bribery, infighting and regional chauvinism pushing issues to the background, more than anything else, these polls are an indicator of the depths to which political morality has plummeted in Nagaland. —RAMESH MENON

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHYAM TEKWANI



Premadasa after his victory: serious challenges ahead

SRI LANKA

Ballot over Bullet

Premadasa's victory indicates the Sri Lankan people's desire for an end to the continuing violence in the island republic. It was also a rebuff to Sirimavo Bandaranaike's confrontationist approach towards India. At one stroke the people delivered the message that they had had enough of both and wanted the country to be now steered towards the path of construction and progress. A report:

THE choice was between continuity and change, between Sinhala chauvinism and pragmatism, between reconciliation and confrontation and between peace and mayhem. Yet the majority of the 51 lakh voters, who chose Ranasinghe Premadasa as Sri Lanka's President for the next six years, failed to deliver a decisive verdict.

Though Premadasa defeated his nearest rival, Sirimavo Bandaranaike of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), by over 2.28 lakh votes, in reality he barely managed to poll more than 50 per cent votes, the mandatory requirement for the winning presidential candidate. It was also the lowest voter turn-out (55.32 per cent) and victory margin in the last 35 years. Premadasa polled 50.43 per cent of the votes as against 44.9 per cent received by Bandaranaike. The third contender, Ossie Abheygunasekera of the Sri Lankan Mahajan Party, lagged far behind with only 4.63 per cent votes.

The mandate nevertheless was taken to be for continuation of the United National Party's (UNP) economic and social programmes. It was also a partial endorsement of Sinhala chauvinism. The new president had identified himself with Sinhala sentiments against India's domination of the island's politics. But by rejecting Bandaranaike, the electorate clearly expressed its disapproval of her confrontationist approach towards India and her association with extremists, both Tamils and Sinhalese.

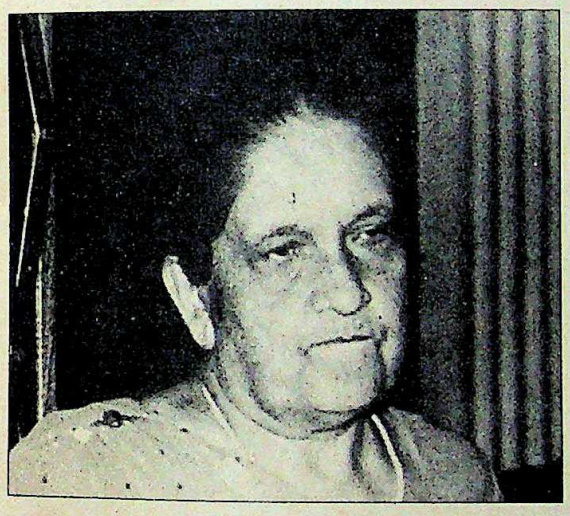
Declared Premadasa after his election: "This is a clear victory of the ballot over bullets....The politics of terror has no place in the temple of democracy." Added Gamini Dissanayake, a minister in the present government: "The result is a clear defeat for the forces of Sinhala opportunism and militancy. The election was be-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHYAM TEKWANI

Premadasa supporters celebrate



> "I have no doubt that I would have become President if the poll had been free and fair. I do not accept the results."
> SIRIMAVO BANDARANAIKE

tween two political parties, the UNP and the SLFP, and by voting us back to power,the people have endorsed everything we stand for."

Though the contest was triangular, it eventually turned out to be a straight fight between Premadasa and Bandaranaike. Both were perceived as being pro-Sinhala and against Tamil insurgency. But their parties offered diametrically divergent economic, social and political programmes. While Premadasa vowed to replace the Indo-Sri Lanka accord with a more favourable friendship treaty, Bandaranaike promised the annulling of the accord and the withdrawal of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) within 24 hours of her taking over. Bandaranaike assured the people of an end to discord and a return to the path of peace and Premadasa sought a vote for "peace, discipline and prosperity".

The narrow victory margin, however, provided a handle to Bandaranaike to cast doubts over the fairness of the election and reject the outcome as 'rigged'. Asserted the SLFP leader: "I have no doubt that I would have become President if the poll had been free and fair. I wish to state firmly that we do not accept the results of this presidential election." Added G.G Ponnambalam, a leading advocate and SLFP supporter: "I can't believe that by voting for the UNP, the Tamils of the north have endorsed the bombing and the killings by the Sri Lankan Government. Obviously there is something fishy in the voting pattern."

Undoubtedly, it was one of the most violent and keenly fought elections in the island's history. Ever since the outgoing President announced the dates for the poll about four months ago, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP)—an ultra left extremist organisation—stepped up its killing spree in the southern parts of the island. Over 500 people were killed in less than four months preceding the elections. According to UNP sources, the aim of the JVP was to take over the Government without facing the elections. But President Jayewardene withstood its pressure tactics and decided to go ahead with the poll. He conceded one of the demands by dissolving the UNP-dominated Parliament a few months before its term was to expire.

In fact, the elections were held under the threat of the bullet and not a day passed without a dozen people being mowed down in various parts of the island. And as election fever mounted, extremist violence rather than personalities became the key election issue. Even sensitive issues like the Indo-Sri Lanka accord and the ethnic conflict, took a back seat.

And it was during this period that Bandaranaike committed the cardinal mistake of aligning with the JVP and the LTTE in the north. To begin with, her party joined the eight-party Democratic People's Front with the JVP as one of the partners. But later the JVP withdrew from the front and issued an appeal for a boycott of the elections. As if this was not enough, her son Anura Bandaranaike travelled through the jungles to meet the LTTE underground leaders barely a week before the elections.

Predictably, the UNP was quick to exploit her overtures to the extremists. Premadasa charged her with encouraging the forces of terror which reposed no faith in democracy. The people were warned that if she came back to power, it would mean the return of gun-toting militants.

As a result of this propaganda Premadasa polled almost 30 per cent of the votes in Jaffna and Trincomalee districts. Admitted National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali: "We got the total support of Indian Tamils and Muslims. Sinhala intellectuals and the upper-middle class didn't vote for us." Said a pro-SLFP bureaucrat: "Bandaranaike would have been a sure winner had she not left everything to her son who turned out to be a slow learner in Sri Lanka's complex politics."

But in his victory Premadasa faces a serious challenge. He inherits a totally shattered economy, a doomed tourist industry, the most explosive ethnic divide and a demoralised citizenry. His biggest test will be in his attitude towards the Indo-Sri Lanka accord.

Though most of the senior ministers believe that Premadasa will find it difficult to ask the IPKF to withdraw immediately, it is more likely that he may ask for its symbolic and partial withdrawal because, as Dissanayake puts it: "The election has

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

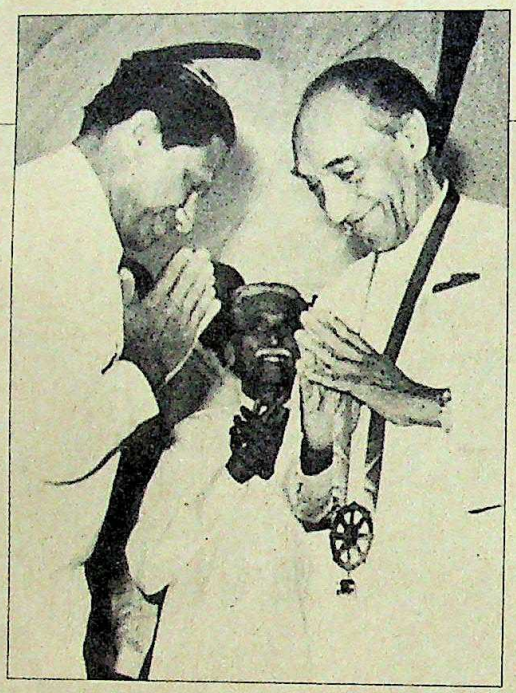
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

endorsed the accord." If there is only a partial withdrawal it will strengthen Premadasa's position in dealing with the JVP in the south.

The major confrontation will arise when Premadasa tries to push his idea of bifurcating the east from the north. By conducting the provincial elections in the north-east and installing a chief minister Jayewardene had almost completed the merger, barring the referendum which is likely to be held by the end of the year. But Premadasa has been silent on these vital issues. Explained Athulathmudali: "His tremendous patriotism has been totally misconceived as anti-Indian. This perception is likely to change soon because he is not anti-Indian."

But at the moment his eyes are set on the parliamentary elections which are due in February. And on the outcome of these elections will depend not only his credibility but also his ability to take tough decisions. He has already taken steps which indicate that he is not likely to carry on with the Jayewardene legacy. In fact, he even opted for a dialogue with the JVP against the wishes of the outgoing President. Says Dissanayake: "Premadasa is unlikely to continue the Jayewardene legacy. These legacies are good for developed countries only. In a developing country like ours things change very fast." But from all indications it is going to be a tightrope walk for the new ruler.

—PRABHU CHAWLA in Colombo



Premadasa with Jayewardene

RANASINGHE PREMADASA

A Shrewd Operator

HIS transformation was dramatic. It seemed as if the man changed visibly the minute Sri Lanka's Chief Election Commissioner declared him the winner. When 64-year-old Ranasinghe Premadasa, the newly-elected President rose to deliver his acceptance speech in the capital's Town Hall, his arrogance and aggressiveness were replaced with humility and reconciliation. The dark-complexioned oily-haired Premadasa was no hawk out to settle scores with his opponents. And at the end of his carefully-worded seven-minute speech, Premadasa emerged as a politician who was trying to find a new role for himself in embattled Sri Lanka—the role of a mediator.

Said the President-elect: "I will protect our constitution. I will eradicate fear and suspicion. I will restore law and order. I will serve all people alike without fear and favour." He stretched out a hand of friendship to those whom he had a few days earlier vowed to liquidate. Said a senior diplomat: "Since he has made it to the top his attempt will be to consolidate his position. He is capable of carrying the majority with him."

Premadasa's rise has been meteoric. For the first time in the island's 2500-year history a person from the lower Hinna caste had made it to the top. Until now, Goigamas, the landed elite, had ruled. Premadasa was born in a washerman's family and his mother used to sell cooked meat on the streets of Colombo. Premadasa was educated in a school run by a Buddhist monk. And at the age of 15 he joined a social movement *Suchiritha* (social consciousness amongst the low caste people).

He entered politics in 1960 when he was elected member of parliament on the United National Party (UNP) ticket. Eight years later he became minister for local government, a post which he held till 1970 when Sirimavo Bandaranaike defeated the UNP in parliamentary elections. Premadasa won his own seat and was made the leader of the Opposition in the House. And when Jayewardene was elected as President in 1977, he chose Premadasa as his prime minister a year later.

For the next decade he studied politics at close hand and honed his skills so fine that he earned the reputation of being the island's most crafty politician. After Jayewardene, that is. When Jayewardene found himself slipping during the last few crisis-ridden years, Premadasa distanced himself from his mentor and succeeded in creating an impression that he was not a party to any of the mistakes of the president.

While maintaining a low profile, he concentrated on carving his own niche within the UNP and identified himself with the common worker and the middle level leadership. When the presidential election drew near he projected himself as the only person who could take on the challenge of Mrs Bandaranaike.

And to establish his Sinhala bona fides, he chose the anti-India line on the thorny ethnic issue. When Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi went to sign the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord in July 1987, Premadasa not only refused to receive him at the airport, but stayed away from the signing ceremony. From then onwards he steadily attacked the accord and opposed the presence of Indian troops on the island.

Though his public posturings were anti-Tamil, he quietly opened a dialogue with Tamil and Muslim leaders. This was to serve him well in the future. He received the largest number of Tamil votes in the election though it earned him some hostility from the Sinhalese.

But his major asset has been his image of a decisive administrator. The successful implementation of his low income housing project during the last few years has also won him plaudits from the poor. Says Lalith Athulathmudali, Sri Lanka's minister for national security: "Premadasa has a lot on his side to prove the point that he is a doer and believes in action-oriented programmes." But this time round, both his instinct and decisiveness are on test.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'Thus to die were to attain to glory.' And the proud Nawab lost his kingdom but refused to submit.

कुंछ बात है कि मिटती हस्ती नहीं हमारी,
सदियों रहा है दुश्मन दौरे जहां हमारा।

The glorious Awadh, with its marble and mirrors and the magic of courtly splendour, fell to the British. But its fall gave rise to a passion for freedom. And before history could obscure the glory, there were the soldiers of India's first war of independence sieging the British Residency at Lucknow for forty-five days.

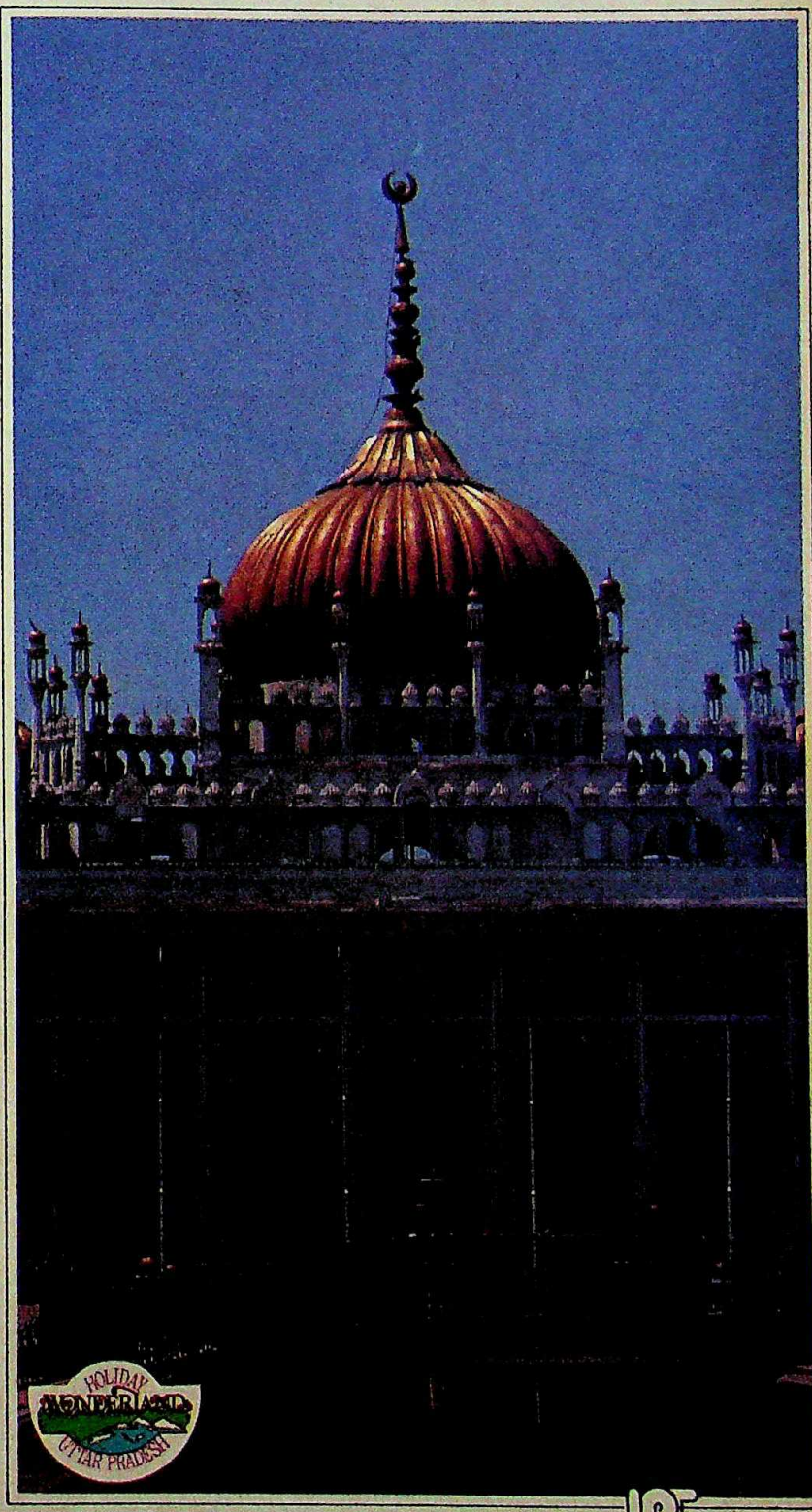
Uttar Pradesh evokes the memories of some of the most glorious moments in India's first war of independence.

Bithoor, a mute testimony to the valour of Peshwa Nana Saheb and Tatya Tope, remembering their triumphs and tragedies. Jhansi, poignant with the reminiscences of Rani Lakshmibai who, in her defiance to the British might, came to a tragic end but refused to yield. Meerut, where Mangal Pandey rose up in arms against an alien oppressor. Kanpur, where the British might fell to dust.

Many a time Uttar Pradesh has emerged from the mist of history and shone with a scintillating brilliance. Its cities and monuments are a witness. Agra, the city of the Mughal splendour. Fatehpur Sikri, Emperor Akbar's deserted capital. Mahoba, the fabled land of the legendary warriors, Alha and Udal.

Accessibility: Lucknow, Agra, Varanasi and Kanpur have direct air connections with the major cities of India. All the places in Uttar Pradesh are linked with a network of rail and road. Inter-state buses and luxury coaches ply between important cities of Uttar Pradesh and other states.

Accommodation: All the destinations offer wide-ranging accommodation facilities—from luxury hotels to youth hostels, dharamshalas and pilgrim sheds. In addition, UP Tourism provides 129 well-appointed stay-points at various tourist centres.



A glimpse of the bygone grandeur, the Imambara at Lucknow.

Uttar Pradesh.
The spirit lives on.

UP
U.P. Tourism
'Chitrahar', 3 Naval Kishore Road,
Lucknow 226001.

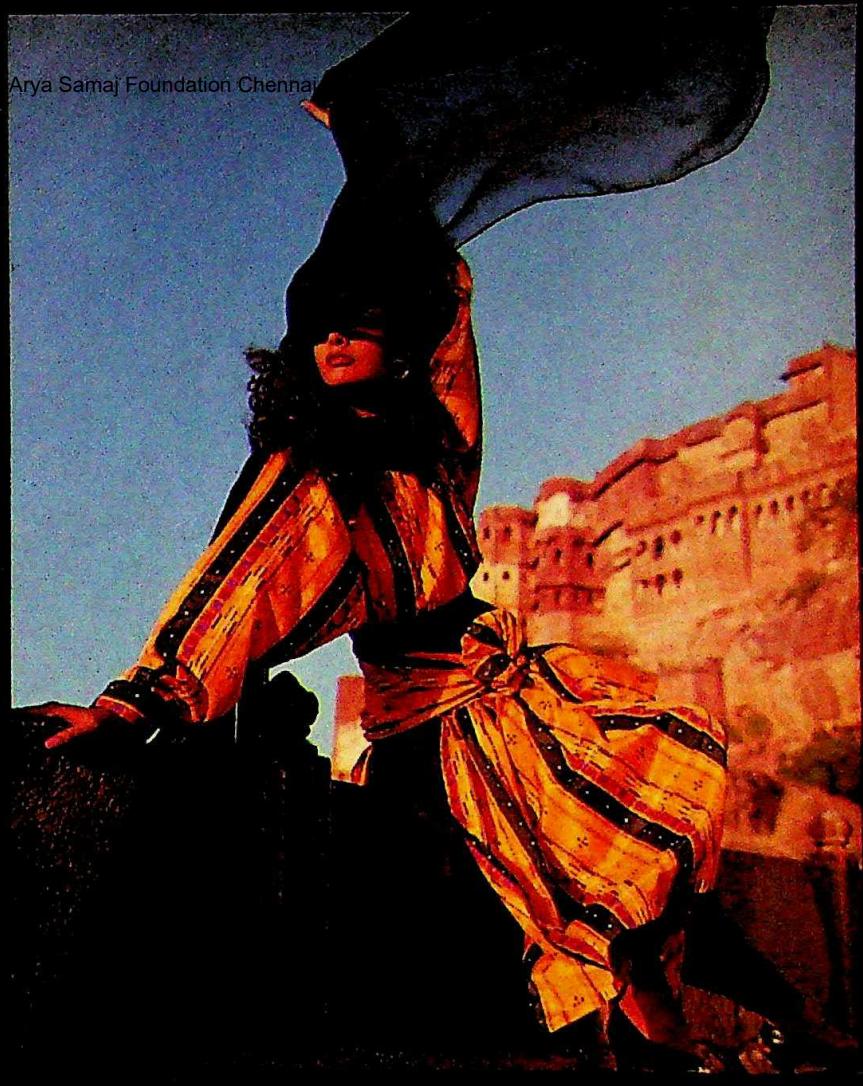
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ITDC/UPT/1523

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai

You are my passion
My fascination
You cast a spell on me
You fascinate me.

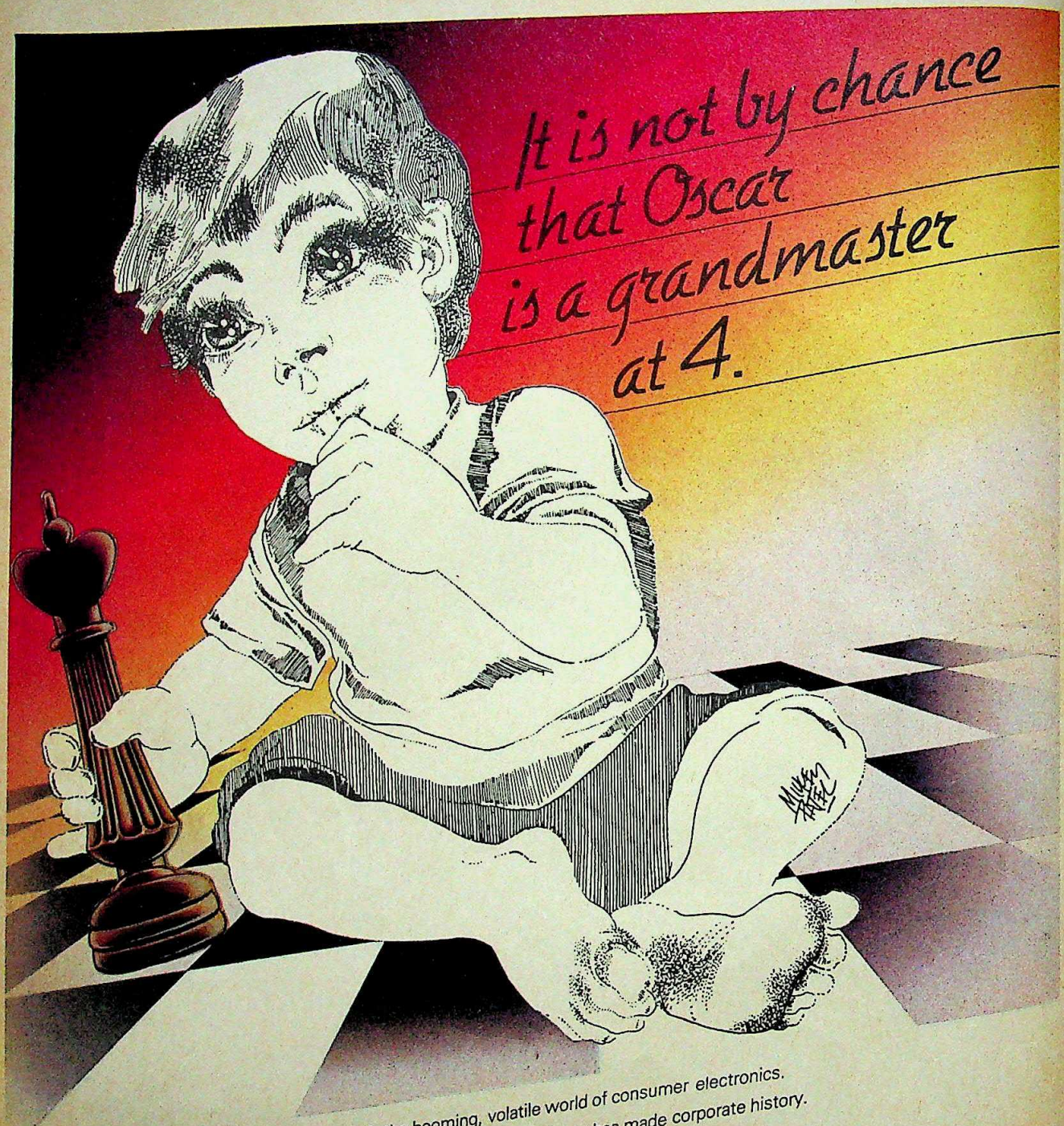


Garden*

VARELI

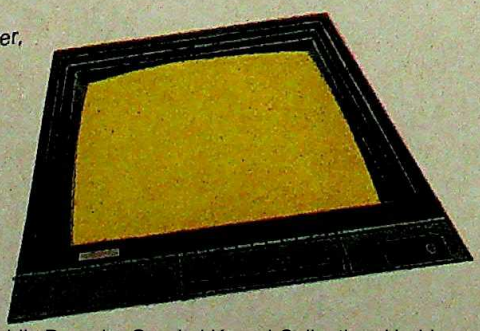
Kanchipuram Kanjivaram Collection - Handlooms

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



In 1984, Oscar began as just another company in the booming, volatile world of consumer electronics.
In the 4 explosive years since, while many others have dropped out, Oscar has made corporate history.
Today, Oscar's turnover is reaching beyond the 50 crores mark. 7 factories Indiawide produce over 17000 perfect Oscars every month. The distinction of making the largest range of Core TVs and pioneering the concept of black & white Cores is Oscar's. And, Oscar has recently launched India's first 71cm (28 inch) FST "PIP" set.

In its own way, Oscar too is an Indian grandmaster, and at only 4.



OSCAR

On our way

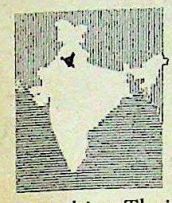
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HARYANA

Patriarch's Problems

Sons' misdemeanours embarrass Devi Lal

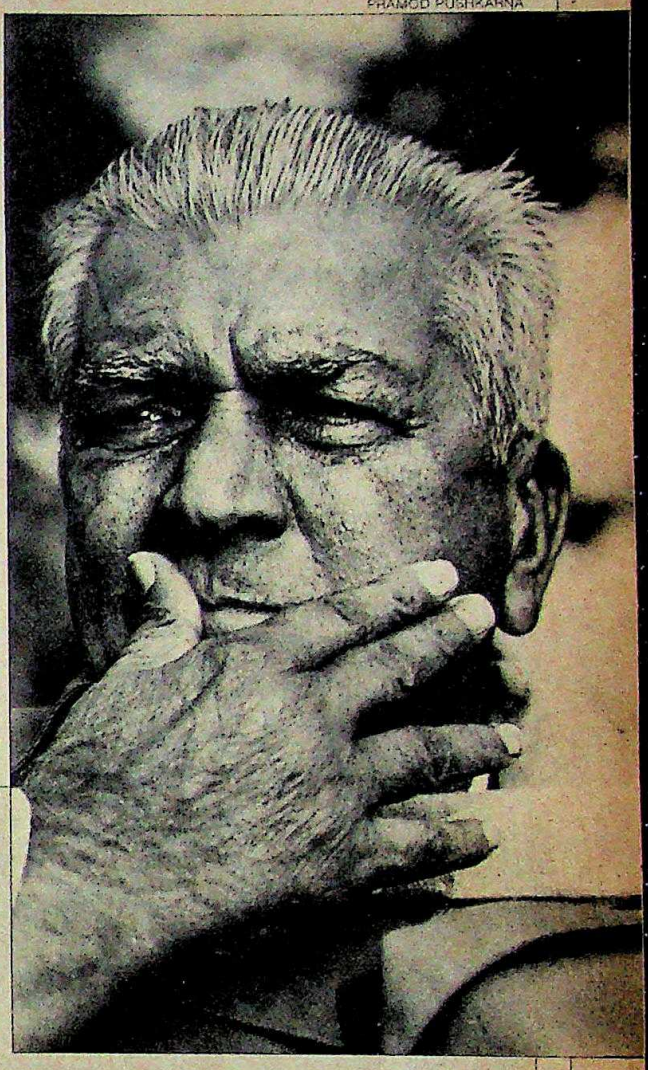


ON the national front, he plays father figure to a squabbling opposition. But at home in Haryana, the sins of Chief Minister Devi Lal's sons are being visited upon him. Their misdoings—some real, some imaginary, some magnified out of proportion by political rivals—have kept the strapping old kisan supremo on the defensive. And provided welcome fodder to the Congress(I) whose desperate search for material to sully the man who has become the lynch pin of opposition unity efforts, has been amply rewarded.

Devi Lal's sons have been hitting the headlines with unerring regularity. First it was the succession battle between eldest son Om Prakash Chautala and the third son Ranjit Singh which led to the threatened resignations of Devi Lal and state Home Minister Sampat Singh. Even before this incident had receded from public memory came the "accidental death" of Supriya, the newly wed wife of Om Prakash's younger son Abhay. And soon after, charges of rape were levelled against Devi Lal's youngest son Jagdish, an alcoholic.

Rameshwari, the wife of a small farmer, Banwari, of Chautala, Devi Lal's village, alleged that she'd been raped by Jagdish and an outcry was

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



DEVI LAL

"I'm treading carefully"

ONLY the early-rising scribe gets to interview Devi Lal these days. The best time is 6.30 a.m. when the old kisan supremo is fresh and rested. Associate Editor RAMINDAR SINGH *drove to Sohna tourist complex for a long, pre-breakfast conversation with him about his sons' involvement in scandals. Excerpts:*

Q. *You are regarded as the symbol of opposition unity. So your sons' escapades must be an embarrassment?*

A. My sons are my support. They take care of things. I am concerned only about Jagdish. He is a *sharabi-kababi*. The others are vegetarians and neither drink nor smoke.

Q. *Talking of Jagdish, what actually happened in the Rameshwari rape case?*

A. Banwari and his wife Rameshwari complained to me in Chandigarh that Jagdish had abused them and beaten them up. I called the Sirsa police chief and asked him to arrest Jagdish if the charges were true.

Q. *Why, then, was Jagdish not arrested?*

A. Because there was nothing in the case. Banwari has a land dispute with his three brothers. One of them, who was arrested on an excise charge, suspected that Banwari and his wife had complained about him. The brothers took Jagdish along (to Banwari's house) to sort out the dispute. Jagdish was drunk that day.

Q. *Did Banwari tell you his wife had been raped by Jagdish?*

A. No. Banwari said his brothers and Jagdish abused and threatened them and beat him and his sons up.

Q. *You must have questioned Jagdish. What was his explanation?*

A. Jagdish hasn't met me after the incident. He is probably ashamed. I've not seen him since I threw him out of Chandigarh a month ago after he beat up a servant.

Q. *Is drinking an old habit with him?*

A. Yes. I tried to stop him and even had him admitted to a hospital.

Q. *An impression has gone around that your sons, like those of other chief ministers, are out of control. Have you ever thought of banishing your sons from politics?*

A. Does anyone ever leave politics? My sons were born and brought up in a political environment. It is natural for a baniya's son to become a shopkeeper, a chamaar's to make shoes, a Jat's to till the land, and a politician's son to become a politician. But I've thought about it, and am treading carefully. You'll discover soon enough when the Haryana Janata Dal's president is named. Chandra Shekhar and V.P. Singh want to name Om Prakash (Devi Lal's eldest son). But I've other plans which I cannot reveal now.

Q. *So you're unhappy with your sons?*

A. Politics has to be cleansed.

Q. *You have challenged Lok Sabha Speaker Balram Jakhar to an electoral duel.. Why?*

A. Balram is a relative, but he politically exploited a death in my family. So low has he fallen. He also failed to preserve the dignity of the Lok Sabha. I've to do something and I'll contest against him whether he stands from Rajasthan or Punjab. As for handing over the Supriya case to the CBI, I don't have faith in it. It is really the Congress bureau for information.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

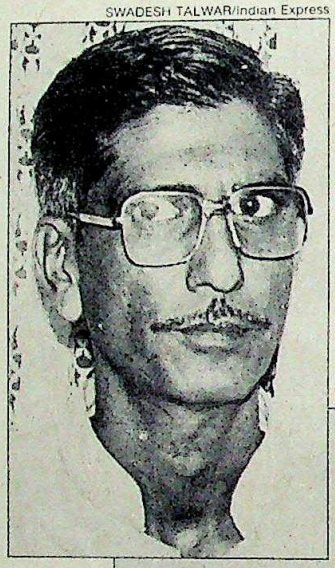
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

orchestrated by Haryana Congress(I) General Secretary Jagdish Nehra. Newspapers had hardly splashed the news when Rameshwari and Banwari withdrew the charges before a magistrate.

But it was Supriya's death which provided continuing grist to the political rumour-mill. There was a daily uproar in the Lok Sabha as Congress(I) MPs demanded a CBI investigation. A grinning Buta Singh waited for his party members to expend their ire before declaring that the Centre was helpless as law and order was a state subject. The CBI could be brought in only on the state Government's recommendation, he said.

Congress(I) supporters and some voluntary organisations then took their demand for a CBI inquiry to the Supreme Court which issued notices to the Central and Haryana governments. But the Congress(I) demand for a CBI inquiry boomeranged. Instead of embarrassing Devi Lal, it gave the Opposition a chance to highlight the CBI's shoddy "investigations" in the Bofors case and its ham-handed vendetta against Sanjay Singh in the Syed Modi case. "Why should I hand over the case to the CBI?" retorted Devi Lal. "It's only a Congress bureau for information. Its chief Katre retired long ago, but he was given an extension for the Bofors case, then another for the Sanjay Singh case. He is now seeking an excuse for a third extension."

SWADESH TALWAR/Indian Express



NATIONAL HERALD

Jagdish Lal (left) and Supriya

So politicised have the two cases become and so vociferous the denunciations, that the whole truth is unlikely to emerge. But it's accepted that the state police bungled in trying to establish Supriya's death as an accident.

DEVI Lal also responded in characteristic fashion to the mudslinging in Parliament. Challenging Lok Sabha Speaker Balram Jakhar to an electoral duel, he announced he'd contest against him in the next election, whether Jakhar stood from Rajasthan or Punjab. "Supriya was a daughter of Rajasthan and her honour needs to be vindicated," the chief minister remarked.

But some of the mud flung at him has stuck. To counter that, Devi Lal is preparing for a shock announcement. Sources close to him indicate that he is preparing to nominate a Scheduled Caste MLA, Professor Parmanand, as the chief of the Haryana Janata Dal even though Chandra Shekhar and V.P. Singh prefer Om Prakash, Devi Lal's eldest son. If he does, indeed, name Parmanand, he will achieve two objectives. One, he would send out a clear message that he does not necessarily consider his son to be his political inheritor. As a consequence, his sons too would realise that their actions are embarrassing the chief minister.

Such a move would be in keeping with Devi Lal's style. After coming under pressure from his sons following the Sampat Singh episode he'd announced (INDIA TODAY, November 15), that he preferred Harijan IAS officer-turned-minister Kirpa Ram Punia to succeed him as chief minister. Nominating Parmanand head of the state Janata Dal would fit in with his plan to woo Scheduled Castes and Tribes voters who are traditionally pro-Congress. It would also help counter the charge that the Jat lobby is running Haryana, which it is.

So politicised have the Supriya and Jagdish cases become and so vociferous the denunciations of both sides, that the whole truth will probably never emerge. It is, however, accepted that the state police bungled in trying to establish Supriya's death as an accident. Privately, senior officers admit it was probably a suicide. The harder the police try to make it look like an accident, the more holes they reveal in their own version. These are then exploited by Devi Lal's opponents to make it appear like murder. For one, the .32 pistol which killed Supriya was supposed to have been lying in an attache case along with her clothes and it went off when she was unpacking. "Either the trigger snagged on some clothes, or her hand touched it, or the pistol fell," says Om Prakash. Supriya's father-in-law, enacting how Supriya was probably bending over the attache case lying on a bed. He said the bullet entered under her jaw and she fell alongside the bed.

But, most modern pistols have safety catches. Even if the catch was off, it takes firm pressure on the trigger to fire a pistol, which is unlikely to go off accidentally. And however hard a pistol falls it's unlikely to fire, said one officer. Investigations reveal the bungling was by a police superintendent, now posted in a district near Delhi. This officer, considered close to Devi Lal's family, was at Chautala for a wedding. When he heard about the shooting, he rushed to Om Prakash's farmhouse and took over. He is believed to have scripted the scenario being narrated by family members and the local police. The Sirsa police chief K.S. Tomar arrived on the scene only the next day. When asked if it would not have been wiser to admit it was a suicide, rather than dress it up as an accident, Devi Lal pondered for a moment before replying: "I've told you the factual position."

About Jagdish, bureaucrats who have served at Sirsa say he is an alcoholic but hardly the kind who would commit a rape. Even Rameshwari, the alleged victim who later withdrew her charges, has never used the word *balaatkaar* (rape). Her words: *"meri izzat ka kucch nahin raha"* (nothing is left of my honour) could mean she was abused, threatened and beaten. Which she was. But, as Devi Lal himself lamented, charges of rape have become the *dal-roti* (staple food) of politicians. And they trade them with relish.

—RAMINDAR SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Flying high once again

Suitings exclusive for all seasons

In Quest of Nehru's Dream...
BIC Weaves

Lal-imli Dhariwal
The Unforgettable Twins

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In over 32 million h around the world one paint is always welcome...

CI. The first name in decorative paints worldwide. ICI Dulux. The mark of finest quality in pai in ove great range of acrylic matt and silk wall finishes and glossy enamel brings this international c to you

Dulux *Velvet Touch*

A premium silk emulsion with the feel velvet and the glow of pearls. 100% acrylic tex formulation. 23 designer shades. 6 natural hites with just a hint of colour. Beautifully sy to maintain.

Dulux GLOSS

The superior synthetic enamel that decorates and protects interior and exterior surfaces. Durable. Easy-to-clean. Offers excellent spread. 47 quick drying shades, that look wet—even when dry.

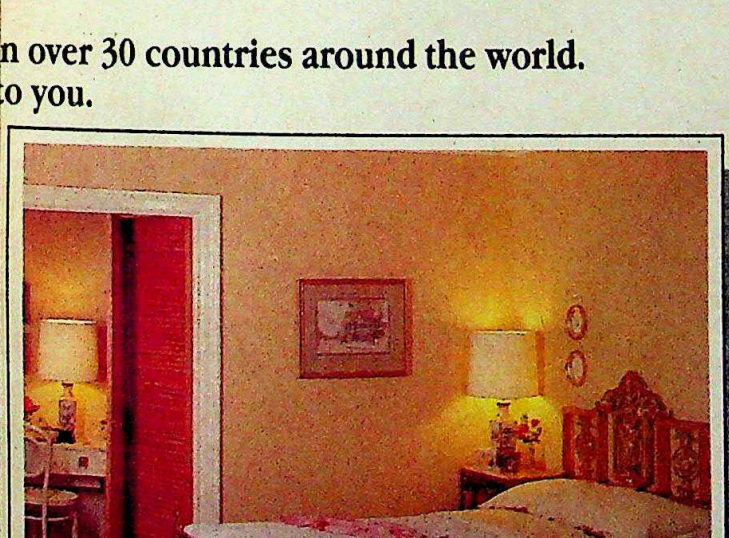
both yo
Easy-to
Covers
40 beau
will las

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

homes

in over 30 countries around the world.
to you.



Dulux ACRYLIC EMULSION

The superb matt emulsion that matches both your taste and budget. Durable. Smooth. Easy-to-clean. Ideal protection for your home. Covers more wall space with less paint. 40 beautiful shades—for an elegant look that will last for years.

Dulux
World Class

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Tiles with a splash of romance

ARTEK SENSATIONS

Attractive new size
305 mm. × 152.5 mm.

INTRODUCING

THE Rain Song

SERIES

Soft, gentle rain. Sensuous. Evocative.
The romance of rain captured on a tile.
The Spartek Rain Song Series. In three
subtle shades to add magic to the mood.

SPARTEK

52 Chamiers Road, Madras 600 028

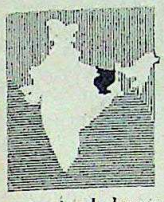
India's largest selling

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BIHAR

A Political Farce

Rivalries lead to administrative chaos



OVERWROUGHT politicians have added a touch of hysteria to the Herculean task of administering Bihar. Last fortnight the simmering tension between the principal characters—Governor Govind Narain Singh, Assembly Speaker Shiv Chandra Jha, former chief minister Jagannath Mishra and Chief Minister Bhagwat Jha Azad—erupted with political savagery.

The state was a veritable madhouse while Central Congress(I) leaders made a futile bid to bring in an element of rationality. Says a party leader: "The august offices of the speaker and governor have collapsed making a tamasha of everything."

Singh said it was difficult to work with Azad while the chief minister complained that with Singh and Jha in their positions he could not function. When the party high command suggested that Singh opt for a transfer to another state, Singh dug in his heels. Jha did likewise when it was indicated that he step down. And Mishra, while affirming his loyalty to party president Rajiv Gandhi, sent a subtle message that he would float a regional party if any attempt was made to silence him to please Azad.

The Azad Government, meanwhile, is preparing to convene the Assembly to fulfil constitutional obligations. According to rules the Assembly must meet at least once in six months. But Azad fears that with Jha in the chair the session will not be smooth. During the last session Jha gave vent to his anger against Azad by allowing members from all sides to grill the Government. Whenever Azad tried to defend himself he was cut short on the pretext that there wasn't sufficient time. But the most humiliating blow came towards the fag end of the session. Jha declared that Azad was not leader of the House as he was a member of the legislative council and not of the Assembly. Though Jha said he meant no ill-will, Azad, who was not convinced, complained to the high command about the "unconstitutional and deliberate actions" of the speaker.

According to Azad's supporters, during the session the speaker's chamber had been converted into a 'rumour chamber', producing gossip against the Government. As the chief minister gnashed his teeth, the speaker went ahead ruthlessly with his campaign to run him down.

Jha held a press conference accusing the chief minister's relatives of plotting to get him killed. Azad countered the charge by providing suffocating security for the speaker. Then Jha reconstituted various assembly committees but did not appoint any of Azad's supporters as chairmen. Newspapers reported that Azad was so provoked that he threatened Jha with physical harm. Jha also told Central leaders that Azad had received psychiatric treatment earlier.

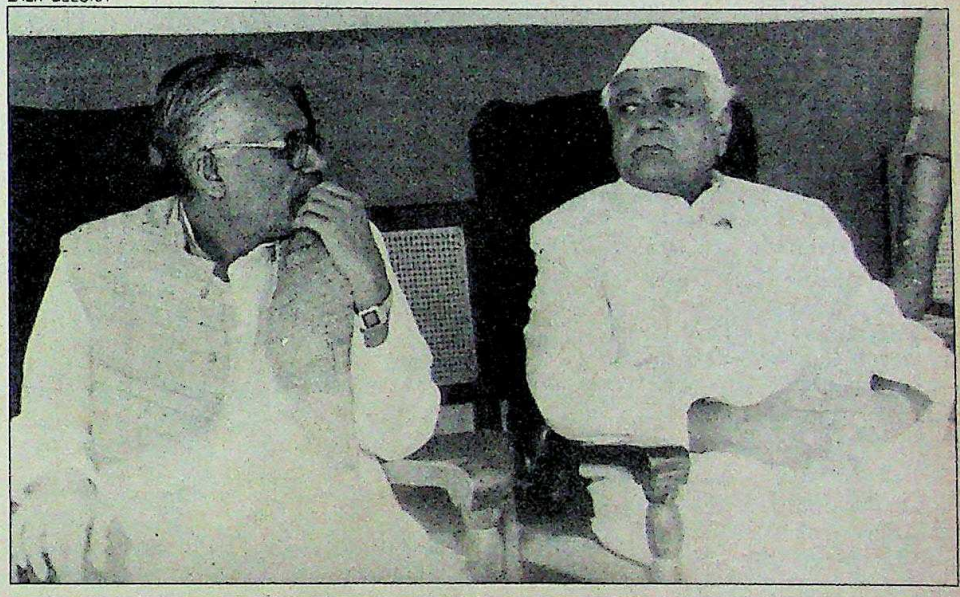
What shocked state and Central party leaders was the speaker's action in connection with the dispute over the Tundi Assembly seat. The Ranchi bench of the Patna High Court had unseated BJP leader Satya Narain Dudhani and declared Congress(I) candidate Uday Kumar Singh elected. The next day the court stayed its order and allowed a petition for review of the judgement by the Supreme Court. But Singh was sworn in as member of the House by Jha who did not wait for the Election Commission's notification. Though Jha justified his hasty action, observers say the move was prompted by the fact that Singh belonged to the anti-Azad group.

Last fortnight Jha was 'summoned' to New Delhi to discuss the row. Lok Sabha Speaker Balram Jakhar did not approve of his action in derecognising Azad as leader of the Assembly. Jha, however, declined to step down, making it clear that he would do so only after Azad was out of office.

Governor Singh collided head-on with Azad right at the beginning of his tenure. He sacked the Raj Bhavan staff on 'theft' charges and expressed his anguish over a senior IAS officer proceeding on leave to escape humiliation. Before Azad could work out his relationship with the governor, matters reached a head. When Singh asked the Government to allot the guest-house adjacent to Raj Bhavan for the office of the chancellor of universities, Azad turned down the demand. Then came the dispute over the state-owned motor launch provided to

Azad (left) with Govind Narain Singh: head-on collision

LALIT GELOKA



The tension between Governor Singh and Chief Minister Azad came to a head when the governor appointed vice-chancellors to all seven universities without consulting the state Government.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the governor for a cruise along the Ganga during the Chhatta festival. Singh complained that he had been given a third-rate launch while Azad himself had got one of superior quality. He refused to talk to the chief minister and rushed to New Delhi to demand his ouster. When the high command, following complaints from Azad, offered a transfer to some other state, Singh turned it down. "I am prepared to do anything for the prime minister but this is not acceptable to me," he said.

To Azad's further mortification, the governor tried to block the ordinance to restructure the co-operative set-up. Azad felt Singh's attempt was at the behest of the co-operative mafia which had taken a vow to get him removed. The governor also appointed K.B.N. Singh, former chief justice of the Patna and Madras High Court, as his advisor, bypassing the state Government.

In a letter to the prime minister last month, Singh wrote that arguing with Azad was comparable to a wrestling bout. Azad, he complained, lacked understanding of the law and the Constitution.

In a move that shocked Azad and the teaching community, Singh, in his capacity as chancellor, appointed vice-chancellors for all seven universities without consulting the Government. Four months ago, the Government had sacked all vice-chancellors. This, according to Singh, had led to a further deterioration of the situation on the campus. Singh says that during consultations Azad had not agreed to appoint vice-chancellors, so he got the list cleared by the Prime Minister's Office. He not only gave weightage to Jagannath Mishra's nominees but also brought in his Ph.D. guide Dr R.K. Awasthi to Patna University. Raj Bhavan also released a five-page press note asserting that the chancellor was not bound to act on the advice of the council of ministers. He was not a creature of the Constitution, it added.

The high command is also spending anxious moments over Mishra's role in the controversies. The leaders have made desperate attempts to keep him in good humour as he has threatened to destroy the party's base in the state. After Mishra floated a new organisation, the Bihar Vikas Manch, to fight for a regional identity for Bihar, the leaders held many rounds of talks with him in the capital. Mishra told them that Azad did not enjoy the support of a majority of legislators. To their dismay they found that Mishra was backed by Union Minister Bindeshwari Dubey and ministers of state L.P.Sahi and Krishna Sahi.

Soon after Azad's appointment, the high command had got a commitment from Mishra that he would co-operate with the chief minister. Mishra was given a Rajya Sabha seat. At a rally soon after, Azad, Mishra and Tariq Anwar, who was sent to the state as PCC(I) chief, pledged that they would work unitedly to change the face of the state. But the mercurial Mishra soon withdrew his support. Anwar also resigned from the vice-chairmanship of the 20-point programme committee and told the high command that it was a tough job to pull along with Azad. According to him, Azad always obstructed the selection of office-bearers to the PCC(I) with the result that the party organisation remained paralysed.

While the confused Central leaders could do little to improve the situation, Anwar appointed 'observers' in place of office-bearers to revive the party. Said he: "Even without the PCC(I) the party is functioning well now."

Most party leaders, however, feel there is a hidden hand behind the infighting—that of AICC(I) Treasurer Sitaram Kesari. According to them, he is known for his anti-Anwar, anti-Mishra activities. Says Kamalnath Singh Thakur, MLC: "The party and the Government would have functioned smoothly had Kesari not sabotaged the relationship among the three: Azad, Mishra and Anwar."

Azad is in fact a loner now. He has made many enemies because of his attempts to discipline party workers and legislators and introduce a new work culture. Today he is surrounded by a handful of discredited legislators and those belonging to what is widely known as the 'Jehanabad lobby'. Yet Azad claims to be unruffled. Says he: "I am not bothered by dissident activities. I am more concerned about the task I have been assigned to do."

The attack on Azad from all fronts has not only led to the collapse of the administration but has also undermined his authority. His government has neither support from the party nor the money to implement schemes (the Centre has ignored his appeals for funds). At the same time the street dance by the four leaders goes on, reaching at times a frenzied pitch while the Central leaders look on helplessly.

—FARZAND AHMED

Shiv Chandra Jha (left) and Mishra: controversial role

Photographs by K.M. KISHAN

Azad is being attacked on all fronts. While Speaker Jha has refused to resign, former chief minister Jagannath Mishra threatens to float a new regional party if the high command attempts to please Azad at his cost.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sold out!

WILLS

Made for each other

The 'Made for each other' Diary is the ideal gift to give and get. It's specially designed for two people who like being together, doing things together, sharing and caring in their own way. Because, unlike any other diary, it's filled with a host of things to share.

Sudhir Dar looks at the lighter side of 'Made for each other'
24 colour sketches illustrate a whole spectrum of varied experiences: romantic, poignant, wonderful, funny. This is an unusual collection from India's well-known cartoonist, worth getting quite possessive about.

Zodiacal Romance
Chart your love life by your sun sign. How well do Aquarius and Cancer get along? Will Gemini ever settle into a calm, stable relationship? Find out about the romantic side of you in the 12 horoscope pages.

Tips at your Fingertips
A pot pourri of practical, entertaining ideas and things to share and do. Like tips on trekking. Happy homemaking hints. Quick compatibility quizzes. And so much more, all in glorious colour.

Week-at-a-Glance
In addition to the excitement, there are convenient week-at-a-glance date pages that make this diary useful, both at home and in the office.

Price Rs 10

Distributed by : Family Book Shop, 1A, Park Street, Calcutta 700 016, and The Variety Book Depot, M-3 Connaught Circus, Flat 103, A V G Bhawan, New Delhi 110 001.

Enquire at your nearest bookshop.

DIARY

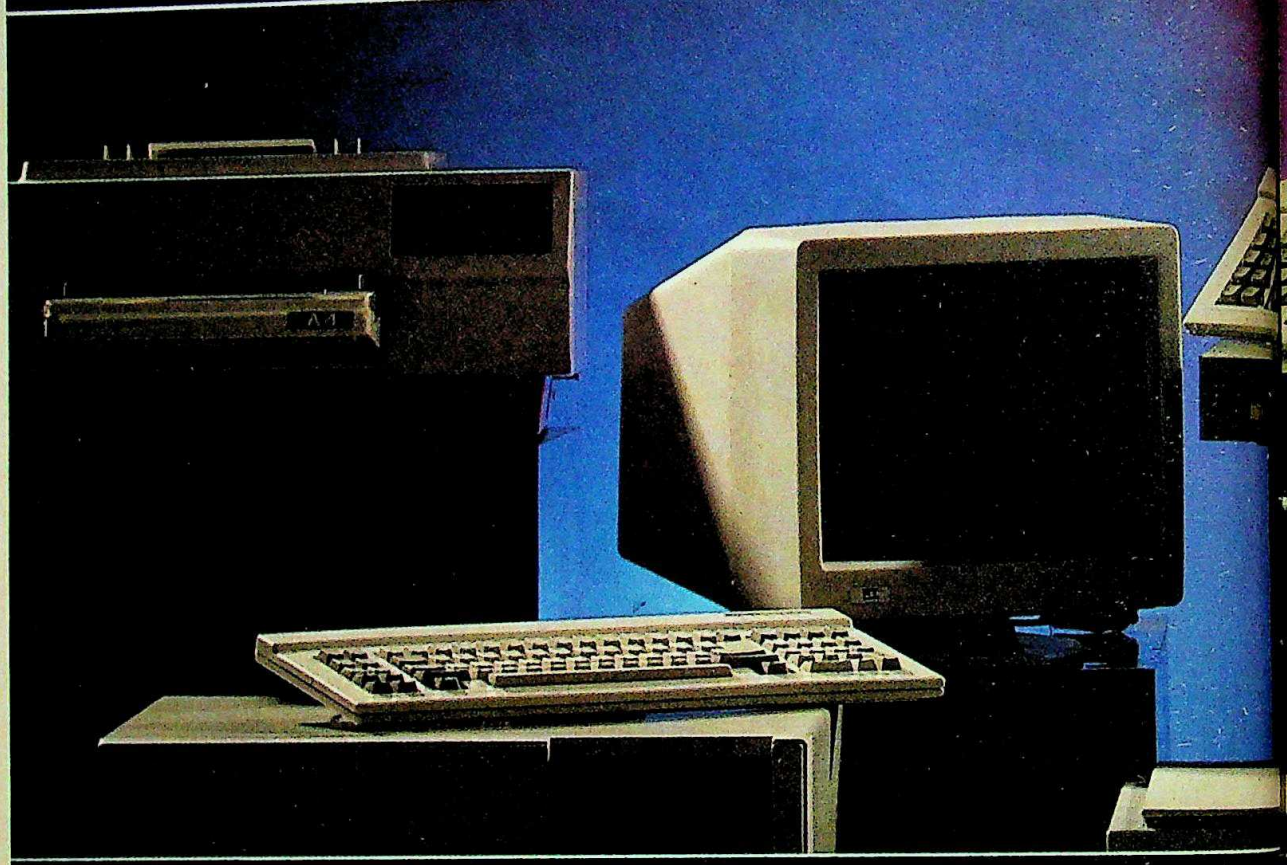
WILLS The 'Made for each other' blend

STATUTORY WARNING CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PCL PRESENTS THE



■ COMPUTERS ■ CAD/CAM/CAE ■ LAN ■ MODEMS ■ PUBLISHING

The future belongs to those who ride with the electronic revolution.

Companies with the conviction that only the latest generation systems can dramatically increase office efficiency and gear them up for the challenge of tomorrow.

Companies that have joined forces with PCL.

Successfully leading the computer revolution

PCL is the name that has, in an amazingly short span, shot into a position of prominence in the competitive Indian market of computers With a best selling record of nearly 6000 computer installations in just over a year.

And is now, consolidating that position at a rate of almost 500 more installations every month!

Living up to the sensation it created with the launch of its electronic typewriters. A range that almost immediately became, and is until today, the largest selling in the country!

What the leader brings you

First, there is the Orbit range of PCs, PC-XTs, PC-ATs, 80386-based systems and minicomputers. Perfectly integrated systems to match your specific computing and dataprocessing requirements. Whether you are an independent professional, small, medium or large organisation, Government or educational institution!

Then, there's Percom and Pertext. PCL's computerised telex and office publishing systems. Either of which could be yours for no more than a marginal investment. Because PCL gives you the unique opportunity to upgrade your personal computer to just the system you need. And have all these fantastic benefits at your fingertips : Percom's in-built time and money saving features like scheduled and faster transmission, auto switch on off, and message compression; and Pertext's multilingual wordprocessing capability, type selection, page composition and laser quality output.

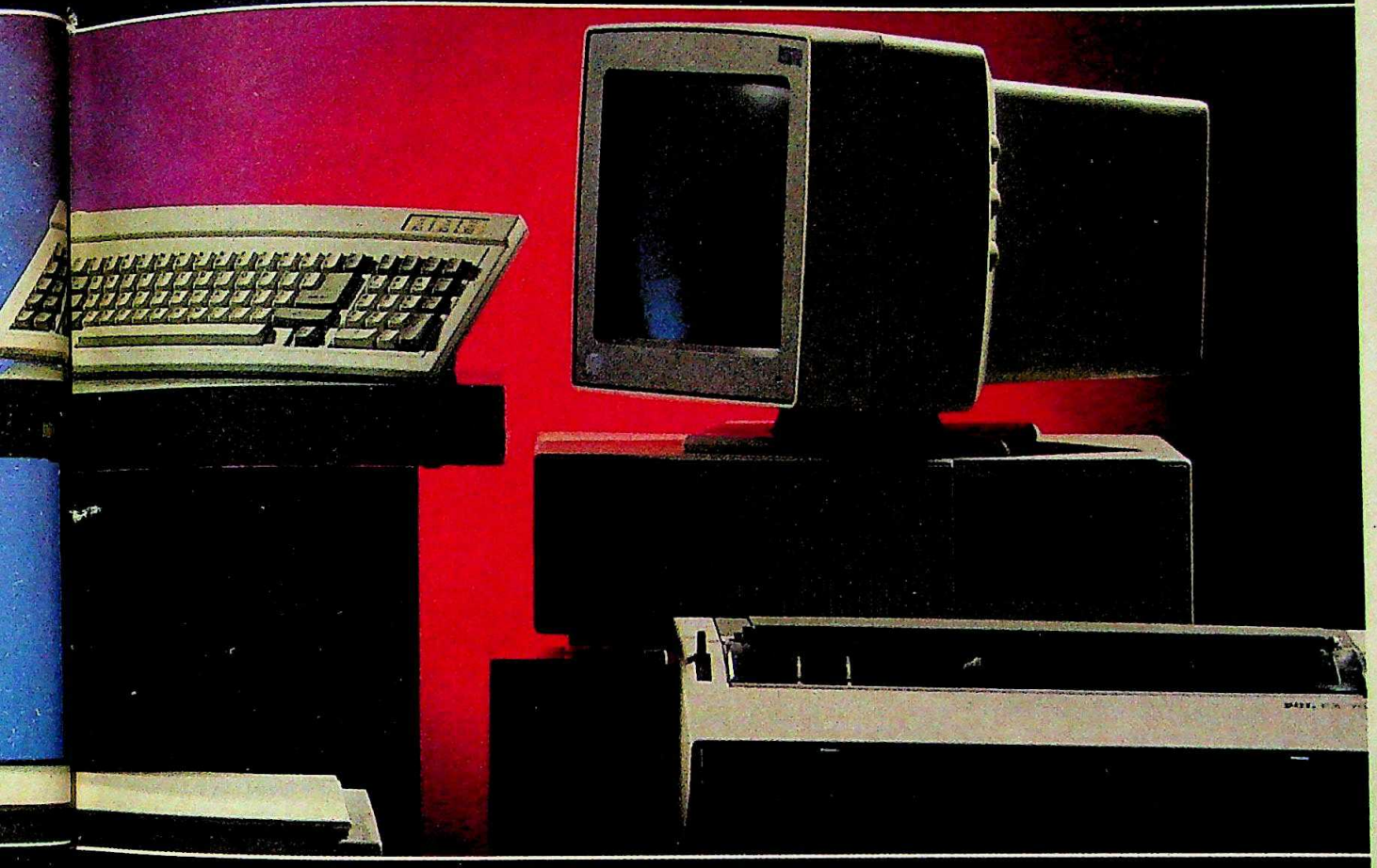
everest/d88/PCL/387

Pertech Computers Ltd.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GENERATION OF TODAY



SYSTEMS ■ COMPUTERISED TELEX ■ ELECTRONIC TYPEWRITERS

In addition, the PCL CAD/CAM/CAE workstations offer engineers and scientists the support of over 500 packages. With not only an unmatched throughput and resolution, but also plotting facilities far more advanced than what most systems offer you today.

And, there's a fantastic range of LANs and modems to choose from. To give you the freedom of sharing your computer facilities with networks all over the country.

Of course, PCL also offers all the peripherals you could ever need. Special cards. Plotters. Digitizers. Constant voltage transformers. Colour, EGA, Multisync monitors. The works!

The force behind the success

Indeed, there is much more to the PCL success story than product innovation.

The real power lies in the high standards that the components chosen by PCL must meet. The gruelling tests that each system passes before it reaches your desk. And the quality of the people who service and support these systems.

All of which have come together to establish an incredible uptime record of 99.8% on all installations! And a repeat order track of almost 70%

Performance that few can hope to match today. So, how will they meet the challenge of tomorrow?

PCL

India's fastest growing computer company.

Corporate Office: E-46/10, Okhla Phase-II, New Delhi-110 020. Tel:6837379, 6841860, 6841864, 6846472. Tlx:031-75163 PCL IN.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Mr Kapoor had 8 Dobermann Pinschers, 10 armed guards and a 22 foot high wall... yet they couldn't protect his factory from being eaten away.

Yes, Mr Kapoor's factory was attacked... by rust. Because he neglected one vitally important security measure: lasting protection against corrosion. So what with unending repairs and renovations over the years, his profits kept getting swallowed up.

Fortunately, 7250 factories, 310 dams, 1830 underwater structures and many other constructions in India have escaped the same fate... Thanks to STP Limited. The most trusted name in corrosion protection: pioneers and leaders for over 50 years. Only STP has developed such a wide range of durable products and systems. Like Tarstil Tar for general corrosion protection, Tankmastic for steel and concrete, and solutions to specific corrosion problems like Carseal.

STP Limited also offers a range of high quality mastic asphalting treatments, both for roads and industrial floors. And it has an equally impressive record in pipe coating and waterproofing.

So, invest in STP protection for your factory today – and avoid the continuous maintenance expenses that eat away your money.

Because STP protection means the longest-lasting protection.

STP Limited
SHALIMAR TAR DIVISION

Your shield against corrosion

For further details contact

Head Office : 13th floor, Shantiniketan, 8 Camac Street, Calcutta-700017. Tel:447136/447662

Divisional Offices : 6, Lyons Range (1st floor), Calcutta 700001. Tel:205191/201300. 16, N.G.N. Vaidya Marg, Bombay-400023. Tel:2864643/2862313. [illegible] 3rd floor, 5, Parliament Street, New Delhi-110001. Tel:384155/384156. 6, Indian Chamber Building Annexe, 2nd Floor, Esplanade, Madras 600018. Tel:560719/561022.

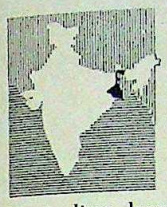
Branch & Unit Offices : Ahmedabad, Asansol, Bangalore, Baroda, Bhopal, Chandigarh, Cochin, Cuttack, Dhanbad, Guwahati, Hatmol, Jaipur, [illegible], Kanpur, Kathmandu, Kolhapur, Lucknow, Nagpur, Patna, Pune, Raipur, Rajkot, Ranchi, Rourkela, Secunderabad, Siliguri.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DARJEELING

Hope of Peace

GNLF wins hill council poll



THE queen of the hills is ready to don her finery again. After more than two years of bloody battles which shattered the serenity of the hills and kept the tourists away, Darjeeling, homeland for over six lakh Gorkhas, has got its own hill council. Subhas Ghising, who first planted the thoughts of revolution in the minds of the traditionally peace-loving Gorkhas, will lead the council as the Gorkhas take their first hesitant steps towards their very own tryst with destiny. Says a supremely confident Ghising: "We will change the face of Darjeeling in the next few years. It will once again become the queen of the hills."

But the election to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council—the result of the Darjeeling accord signed on August 22—was termed by independent observers and intellectuals as a "mockery of democracy". The CPI(M) "deliberately maintained a low profile" according to party MP Ananda Pathak and the Congress(I) put up a token presence. The Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) led by Ghising even objected to other political parties participating in the poll. Said a professor: "We saw rigging of a new variety. We understood what fascism means."

In the event, the GNLF swept the poll winning 26 out of 28 seats. The CPI(M) candidates won the remaining two seats–from their traditional strongholds of Pulbazar-Bijonbari and Chongtong-Righihat. The GNLF has demanded a re-election in these two seats charging that the 3,500 GNLF supporters of these constituencies were driven out of their homes by the CPI(M). Twelve candidates of the CPI(M) lost their security deposits and the GNLF's victory in the plains signified the demolition of the hitherto strong CPI(M) base there. And all the eight Congress(I) candidates lost their deposits emphasising Ghising's psychic sway over the people.

The administration on its part tried to create a rift within the GNLF hoping to loosen Ghising's grip on the Gorkha populace. Intelligence sources admitted that the administration was helping dissident GNLF leader Chhatre Singh Subba and his men who were contesting as independents in the Kalimpong subdivision. Ghising who has been quick to imbibe the lessons of political skulduggery saw through this strategy and promptly labelled all dissident candidates as "sarkari candidates". Though all eight dissident Gorkha Volunteer Cell candidates, including Chhatre Singh Subba, lost they did garner some votes. Three of them got back their deposits. Subba told INDIA TODAY: "I will continue my fight for Gorkhaland. Ghising has no moral right to lead the party any more because he has compromised on our only demand, Gorkhaland."

The arithmetics of the poll apart, what is of concern is the shape the GNLF will evolve into and how long the August 22 accord will last. Independent observers in the hills feel that the accord will last only as long as Ghising can keep a leash on his men, most of whom have spilled blood. Interestingly 15 of the 26 victorious GNLF candidates were on the police hit list. Most of them, who were contractors before the agitation started, conducted training camps and had formed suicide squads when the violent cries of *'Ayo Gorkhali'* were resounding across the hills. Their bloody exploits during the days of violence have given them the halo of war heroes. Chiten Sherpa (the man who allegedly shot at DIG R.K. Handa), Ram Prasad Waiba (allegedly involved in looting the Mirik police armoury) and C.K. Pradhan (the don of Kalimpong) are all now councillors. Ghising justified his choice of candidates: "They are sincere, loyal and popular." How long can Ghising pamper these men?

SAIBAL DAS

Ghising with voters: resounding victory

Despite Basu reviving his party's demands for regional autonomy in his pre-election speeches, the CPI(M) won only 2 of the 28 seats contested.

BHAWAN SINGH

Differences between the GNLF and the state Government have already begun surfacing. A few days before the elections to the Hill Council Ghising described Chief Minister Jyoti Basu as a man who had committed "treachery". He accused the state Government of tampering with the draft of the accord. "I was shown a draft in Delhi which was tampered with in Calcutta. I signed the accord because Basu asked me why not give it a try." Ghising refuses to discuss any details but says that he will come out with the story if the "Basu Government fails to understand the meaning of an autonomous council".

With Basu and Ghising adopting an

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

antagonistic attitude towards each other, there is every sign of another series of confrontations breaking out especially on the specific functions and rights of the council. Basu, in his pre-election speeches, had revived his party's demands for regional autonomy and the recognition of the Nepali language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Retorted Ghising: "If the Darjeeling Hill Council is their first step for attaining regional autonomy, then it is my first step for attaining full-fledged statehood." The word 'Nepali' is anathema to him and he is bent upon replacing it with 'Gorkhali'. He insists that he will ultimately demand that the council be given charge of the home department also..

Ghising has indeed come a long way from his days of weaving poetic romantic fantasies. All through these days of leading the Gorkhas and convincing them that they deserve a state of their own, he seems to have learnt that realpolitik is a far cry from the romantic moon-lit whisperings that he used to write about. And what matters now is whether the transformation of the romantic revolutionary into the ruler of his people is complete.

—KAMALJEET RATTAN in Darjeeling

GUJARAT

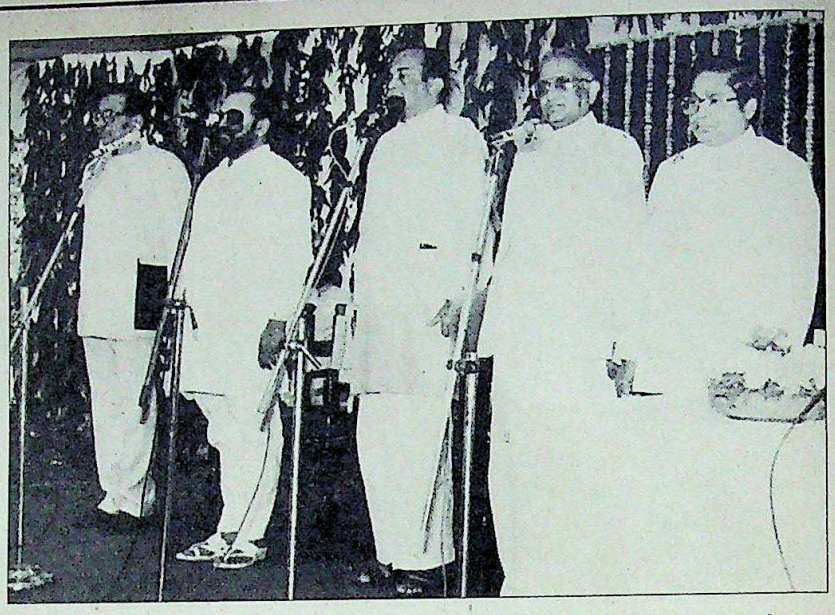
More Fissures

Cabinet reshuffle poses problems

AT last, Gujarat's beleaguered Chief Minister Amarsinh Chaudhary's year-long wait has ended. Last fortnight, the Congress(I) high command finally gave him the nod to expand his ministry. The permission was more out of concern for strengthening the party—with an eye on the coming elections—rather than backing the chief minister against the dissidents. Though he tried to put on a smiling face, Chaudhary's supporters said: "He is satisfied but not very happy about the way things have gone."

Chaudhary had initially planned to drop three dissident ministers—Mahant Vijaydasji, Harisinh Mahida and Hasmukh Patel—but was persuaded to desist. And his request that he be allowed to constitute a 27-member ministry was also turned down. He had to remain content with adding a meagre seven members to his 11-member team.

Though he succeeded in finding berths for three of his supporters—



Chaudhary and ministers at the swearing-in ceremony: marginal gains

Manubhai Parmar, Bhikhabhai Rabari and Lalit Patel—two of his prominent supporters, state Youth Congress(I) chief Surendra Rajput and Kanti Patel were left out. Said a Chaudhary confidant, who may now switch allegiance: "Chaudhary is too fickle-minded and weak against leaders like Union Planning Minister Madhavsinh Solanki and PCC(I) President Prabodh Raval." And to top it all, Chaudhary's arch adversary Raval gained ministerial status by becoming chairman of the state 20-point programme planning committee.

Despite all this the chief minister was able to assert his authority to some extent. By giving the irrigation and Narmada development portfolios to Vijaydasji, he has cleverly pitted him against another heavyweight—Sanat Mehta, who is the chairman of the Sardar Sarovar Narmada Nigam. While Mahida has been given the important portfolio of industry, Chaudhary has shrewdly kept industrial planning with himself.

The chief minister did not spare even his own supporters. Daulat Paramar was divested of the "lucrative" roads and buildings portfolio and given agriculture while Amarsinh Vaghela was given revenue and housing instead of the co-operation and labour portfolio which he held earlier. The most telling blow was, however, dealt to Minister of State for Education Hasmukh Patel—a vocal supporter of Madhavsinh Solanki. He was deprived of education and given three minor portfolios.

The chief minister's moves had their fall-out. Only 35 of the 142-odd Congress(I) MLAs turned up at the swearing-in function. However Chaudhary looked unruffled. Said he: "I don't think the expansion will add to the bickerings."

But indications are that the chief minister may have been too optimistic. While young dissident MLAs like Jeetendra Shah and Digant Oza were agitated, the state Youth Congress(I) set-up was exercised over the omission of its leader and the chief minister's staunch supporter Surendra Rajput. Said Badruddin Shaikh, general secretary of the Youth Congress(I): "We are appalled at the way things are moving." And with the voting age now being lowered to 18 years, the Youth Congress(I) leaders are demanding a larger role in party affairs.

What has further aggravated the crisis is the way the state party set-up has been reconstituted. Raval has packed the party with his men, thanks to his close association with Sheila Dixit, minister of state in the Prime Minister's Office.

The new PCC(I) is indeed not quite representative. Of the total 23 office-bearers, as many as 12 hail from Ahmedabad city which voted the Bharatiya Janata Party to power in the last civic elections. And both the Muslim office-bearers are Shias whereas Sunnis constitute over 90 per cent of the state's Muslim population. Said Sanat Mehta: "The new set-up is aimed at promoting the image of individuals rather than strengthening the organisation."

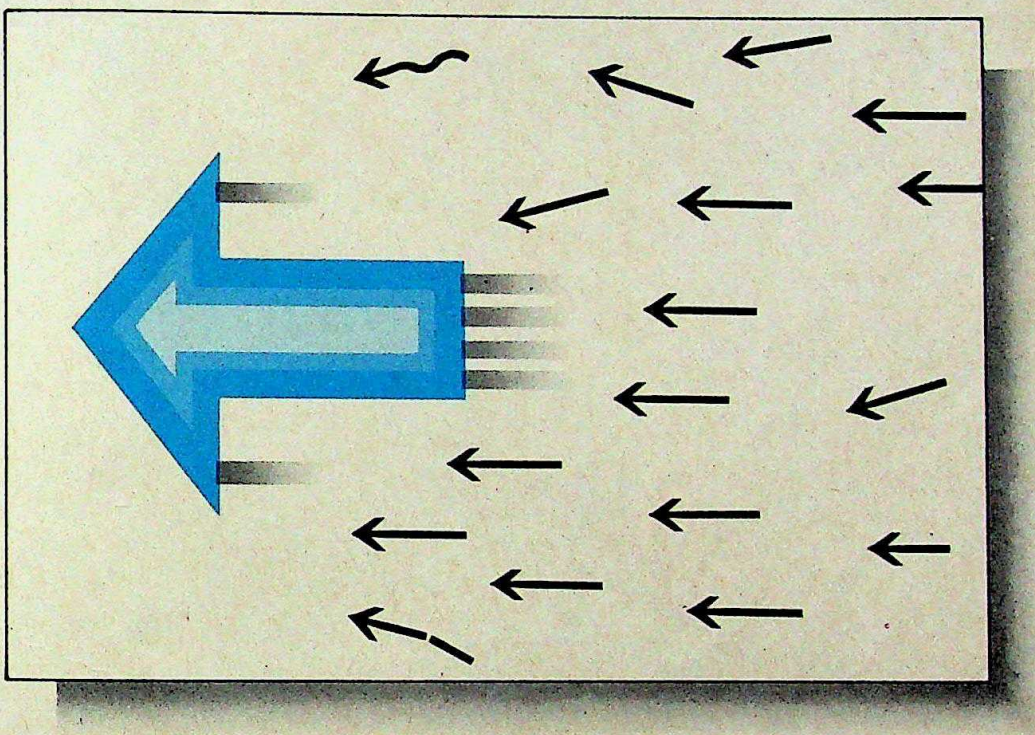
As a senior party leader put it: "When Chaudhary and Raval began addressing public meetings together, we thought the party's image-building exercise had begun in right earnest. But now, it seems, we are in a mess once again."

—UDAY MAHURKAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

At INDCHEM ELECTRONICS, the quality of our teams adds up to a formidable force.



Brainpower is the armoury with which INDCHEM ELECTRONICS makes a powerful thrust in three key directions:

Office Automation, Medical Electronics and Industrial Automation.

Three resource banks of pooled talent pit their wits in separate disciplines, and together ...

Fusing knowledge, ideas, capabilities and expertise ... to produce a strike force quite stupendous in the electronics business.

As the whole column of India's electronics industry marches towards a future of improved life, efficiency and productivity, the teams from INDCHEM fill the places in the front ranks!

indchem

Office Automation/ Telecommunications
Medical Electronics
Industrial Automation

INDCHEM ELECTRONICS LTD.,
K.R. Building, 124 L.B. Road,
Madras 600 020.

■ Norsk Data India Ltd ■ ATL India Ltd ■ Auto Measurematic Ltd ■ Pebco India Ltd
■ Medical Disposables Ltd

3 *The Divisions of INDCHEM ELECTRONICS*

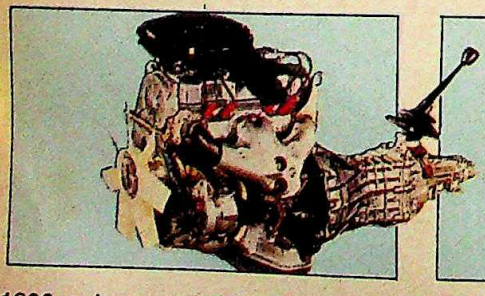
Breaking through. Breaking ahead!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Contessa Classic 1·8 GL

Exceptionally Powerful, Fuel Efficient

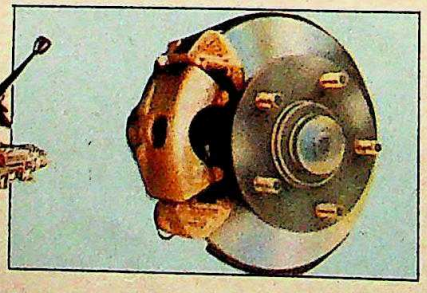
The Contessa Classic 1.8 GL ushers you into the exciting world of Isuzu motoring. And like so many powerful things the Isuzu powered Contessa Classic doesn't have to work hard to impress you.



1800 cc Isuzu power

Internationally hailed as a 'state-of-the-art' design. This Isuzu engine, with its 88 bhp, has all the power you will need.

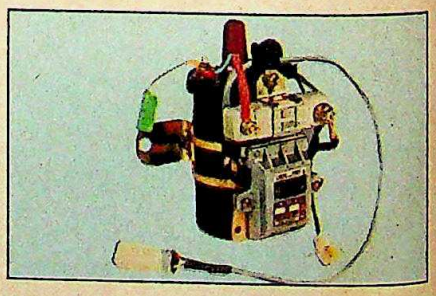
Come, experience the excellent drivability and the controlled power from a proven Isuzu engine.



Sure stopping with disc brakes

The servo-assisted disc brakes are backed by dual hydraulic circuits. For an even better performance.

You will appreciate the sure and safe stopping power of the Contessa Classic's disc brakes.



Electronic ignition for prompt starts

In today's "stop-go, stop-go" traffic you need an ignition system that won't stop your car when you want it to go.

You need the Contessa Classic's low maintenance electronic ignition for quick and easy starts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

And Functional

Choice of a factory-fitted airconditioner

With the high heat dissipation radiator to cater to the extra load of an airconditioner, your car's engine will never have to strain to perform smoothly.

Climb into an airconditioned Contessa Classic and ride away in absolute comfort.

More Classic Advantages

- 5 synchromesh forward gears, including 'overdrive' for better fuel efficiency.
- Unique independent suspension system that promises a silken smooth journey.
- Modern dignified styling. With plush upholstery and an elegant carpet. Optional: tinted glass to shade the interior.
- A wide range of fascinating colours to match your taste.

Plus, of course, the all-India Hindustan Motors service network. To back every Contessa Classic.

Contact your nearest dealer and judge for yourself.

Contessa Classic 1·8 GL

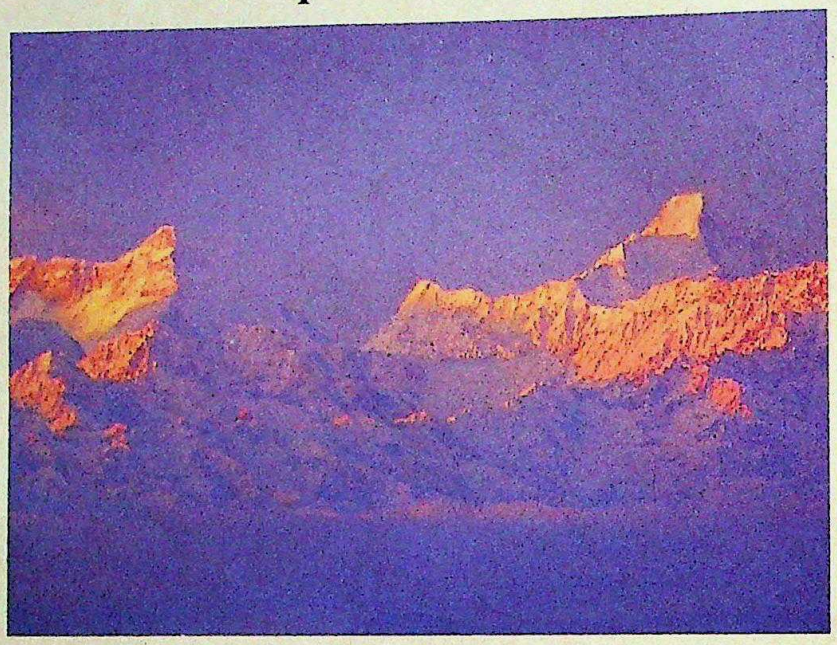
Power. Performance. And Comfort.

HINDUSTAN MOTORS LTD.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Oberoi Palace, Srinagar Warms Up For The Winter



CENTRAL HEATING AT THE OBEROI PALACE THIS NEW YEAR.

A holiday at The Oberoi Palace in the New Year promises to be a warmer experience. Now that the hotel's central heating system has been installed, you can look forward to your winter holiday even more. There are a number of new features in the hotel this year. Including a newly refurbished Palace wing, with the luxuries you will appreciate. And above all, the warmth of our hospitality.

3 NIGHTS IN KASHMIR'S ONLY PALACE HOTEL. FOR Rs.1125/- ONLY.

The Oberoi Palace has spectacular gardens. The hotel offers five star amenities, and a breathtaking view of the famous Dal Lake.

HOLIDAY HIGHLIGHTS

* Price per person sharing a standard double room Rs. 1125/-.
* Single occupancy Rs. 1950/-.
* Free airport transfers.
* Full breakfast every morning.
* 10% discount on a la carte meals.

The Oberoi Palace
SRINAGAR, INDIA

For reservations please call Sita Travels, Mercury Travels or Oberoi Instant Reservation Offices or a bonafide travel agent.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MAHARASHTRA

The Truce Ends

Pawar faces dissidence

IN Maharashtra, political honeymoons tend to be very brief. Sharad Pawar, who was sworn in as chief minister last June, may have set a record of sorts by surviving for nearly six months without facing any threat from dissidents within the Congress(I). But the truce is clearly over now.

Last fortnight, while the winter session of the Maharashtra Assembly was on at Nagpur, the state's second capital in the backward Vidarbha region, Pawar came under attack from two prominent leaders of the Congress(I).

In the past, Nagpur has often been the launching ground for sustained campaigns against Congress(I) governments. It was no surprise, therefore, that Pawar was also welcomed with dissident activity during his first assembly session as chief minister in Vidarbha's premier city. But what took observers unawares was the coming together on the same platform of two unlikely allies against Pawar—former deputy chief minister Nasikrao Tirpude and former chief minister Shivajirao Patil-Nilangekar.

Tirpude, a Scheduled Caste leader who remained loyal to Indira Gandhi even at the time of the post-Emergency Congress split, when the late prime minister was out of power, belongs to Vidarbha. He has always been a loner, and has never been elected to office. Nilangekar, on the contrary, is a protege of Maharashtra strongman Vasantrao Patil, with a strong base in his home constituency in the Marathwada region.

But the two leaders now have a common grudge—both have been denied a share in power by Pawar. Tirpude had been selected as president of the state PCC(I) by the high command, but the decision was overturned after strong opposition from Pawar and Vasantdada. Instead, Pratibha Patil was sent back from the Rajya Sabha to head the party organisation in the state. Nilangekar, who remains unreconciled to his dismissal from chief ministership in 1986 after an examination scandal, lost his chance of becoming a minister again when Pawar opposed his bid to become the deputy chief minister. His resentment is evident from the fact that he deserted his patron Vasantdada, who now backs Pawar, to make common cause with Tirpude.

The broadside against the chief minister was launched by Tirpude, who organised a meeting in Nagpur last fortnight to protest against the alleged exclusion from power of Congress(I) loyalists. "Pawar's duty is to take all sections of party workers with him, but for the last six months he has been posting his own former Congress(S) supporters at all levels. He should remember that he is a Congress(I), and not a Congress(S), chief minister," he maintained.

Besides Nilangekar, who warned that disenchanted party workers would not tolerate the "injustices" for long, Tirpude was joined on the anti-Pawar platform by another surprise entrant—former agriculture minister Bhagwantrao Gaekwad, who is a supporter of Union Finance Minister S.B. Chavan. But more indicative of possible future political alignments in the state was the decision of the so-called "Indira loyalists" to felicitate former chief minister A.R. Antulay for his recent readmission to the Congress(I). Tirpude announced that Chavan may attend the function which he planned to hold in Nagpur, as a prelude to a series of meetings to be addressed by Antulay, Nilangekar and Tirpude himself.

Antulay, busy last fortnight with his daughter's wedding, refused to comment on the latest imbroglio in the state Congress(I). But if the three leaders do succeed in forging a common platform, they would make an interesting combination against the ruling Maratha political leadership hailing from the rich sugar belt of western Maharashtra. For all three come from the state's remaining, perennially backward regions—Antulay from the coastal Konkan, Nilangekar from Marathwada and Tirpude from Vidarbha. Tirpude declared: "Western Maharashtra leaders have so far grabbed all economic and political power. How long will the power brokers be allowed to rule? It was the prime minister who gave a call to oust power brokers at the Congress(I) centenary celebrations three years ago."

But for the moment, a durable alliance between the three leaders seemed highly unlikely, especially since the rebellion found no open support within the Congress(I) Legislature Party. Not a single legislator attended Tirpude's meeting in Nagpur. Pawar also remained unruffled by the controversy generated by his opponents. He produced statistics to show that no section within the party was being ignored and expressed confidence that all the Congress(I) MLAs were fully behind him. In any case, it was apparent that in an election year the party high command could not afford to consider changing the leadership in the state.

—M. RAHMAN

Sharad Pawar: under attack

NAMAS BHOJANI

"Pawar has been posting his former-Congress(S) men at all levels. He should remember he is a Congress(I), not Congress(S), chief minister."

NASIKRAO TIRPUDE
former deputy chief minister

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Victory r

JAI KISAAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

yrepeats itself.

Staying at the top is harder than getting there.

Zuari wins the FAI award for the second year in succession. For the best production performance in Nitrogenous fertilisers in 1987. FAI has also acknowledged Zuari as one of the best in pollution control. For the entire complex.

The FAI award for the best production performance takes into account the whole gamut of operational parameters: capacity utilisation (106% at Zuari), operational efficiency, energy conservation, safety, etc. But while the awards and recognition pour in, Zuari keeps its wheels moving.

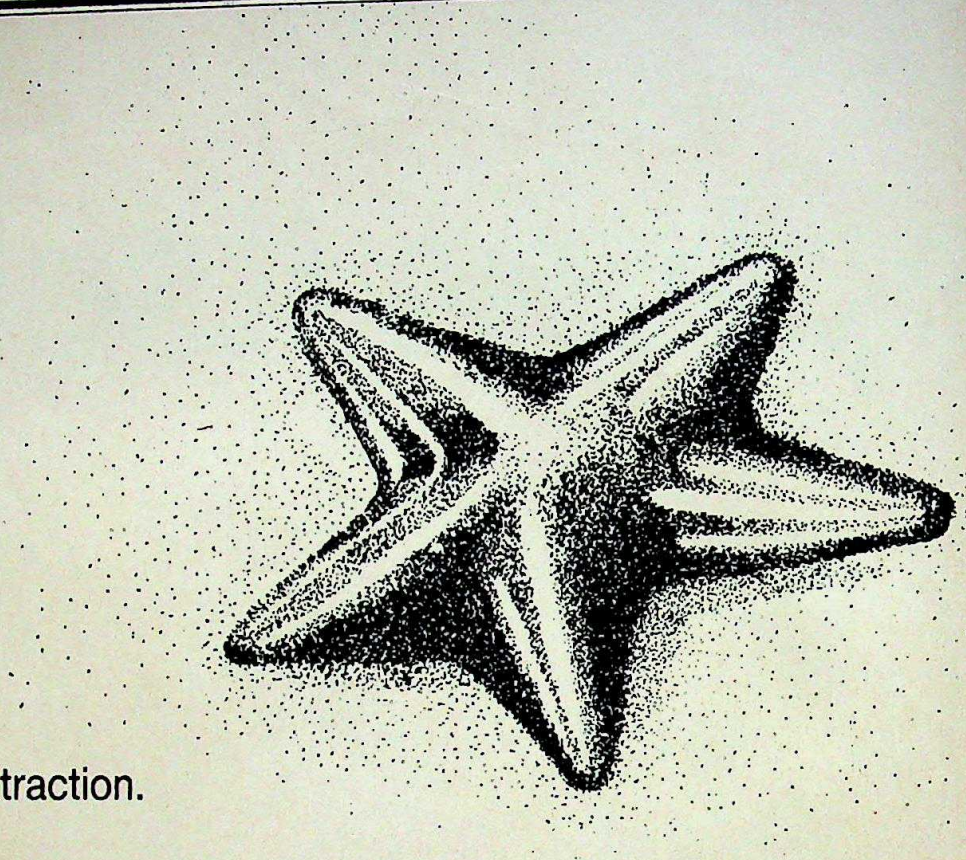
A gas-based fertiliser plant in District Kota, Rajasthan is being promoted.

ZUARI AGRO CHEMICALS LIMITED.

LINTAS ZUA P 168 2637

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Star attraction.

Citibank. Mahindra & Mahindra.Tisco. Grindlays Bank. Chloride Industries Limited...

Some of the biggest names in business prefer Vacation Ownership with Dalmia Resorts.

Yes, you can expect star company for neighbours.

Welcome to the Exclusive Club.

DALMIA RESORTS International

Dalmia Resorts International Pvt. Ltd.

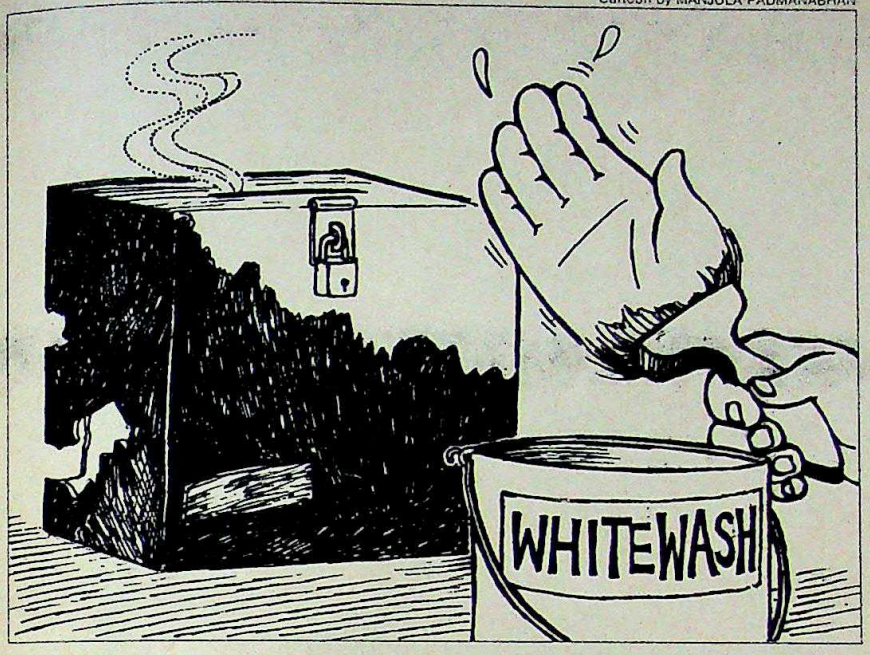
To know more about this great investment opportunity and how to save on vacation costs write to :
Mr. B V S A N Murthy
Dalmia Resorts International Pvt. Ltd.
Ist Floor, Devika Tower, 6, Nehru Place New Delhi - 110 019. Phones ; 6441554, 6445971, 6414113 Telex: 031-71095 DRI IN
or call : • Mr. Anil Sethi, New Delhi, Phones : 3313933, 3310449, 3314026 • Ms. Shukla Bose, Bombay, Phones : 2042555, 2042637, 2042634 • Mr. S. Sarkar, Calcutta, Phone : 433618 • Mr. K.P.V. Menon, Madras, Phone : 476284
• Mr. Kripash Sankar, Bangalore, Phone : 564822

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Govan/DRI/05

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Cartoon by MANJULA PADMANABHAN



ELECTORAL REFORMS

Halfway House

Significant omissions in bill

THE Congress(I) is slowly mastering a new political axiom: If you can't produce thunder, steal it. First, it tried to deflect the corruption issue back at its *bete noire*, V.P. Singh. Now, it has stolen a major point from his party's manifesto—electoral reforms.

After getting parliamentary clearance for the Representation of the People (Amendment) Bill and the Constitution (62nd Amendment) Bill, the Government got ready for the ovation last fortnight. But it could not brush aside charges that it had cut corners while introducing the long-awaited reforms in the electoral process.

The major features of the bills are:

► The voting age has been lowered from 21 to 18—resulting in an additional 4.7 crore voters in the country or about 80,000 new voters in each constituency.

► Electronic voting machines are to be introduced in 150 sensitive constituencies to curb electoral malpractices like booth capturing, use of fraudulent ballot-papers and stealing of ballot-boxes.

► The penalty for booth capturing has been enhanced from Rs 250 to Rs 1,000. In addition, offenders could be imprisoned for three months.

► Government servants found involved in booth capturing could be imprisoned for three years.

► People convicted under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, the Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances Act, and the Terrorists and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act will be disqualified from contesting elections for six years.

► Political parties have to compulsorily register with the Election Commission and in doing so have to pledge allegiance to the Constitution.

► The Election Commission has been armed with more powers for taking administrative action against election staff. For this purpose state officials on election duty will be deemed on deputation with the commission.

It was widely felt that the reforms were long overdue. Says a senior Election Commission official: "Primarily, they will help in getting rid of a number of electoral warts which have diseased the body politic." The electronic voting machines will serve to avoid unsavoury controversies as witnessed in polling for the Udhampur and Faridabad by-elections recently. And the stringent penalties will keep criminals and anti-social elements away from polling booths.

But though these reforms were welcomed, the Government was assailed for leaving out a host of other suggested changes. Says former chief election commissioner S.L. Shakdhar: "The bills should have included provision for partial state funding of elections, accountability of political parties for receiving donations from business houses, increase of security deposit to Rs 20,000 to discourage non-serious candidates from filing nominations, and introduction of multi-purpose identity cards to prevent impersonation."

The Opposition came down harshly on the Government's omissions. Especially the fact that the reforms do not even make an attempt to curb election corruption. Says BJP chief L.K. Advani: "Four years ago at the AICC(I) session this government was seeing corruption everywhere. Now it does not see corruption anywhere. It believes that the costlier the electioneering and the more corrupt it is, the greater are its chances of winning through moneybags."

Leaders of the National Front, whose agenda gives top priority to electoral reforms, held a meeting and berated the Government for dropping inconvenient recommendations. Said Congress(S) MP, Kishore Chandra Deo: "The ruling party has shied away from the issue of money power in electioneering. That shows what its intentions for the next elections are."

Only three months ago a conference of chief electoral officers in Ooty had recommended checks on election expenditure to curb muscle and money power. And Deo, on behalf of the Front, had suggested elaborate ways to prevent ostentatious electioneering, for instance, a ban on cut-outs, banners and buntings. His suggestions were not taken into account.

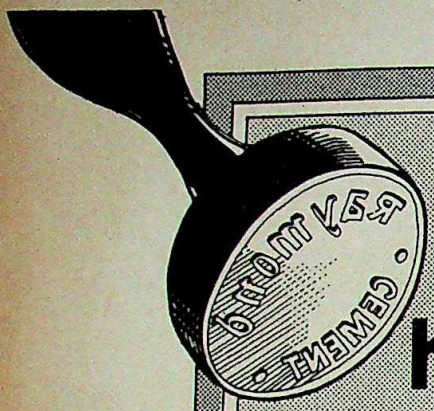
The most important feature of the bill was the lowering of the voting age. The move will help draw huge numbers of the youth into the political mainstream. On the eve of election year the Congress(I) seemed to be trying to create a "youth wave" in its favour. Indian Youth Congress(I) President Mukul Wasnik was asked to reactivate his organisation for this purpose. But many senior Congressmen were opposed to the lowering of the voting age. Their fear was that the disgruntled youth of the country would vote en masse against the ruling party. But Wasnik, AICC(I) General Secretary V.N. Gadgil, Defence Minister K.C. Pant and Minister of State for Industrial Development M. Arunachalam managed to convince Rajiv that the measure was necessary.

In getting the electoral reform laws passed, the ruling party succeeded in depriving the Opposition of a valuable campaign issue. But the laws were hardly greeted with thunderous applause. When compared with the reception that the Anti-Defection Law received four years ago, the response to the reform laws seemed more like squeaks. For a party which has been under a cloud of corruption charges, it was an opportunity to prove that it was sincere in its attempts to eliminate electoral corruption. Unfortunately it missed it.

—PANKAJ PACHAURI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



When a decision has to last a hundred years, concrete proof helps.

Proof 1: QUALITY
The name Raymond is synonymous with the highest standards of excellence and reliability.

Proof 2: STRENGTH
A decidedly higher compressive strength than the specifications set by BIS.

Proof 3: BLAINE
The finest blaine guarantees the desired strength with a lesser quantity of cement.

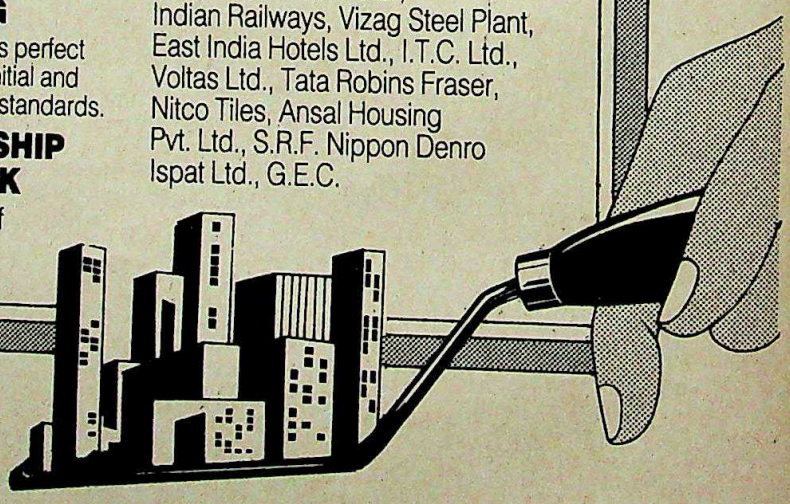
Proof 4: SETTING
Raymond Cement assures perfect setting as it has a better initial and final setting time than BIS standards.

Proof 5: DEALERSHIP NETWORK
The Raymond network of authorised dealers makes sure of 100% genuine cement. Nationwide.

Proof 6: PACKAGING
Automatic rotary packing machines and the toughest non-pilferage plastic and jute bags.

Proof 7: ECONOMY
No other cement guarantees all these concrete advantages. Everytime.

Proof 8: OUR CLIENT LIST
N.T.P.C., Oil India Ltd., Indian Railways, Vizag Steel Plant, East India Hotels Ltd., I.T.C. Ltd., Voltas Ltd., Tata Robins Fraser, Nitco Tiles, Ansal Housing Pvt. Ltd., S.R.F. Nippon Denro Ispat Ltd., G.E.C.



KAILASH CEMENT FROM

Raymond

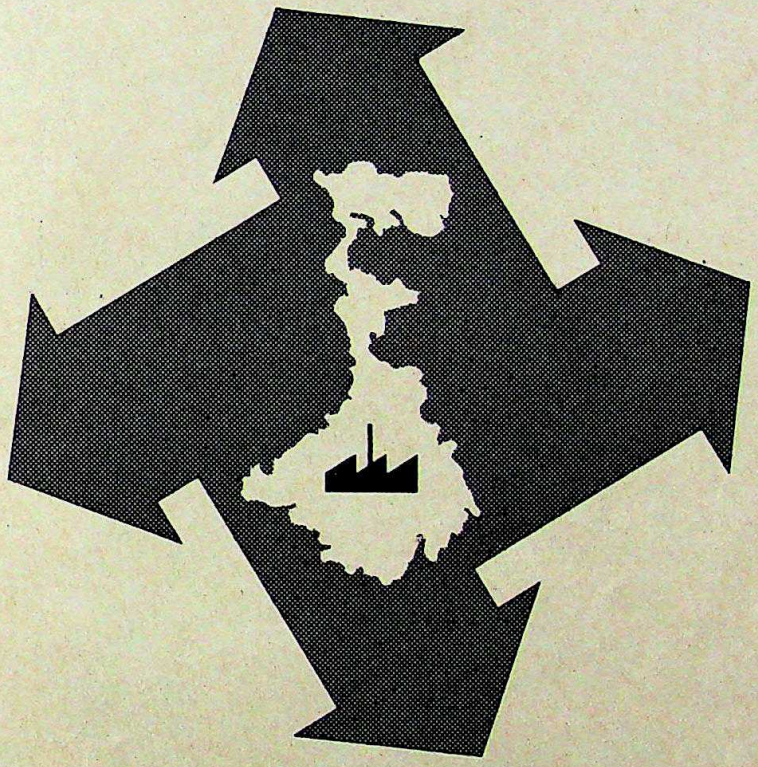
THE NAME GUARANTEES QUALITY.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Touching the Himalayas, reaching the Bay

WBIIDC
Opening up new industrial horizons in West Bengal



From districts that nestle at the foot of the great Himalayas to those awake with the roar of the Bay of Bengal, West Bengal Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation has been setting up Growth Centres that provide the main pillars to the rapid industrial progress in West Bengal.

Growth Centres of WBIIDC come to you complete with infrastructural facilities like power, water, housing, surface drainage, internal roads, bank, post office, telephone, shopping centres etc. as and where necessary.

Growth Centres at Haldia, Kalyani and Kharagpur were completed during the sixth plan. Uluberia, Raninagar and Dabgram are ready for allotment. Even Falta has neared completion. Work is in steady progress at Bishnupur (NID), Kalyani Phase-II, Cooch Behar (NID). Both State and Central Government offer financial incentives for setting up industries in these growth centres. For locating industries in 'No Industry Districts' (NID), special capital subsidy is available.

ULUBERIA :
Near Howrah, 56 kms drive from Calcutta on Bombay Highway with rail head.

RANINAGAR : (NID)
Just 8kms away from Jalpaiguri town on Siliguri-Jalpaiguri Road (SH-12A) adjacent to Rly. Stn. offers rail & road transport ease.

DABGRAM :
8 kms. away from Siliguri town by the side of SH-12A & 2 kms away from New Jalpaiguri Station.

ABC/WBIIDC/3/88

WEST BENGAL INDUSTRIAL INFRA-STRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
P-34, C.I.T. Road, Calcutta-700 014, PH: 24-8684/8096/8525.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Qantas one-stop to Australia. (But we never stop spoiling you.)

Qantas flies more people, via Singapore, to Perth, Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne, Cairns, Brisbane, Darwin and Townsville than any other airline. And all flights offer the inflight service that has made Qantas one of the world's great airlines. For details call your travel agent or Qantas.

QANTAS
THE AUSTRALIAN AIRLINE

QFN 36MOJO

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KERALA

Lavish Show

CPI(M) makes meet memorable

ALMOST overnight it would seem Trivandrum has acquired a new look, in fact a blushing, sanguine visage. The entire city was spruced up and giant cut-outs loomed at all vantage points. The cut-outs were of familiar foreigners and at least one of them has been quite out of fashion in today's world of *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) covered the city with cut-outs and posters of Lenin, Marx and Stalin for its 13th party congress from December 27 to January 1 and did not spare efforts or funds for making it a show to remember. Textile shops ran out of red cloth as all stocks were purchased for making banners and flags which were hoisted atop houses of the party faithful. The price of the ordinary variety of red cloth shot up from Rs 7 to Rs 12 per metre. T.M. Jacob, a Kerala Congress MLA, even complained that he had to go to neighbouring Tamil Nadu to purchase red cloth for his party's red and white flags.

Other commodities also vanished from the counters. Polyester uniforms and boots used by the party volunteers—each at a cost of Rs 200—were purchased in bulk for 50,000 party cadres. Even scrap dealers ran out of fused tube lights—used by party workers to make attractive display boards.

The paradox of it all has not been lost on opposition parties. Says A.K. Antony, the Pradesh Congress(I) Committee president: "It is a shame that the Marxists are still talking of people like Stalin who are in disgrace in their own country. They are befuddled by what is happening in the Soviet Union." Retorts the powerful CPI(M) State Secretary V.S. Achutanandan and key man in charge of the show: "Earlier our critics used to say that when it rains in Moscow we take out our umbrellas. Now they want us to do exactly that. But we are not to here oblige these people who do not understand the basics of communism." Adds P. Govinda Pillai, chairman of the Kerala Film Development Corporation and a party ideologue: "We still consider people like Stalin and Lenin the founding fathers of communism. So there is nothing wrong in displaying their pictures. Anyway we have not banished them from India."

But the party's extravagant display and the abundant resources at their command have not gone unnoticed. Comments a bitter Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai, Kerala's best known writer and a former sympathiser: "The garish hoardings and the lavish display of wealth is totally alien to the communist culture of the early days when they held similar meetings in the light of kerosene lamps. Today they are trying to outdo the bourgeois parties in holding such meets."

Achutanandan denied opposition charges that the Marxists forced businessmen to cough up money for the big show. He said that the party volunteers had gone about raising funds by passing plastic buckets around and that they were able to rake in Rs 50 lakh from the public in a single day. The opposition leaders, though, are sceptical about this claim and say that the bucket collections are an eyewash and that there has been large-scale corruption and extortions from businessmen behind this unabashed display of power and money.

In keeping with the mood of the party leaders, whose priorities seem elsewhere, there is nothing new in the draft political resolution which leaves out the happenings in the Soviet Union. So *perestroika* and *glasnost* remain buried under the giant portraits of the old troika. The differences between party General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad and West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu have also been, for the time being, pushed under the carpet.

Though in the wake of the Bengal Lamps controversy Basu's position in the party has weakened somewhat, this is unlikely to have any bearing on party policies. The political resolution does not deal with any long-term party objectives other than the ritual call to mobilise the secular opposition forces to oust the corrupt Rajiv Gandhi Government in the coming elections. And, to complete the status quo scenario Namboodiripad has emerged as the party supremo again.

But the Opposition remains unimpressed by all this manifestation of the party's claim to public support. Congress(I) MLA M.M. Hassan and some other opposition leaders allege that policemen were deployed in strength to guard the expensive hoardings and cut-outs from the depredations of vandals and the disgruntled. Allegations and snide comments apart, the CPI(M) congress more than anything else, is the crowning glory for the octogenarian Namboodiripad who plotted the party's return to the Trivandrum secretariat and its new ideological role at the national level.

—SREEDHAR PILLAI

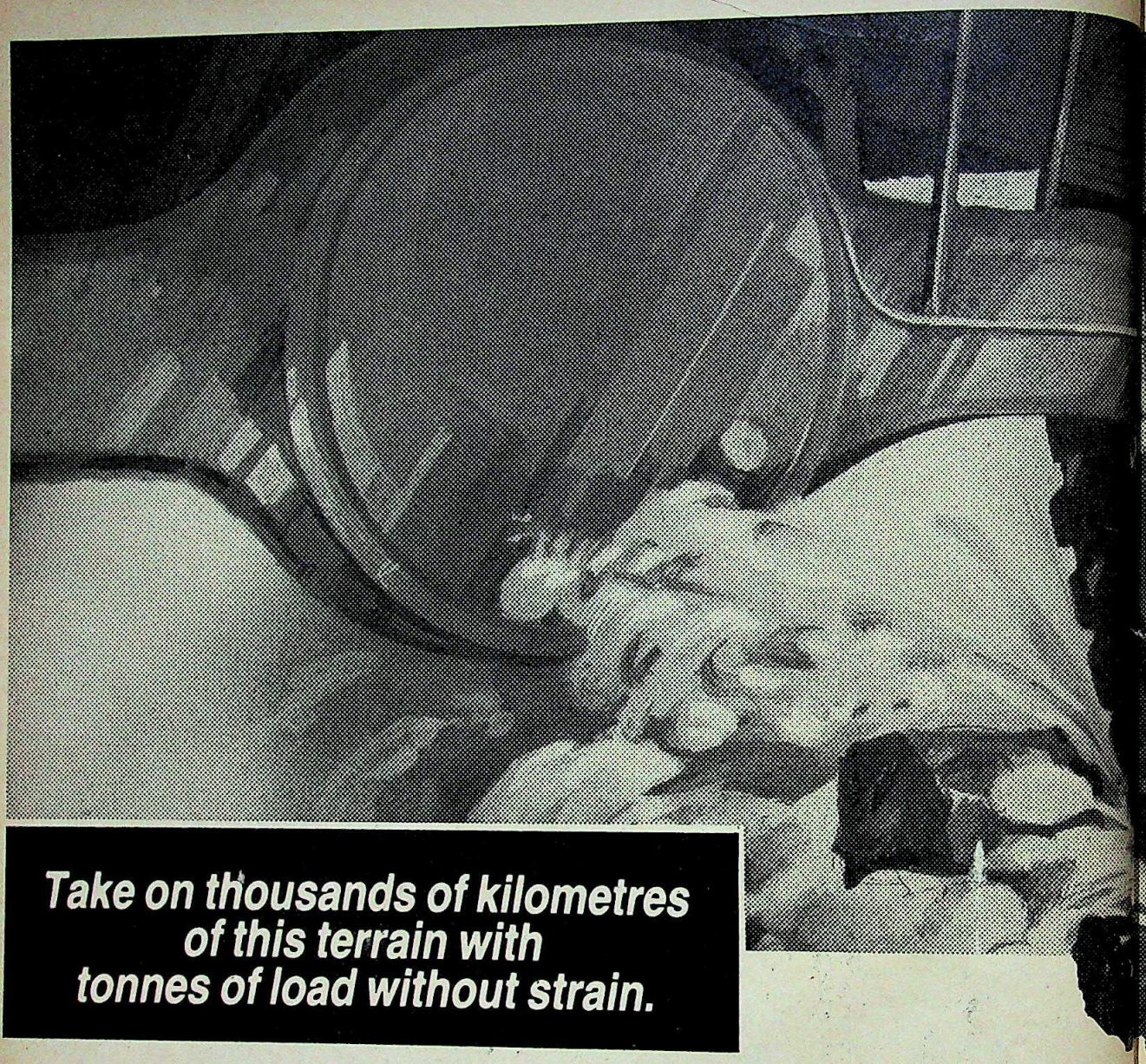
Portraits of Lenin and Stalin at the congress venue: expensive show

HARISH

The CPI(M) leaders and cadres have not spared any efforts or resources to make the party's 13th congress at Trivandrum a grand affair.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Take on thousands of kilometres of this terrain with tonnes of load without strain.

VIKRANT

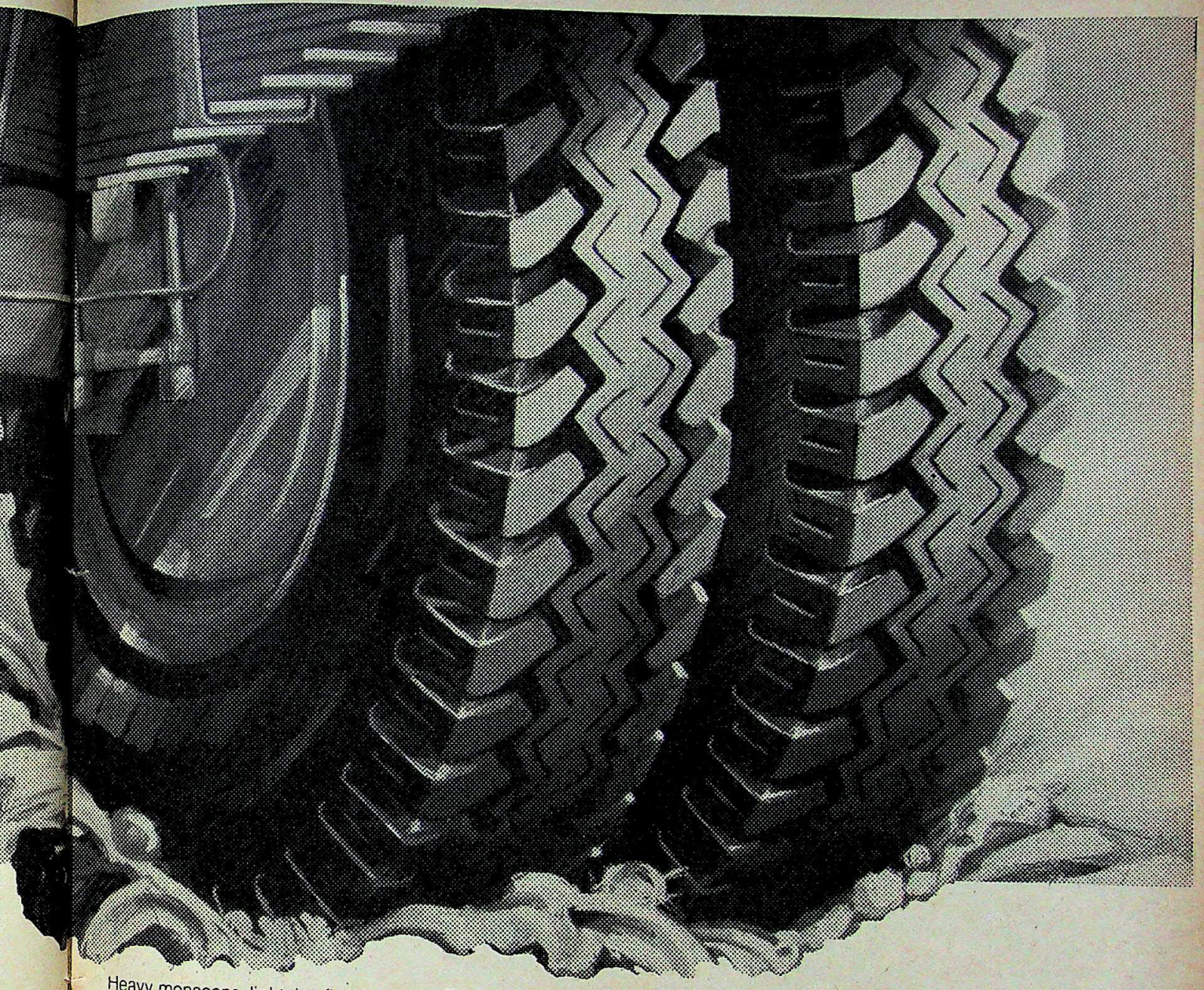
the reliable tyre

With technology that built India's first truck radials.

MAA COMMUNICATIONS VTL 488C

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Heavy monsoons, lightning floods sweeping over the roads, landslides, miles of pot holes; on an Indian road you can expect the unexpected. One tyre is specially designed to meet the challenge of the unexpected — through thousands of kilometres and with tonnes of load. Vikrant — the reliable tyre, with advanced technology tempered to Indian road conditions.

The world's No.1 racing tyre technology

Behind every Vikrant tyre is the technological superiority of Avon of UK. One of the major suppliers of Rolls Royce — the epitome of perfection in automobiles. And the world's No. 1 name in racing tyres. Vikrant R & D harnesses and improves upon Avon technology to suit Indian road conditions.

Technology that built India's first truck radials

When Vikrant R & D focussed its attention on truck radials the result was a tyre so tough it was quickly picked up by the British market. Making Vikrant the first Indian company to produce and export truck radials to the UK.

Vikrant — the original equipment

Vikrant's performance has proven reliable all over the transport industry. It features as original equipment in the vehicles of premier companies like Telco and Ashok Leyland. And carries thousands of people every day on the buses of major State Transport Undertakings all over the country.

So if you want a tyre that has proven itself, that is built with advanced technology and that you can rely upon when the unexpected turns up, you know which tyre to choose.....

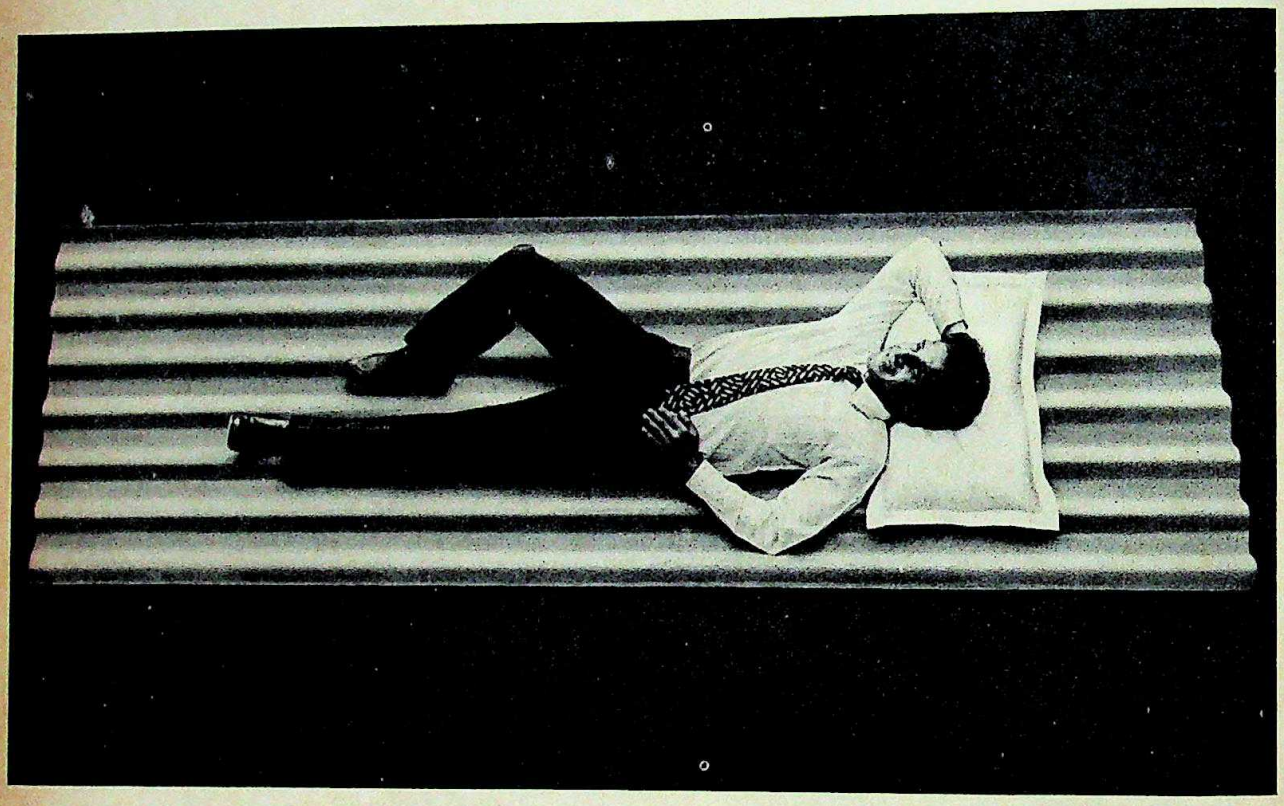
VIKRANT

The reliable tyre.
The responsible company.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR OVER 50 YEARS PEOPLE HAVE BEEN BUYING EVEREST ROOFING SHEETS FOR ONLY ONE REASON.



PEACE OF MIND.

An assurance that's inherent in our quality and service. Making every rupee you spend on your roofing, well spent.

No confusion. At the very start the technical service team recommends the right sheet and accessories. Helps in design and installation. Absolutely free.

No running around. Everest has the largest range of fibre cement products, for a complete roofing system. A nation-wide distribution network for instant delivery.
And a team of consultants for your specific design problems.

No doubts, either. Everest is the only name that is proven over 50 years.
With a "no compromise" policy that begins at the R&D Centre.
A specially developed fibre orientation technology that ensures unmatched strength and durability.
And testing standards higher than even ISI.

No wonder then, people at Godrej, Bajaj Auto, Goodyear, L&T, Kinetic Honda — the list is endless — prefer Everest.

People who have enough on their minds already.

EVEREST
FIBRE CEMENT PRODUCTS
50 YEARS WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

For discussions, contact: Everest Building Products Limited, 'Ashok Bhawan', 93, Nehru Place, New Delhi – 110 019. Tel — 643 2568, 643 2569.

Enterprise/D/EV/93

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Prospects for Peace

THERE'S a glimmer of hope for the return of peace in Manipur. Efforts are on by the R.K. Jaichandra Singh Government to persuade Burma-based rebels of the Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) and other underground groups like the People's Liberation Army to join the national mainstream.

Tompok Singh

Manipur was declared a disturbed area on September 8, 1980, after it witnessed a spate of gruesome violence for nearly a decade. During the last few months Home Minister I. Tompok Singh has been trying relentlessly to woo the rebels by offering attractive rehabilitation plans. These moves would have paid dividends earlier had it not been for a vertical split in the NSCN over responding to these overtures. But the Manipur Government has not lost hope as insurgents have been trickling in from across the border recently to surrender. By last fortnight, 27 of them had given up their violent ways.

Diminishing Compensation

THE secret negotiations between Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) and the Indian Government to settle the claims of Bhopal Gas victims are getting curiouser and curiouser. When last heard, UCC's offer had touched an all-time low of US $ 150 million (Rs 225 crore) in the Rs 3,900-crore damage suit filed on behalf of the victims. This is incredible. As early as March 1986 UCC had agreed to pay $ 350 million. In November 1987 a settlement at around $ 600 million was very nearly negotiated but the Government backed down before a chorus of protests.

That the UCC could show the temerity of offering as little as $ 150 million after a four-year wait shows that the multinational corporation feels that it has got the upper hand now. "They are hard and shrewd bargainers," said an official involved in the negotiations. The problem is that the legal case has reached a deadlock and there is little hope that the victims will get the money even if the Supreme Court okays the Madhya Pradesh High Court order for a Rs 250-crore interim compensation.

Bhandari's Dilemma

WITH assembly elections just a year away, the political climate in Sikkim is hotting up. Not only has a former minister Ram Chandra Poudyal formed a new party, but also the emergence of Gorkha National Liberation Front chief Subhas Ghising has pressured Sikkim Sangram Parishad leader and Chief Minister Nar Bahadur Bhandari to revive his three demands: citizenship for 55,000 people of Nepali origin; change in the reservation of Assembly seats and recognition for the Nepali language.

Last month Bhandari had threatened to go on an indefinite fast if his demands were not met. "I left the Congress to fight for the fulfilment of these demands. I will join them if they do it now," he told INDIA TODAY.

Asked whether he felt threatened by Ghising, Bhandari said: "Ghising was created to counter my popularity and growing influence. He is my junior in politics and I can defeat him even in Darjeeling." What, however, remains to be seen is whether the Rajiv Gandhi Government would oblige Bhandari. Speculation of a possible merger has however dampened the spirits of the defunct state Congress(I) unit.

Subtly Outwitted

A smart move by Tripura Home Minister, Samir Ranjan Burman, has put Jyoti Basu's Government in great embarrassment. In an innocuous official note his ministry sought permission to bring a few police personnel to Calcutta for providing security to Tripura ministers who often visit the state capital.

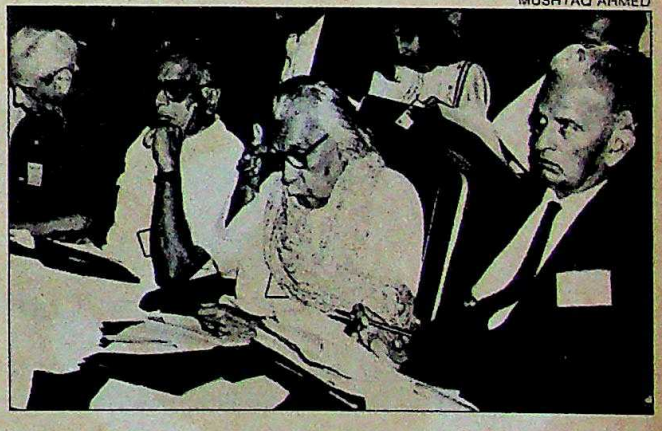
Said the young and wily Burman in Calcutta last week: "Our armed police would be permanently stationed here because the West Bengal Government has failed to provide security to our leaders." Burman recalled attacks on Union Minister of State for Home, Santosh Mohan Dev, and a demonstration against the chief minister during their visits to Calcutta. He also recalled that his son was attacked in Calcutta when he came to take an examination.

Burman's pronouncements have caused a flutter both in the CPI(M) and the Left Front Government. More so because of Dev's statement: "West Bengal is not a safe place for Congress ministers. If I, a Union minister, can be attacked imagine the plight of a Congress supporter." But not be outdone West Bengal Chief Secretary Rathin Sengupta in turn said that deployment of armed police from another state went against the norms of "propriety" but was not illegal.

Sound and Fury

IT promised nothing and delivered nothing, yet it was a landmark event. Last fortnight, the country's nuclear establishment, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) et al graciously agreed to participate in a national debate on the Kaiga nuclear plant in Karnataka. The debate was forced on it by the state Government (the plant is to be located in Karwar, home district of former chief minister Ramakrishna Hegde),

MUSHTAQ AHMED



Karanth (second from right) at nuclear seminar: voice of dissent

which has been under severe pressure from a motley group of environmentalists led by Jnanpith Award winner and respected Kannada writer, Dr Shivarama Karanth.

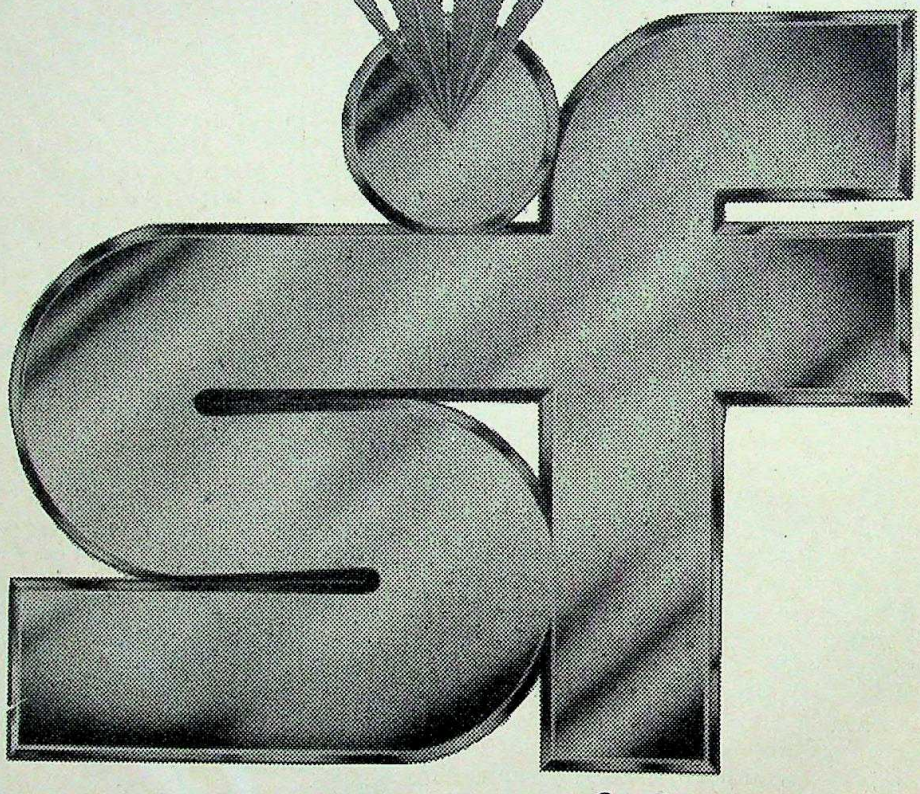
The two-day debate at Bangalore's Indian Institute of Science saw a whole lot of scientists, engineers, technocrats, doctors, environmentalists, politicians and even plain concernists, expounding on the subject with much vigour but without getting anywhere. The debate provided enough fireworks, but at the end of it all the position of the contending parties remained unchanged. An unmoved AEC declared that it would go ahead with the Kaiga plant and the environmentalists swore they would continue their agitation to stall it. The state Government, on its part, says it needed the power no matter how or where it came from.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Our latest honours ...

AAA



... your guarantee of the safest investment.

Sundaram Finance has been awarded the prestigious 'FAAA' (F Triple A) certification by CRISIL, the rating that signifies the highest safety for depositors' money ... the first finance company in the private sector so recognised.

CRISIL Fixed Deposit Ratings represent the degree of safety regarding timely payment of interest and principal by a company accepting fixed deposits. The ratings and their concise significations are:

FAAA Highest Safety ✓

FAA High Safety
FA Adequate Safety
FB Inadequate Safety
FC High Risk
FD Default

CRISIL may apply + (Plus) or – (Minus) signs for ratings from FAA (F Double A) down to FC to indicate the relative position within the rating category.

SUNDARAM FINANCE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CRISIL — Credit Rating Information Services of India Limited — is promoted by the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Limited and the Unit Trust of India with the primary objective of rating debt obligations of companies.

The ratings, designed to guide the investor in determining the risk attached to any particular security — a practice in vogue in the US, the UK, Canada, European countries, Australia and Japan — take into account not only the financial health of an organisation but also its competitive position, strength and weakness, its management and business strategies.

The pillars of strength of Sundaram Finance

1. Sundaram Finance's total resources, built over the years by its prudent and dynamic policies, exceed Rs. 275 crores, the highest among Hire Purchase Finance Companies.

2. Its hire purchase portfolio consists mainly of road transport vehicles, which are easily marketable. It has an effective collection machinery which ensures good recoveries. Over 90% of receivables falling due in any year are collected within the same year.

3. Sundaram Finance maintains liquidity at 1/3rd of the total deposits, providing an extra margin of security for depositors, as against 1/10th of the deposits, statutorily required. This ensures prompt repayment of deposits as well as premature payments, whenever needed.

4. Its depositors now exceed 1,20,000. Over 90% of the depositors have placed their deposits for 3 years, the maximum permissible period under the RBI rules. More than 80% of such deposits are repeatedly renewed, reflecting the trust and confidence built up over three decades.

5. Sundaram Finance provides computerised and personalised service backed by a team of experienced and dedicated professionals.

No wonder, Sundaram Finance has met the rigorous standards set by CRISIL on every count ... The 'FAAA' rating is a sure proof that Sundaram Finance today is the strongest amongst the finance companies — and by far, the safest investment proposition.

Sundaram Finance Limited
21 Patullos Road Madras 600 002

ACCEPTS PUBLIC DEPOSITS

SCHEME I: CUMULATIVE DEPOSITS

Amount	Period	Maturity Value	For every additional sum of Rs.1,000/-	Annual Yield
		Rs.	Rs.	
Rs.3,000	2 years	3,957	1,319	15.95%
	3 years	4,545	1,515	17.17%

SCHEME II: FIXED DEPOSITS

PERIOD	1 YEAR	2 YEARS	3 YEARS
Rate of Interest per annum	13%	13½%	14%

1. Minimum amount Rs.3,000/- for a deposit account. Additions in multiples of Rs.1,000/-.
2. Deposits are accepted at our Head Office and at our Madurai, Bangalore, Trichy and Tirunelveli Branches. Deposits can also be made through all other branches of the Company.
3. Outstation cheques are accepted at Par.
4. The repayment of deposits are made at Par.
5. In Scheme I, interest compounded bimonthly at 14% p.a. will be credited to the depositors' account as on 31st March every year and will be payable on maturity.
6. In Scheme II, interest will be paid once in two months of a calendar year by warrants on State Bank of India, payable at Par by all their branches in India.
7. Interest paid/credited under both the Schemes will be subject to deduction of tax at source in accordance with the Law in force.
8. Deposits are also accepted from Non-Resident Indians.

Application forms containing detailed terms and conditions can be had from the Registered Office of the Company at 21 Patullos Road, Madras 600 002, and also from the Branches/Offices mentioned below.

Deposits accepted are subject to the directions issued by the Reserve Bank of India in respect of Non-Banking Financial Companies.

Particulars required to be specified as per Non-Banking Financial Companies & Miscellaneous Non-Banking Companies (Advertisement) Rules 1977 are given below:

a) Name of the Company : SUNDARAM FINANCE LIMITED

b) Date of incorporation of the Company : 11th August, 1954

c) Business carried on by the Company and its subsidiaries with details of branches : Hire Purchase on cars, jeeps, light and heavy commercial vehicles and machinery and Equipment Leasing and allied activities.
BRANCHES: Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Bellary, Bombay, Calicut, Cannanore, Coimbatore, Cuddapah, Ernakulam, Erode, Guntur, Hubli, Hyderabad, Kottayam, Kumbakonam, Kurnool, Madurai, Mangalore, Manjeri, Mysore, Namakkal, Nellore, Palghat, Pondicherry, Pune, Quilon, Raichur, Rajahmundry, Salem, Tirunelveli, Trichur, Trichy, Trivandrum, Vellore, Vijayawada & Visakhapatnam.
SUBSIDIARY: India Equipment Leasing Ltd., 21 Patullos Road, Madras 600 002. Mainly Equipment Leasing.

d) Brief particulars of the management of the Company : The Company is managed by its Whole Time/Managing Directors under the Supervision of the Board.

e) Name, address and occupation of Directors:

NAME	ADDRESS	OCCUPATION
Shri T S SANTHANAM (Chairman of the Board of Directors)	"Gopal Bagh" 180 Mount Road, Madras 600 006.	Businessman
Shri T N PADMANABHAN, M.A., B.L. (Vice Chairman)	4 Bazullah Road, T. Nagar, Madras 600 017.	Company Director
Shri N E S RAGHAVACHARI, I.C.S. (Retd.)	Plot No. 62, First Avenue, Indira Nagar, Madras 600 020.	Retd. Govt. Official
Shri R K SESHADRI	71 Pachayappa's Hostel Road, Off McNichols Road, Madras 600 031.	Retd. Govt. Official
Shri S NARAYANAN	15 Parthasarathy Gardens, Madras 600 018.	Company Director
Shri S VIJI	33 Poes Garden, Madras 600 086.	Company Director
Shri S RAM	29 Prithvi Avenue, Madras 600 018.	Company Director
Shri T RAMADHADRAN	9A Madhuban, AJ Bhonslae Marg, Bombay 400 021.	Bank Executive
Shri G K RAMAN, B.Sc., B.L., Dip. in B.M. (Deputy Managing Director)	10, 12th Cross Street, Indira Nagar, Adyar, Madras 600 020.	Company Director
Shri S RAGHAVAN, B.Com., F.C.A., A.C.S. (Deputy Managing Director)	16 North Street, Sriram Nagar, Madras 600 018.	Company Director

f) & g) Profits of the Company, before and after making provision for tax and dividends declared by the Company for the three financial years immediately preceding the date of advertisement.

Year ended	Profit before provision for tax (Rs. in lakhs)	Profit after provision for tax	Dividend declared
31.12.1986	288.23	267.23	16%
31.03.1987 (3 months)	122.09	115.34	4%
31.03.1988	555.57	468.07	20%

h) Summarised financial position of the Company as appearing in the two latest audited Balance Sheets:

LIABILITIES	As at 31.3.88	As at 31.3.87	ASSETS	As at 31.3.88	As at 31.3.87
	(Rs. in lakhs)			(Rs. in lakhs)	
Share Capital	600.00	600.00	Fixed Assets*	3,335.97	2,844.05
Reserves & Surplus	1,507.82	800.00	Investments	211.55	191.38
Secured Loans	2,456.28	2,674.33	Current Assets	18,253.97	16,188.23
Unsecured Loans	12,792.55	10,839.01	Loans & Advances	673.29	451.52
Current Liabilities & Provisions	5,118.13	4,761.84	Miscellaneous Expenses	—	—
			Profit & Loss Account	—	—
TOTAL	22,474.78	19,675.18	TOTAL	22,474.78	19,675.18

* Depreciated under Written Down Value method.

NOTE: Brief particulars of Contingent Liabilities:	31.3.1988 Rs.	31.3.1987 Rs.
i) Estimated amount of contracts to be executed on capital account and not provided for	65,03,190	1,08,19,811
ii) On cheques discounted but not realised on the date of Balance Sheet	22,16,114	1,05,81,985
iii) Counter Guarantees to Bankers	38,24,038	37,87,438
iv) Liability under Letters of Credit	5,51,540	90,31,000
v) Claims against the Company not acknowledged as debts	11,13,642	10,86,641
vi) Uncalled liability on partly paid shares	—	16,650
vii) Income-tax demand on the Company not paid, against which appeals are pending	96,32,777	1,77,214

i) a) The amount which the Company can raise by way of deposits under the directions : Rs. 210.78 crores

b) The aggregate of deposits held as on 31.3.88 : Rs. 127.93 crores

j) The Company has no overdue deposits other than unclaimed deposits.

k) The Company hereby declares that:

i) The Company has complied with the applicable provisions of the directions;

ii) the compliance with the directions does not imply that repayment of deposits is guaranteed by the Reserve Bank of India and

iii) the Deposits accepted by the Company are unsecured and rank *pari passu* with other unsecured liabilities.

By Order of the Board
For SUNDARAM FINANCE LIMITED
S VENKATESAN
Secretary

Place: Madras
Date : 25th November 1988

Issued under the authority of and in the name of the Board of Directors of the Company who have by a Resolution dated 25th November, 1988 approved the above text.

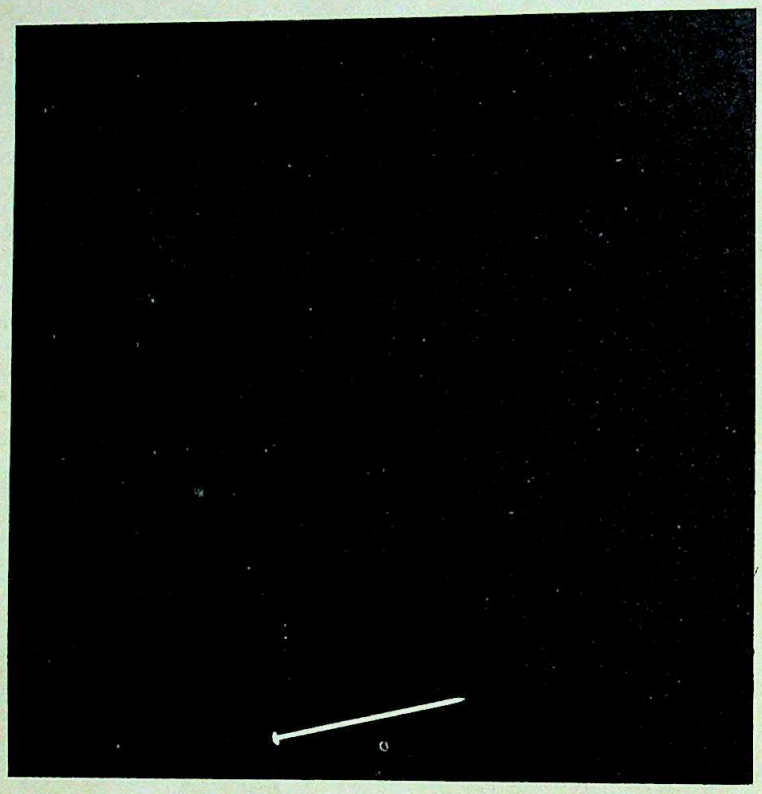
OVER THREE DECADES OF LEADERSHIP

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

R K SWAMY/SF/6629

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OUR AIR-CONDITIONING IS SILENT.
OUR SERVICE IS SILENT.
NEED OUR ADVERTISING MAKE A NOISE?



Silence is the language of efficiency. Observe any of our central air-conditioning plants, packaged air-conditioning units or humidification systems.

Silence is also the hallmark of dedication. Meet any of our 150 committed engineers.

And finally, silence is also the sign of satisfaction. Even a single dissatisfied customer can make more noise than the collective smiles of our 500 satisfied customers in India and abroad.

No wonder, we'd like it more if instead of the trumpet, you heard the pin.

AIR-CONDITIONING & REFRIGERATION DIVISION

BATLIBOI

For a century, the engineers' engineers.

For further details, contact: **Batliboi & Company Limited**, Apeejay House, Dr. V.B. Gandhi Marg, Fort, Bombay-400 001. Telex: 011-2284/4852. Fax No: (91-22) 2871558. Offices: ☐ Ahmedabad ☐ Baroda ☐ Bangalore ☐ Calcutta ☐ Coimbatore ☐ Delhi ☐ Ernakulam ☐ Indore ☐ Jaipur ☐ Jamshedpur ☐ Lucknow ☐ Ludhiana ☐ Madras ☐ New Delhi ☐ Patna ☐ Pune ☐ Secunderabad ☐ Vijayawada. Manufacturing Division: Udhna (Surat).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWSMAKERS '88

What remain most indelibly etched in the mind's eye with the passage of 1988 are the larger-than-life people who shaped or were pushed centre-stage by the year's events. Rulers and friends-turned-challengers clashed viciously in the nation's political theatre. Kisan leaders and secessionist chieftains locked horns with state governments and the Centre. Supercops battled terrorists. The nation kept vigil as a cinematic giant—romantic nonpareil—lay dying in the capital's All India Institute of Medical Sciences. A Supreme Court lawyer baited the prime minister and the President. A meddlesome godman gave the Bofors scandal a new twist. Two strong-willed women fought over the political legacy of a charismatic regional leader. So, in the final count, it was a year of personalities enwrapped in clash and confrontation. Weak ones, powerful ones, melodramatic ones, charismatic ones. All made news in the year gone by.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

POLITICS

STAR CROSSED

WHEN he first began walking on the public stage he had walked alone. While in search of a solid platform he had a clear slogan and target. In 1988 he lost both and alongside a lot of his appeal and mission. His friends became his enemies and enemies friends. A man known for his clear-headed and target-oriented approach, he fell to the path of political convenience.

Rajiv Gandhi or Vishwanath Pratap Singh?

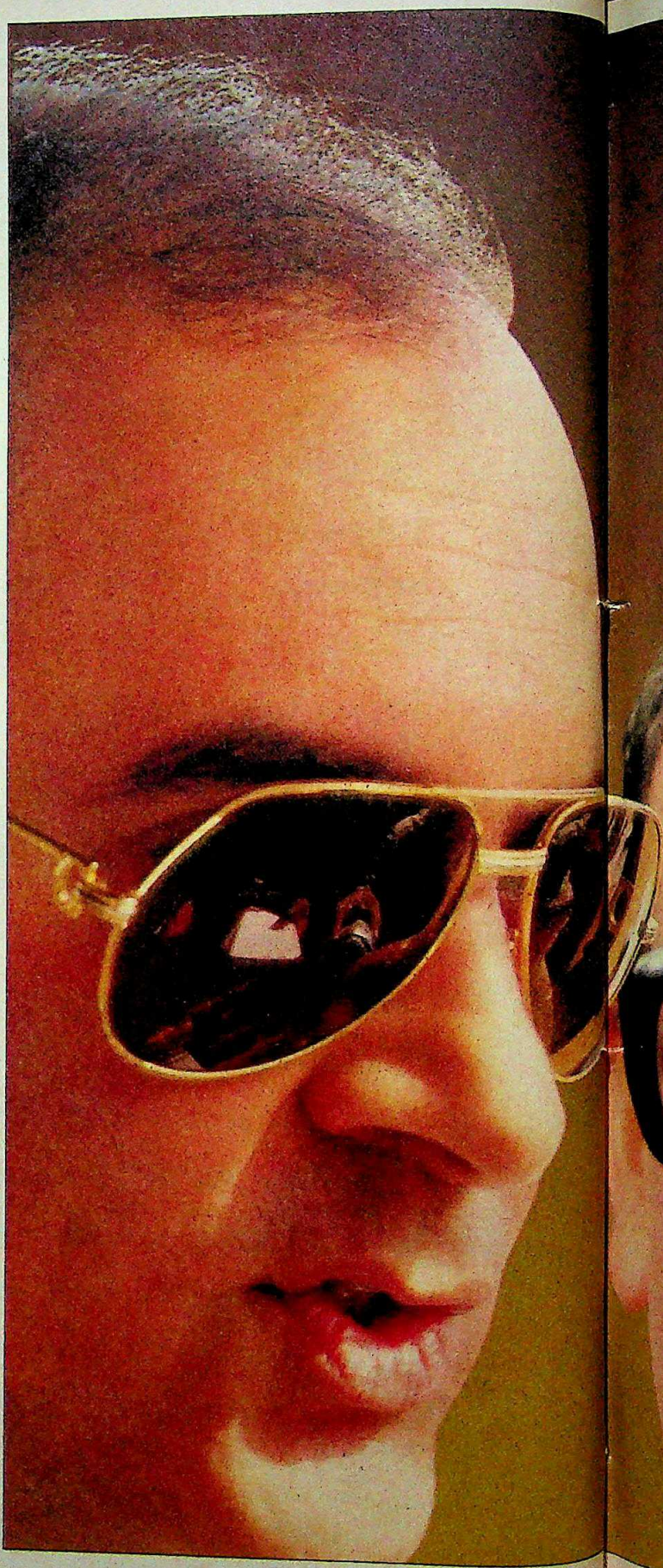
The answer is: both.

The fate of one—as with the star-crossed protagonists of a Shakespearian tragedy—meshed with the other. Both remained trapped in situations of their own making. Rajiv lost so much ground he was forced to fall back on what he had rejected before. Cabinet reshuffles continued (the last one on June 25 bringing the tally to 24) and partymen once deemed embarrassing—K.K.Tewari, Kalpnath Rai—became invaluable. Prodigals returned—A.R. Antulay and Pranab Mukherjee—and the choice of chief ministers—Arjun Singh, N.D. Tiwari, Bhagwat Jha Azad—pointed to the hopelessness of Rajiv's options.

Singh's dilemma was no different. If Rajiv's glorious December 1985 mandate took nearly four years to erode, Singh's coming only last June at Allahabad, was in the doldrums before September was out, his Jan Morcha stalwarts quibbling with him. Like arch-foe Rajiv in the ruling party, Singh remained the only opposition leader to enjoy a national image. Yet, he dissipated much of it. The past year saw him as a man more comfortable with compromise than confrontation. And at the end of it he was still grappling to hammer the warring factions of the Opposition into a coat of mail that could withstand the electoral battle to come. His dithering was evident in the seven long weeks he took to finalise (eventually on December 1) the steering committee and national executive of the Janata Dal. And then it was doubly evident in their size—of Jumbo dimensions the former had 22 members, while the latter 141, rendering both ineffective. And yet the squabbling continued.

Through the year both Rajiv and Singh encouraged a mounting sense of frustration. Was either capable of ruling the country? With Singh, typically, the answer remained ambiguous. There was moral strength but lack of political fortitude; there was administrative experience but apparently no vision. To a nation in search of an alternative, he continued to be a maybe. And Rajiv—said his foes—had moved conclusively towards being a has-been. At year-end a discomfiting choice faced voters—a maybe or a has-been?

Rajiv responded to the challenges of the year by ferreting out imitations from the past. He culled entire chapters from Mrs Gandhi's political handbook. On February 24 Vice-President and Rajya Sabha Chairman S.D. Sharma made an emotion-choked offer to resign as Congress(I) members ran amok, and Rajiv watched with a smile. And in the same month the honourable prime minister declared the Planning Commission



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Through the year both Rajiv Gandhi and V.P. Singh encouraged a mounting sense of frustration. Was either of them capable of ruling the country?

members "a bunch of jokers". On August 30 the infamous Defamation Bill echoed in Parliament. And on the 31st of October Rajiv had reduced political opponents to "not enemies of Congress alone...also enemies of the nation". Singh offered an electoral reforms plank, and Rajiv took entire sections from it. But the reforms bill passed on December 15—though historic in its repercussions—left much to be desired, ignore as it did reforms on the crucial issues of power and money misuse by parties.

Rajiv finally forsook his image of the gentleman-politician. Ferociously attacking his opponents at every turn, he became a mere creature of his speech-writers ('a national affront') and of Doordarshan ('And now the headlines. The prime minister today...').

Singh too continued to blunder. He accused Rajiv of having taken a part of the Bofors pay-off and when the ruling party counter-attacked venomously in Parliament, he baulked, unable to substantiate the charges. In the public eye, he stood clearly diminished in stature.

The year also saw both Rajiv and him pander to the same groups—the illiterate rural masses—and abandon the constituency of the middle class which had seen them as their saviour.

In 1988 Rajiv and Singh, in a very real sense, finally walked away from themselves. Their charm had lain in the fact that they were loners, quixotic outsiders charging the barricades of a venal establishment. But through the year as the two fought each other and sought allies, they became indistinguishable from the establishment. And at year-end had lost their special identity, forsaken their distinctive appeal.

—INDERJIT BADHWAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

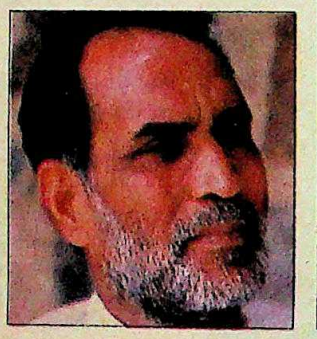
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

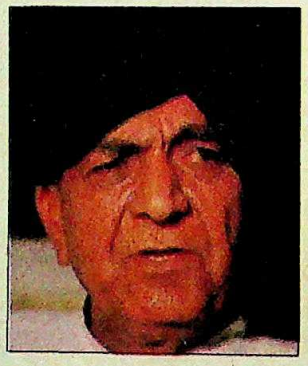
OPPOSITION

CLASHING EGOS

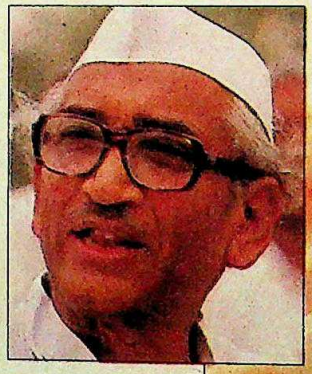
"V.P. Singh cannot be my leader."
CHANDRA SHEKHAR



"All those working against opposition unity are Congress(I) agents."
DEVI LAL



"The Opposition has failed in giving a decisive leadership."
H.N. BAHUGUNA



THE quick silver constellation of non-communist opposition politics was clouded in confusion during 1988. As if caught in a time warp, its main characters repeated what they had done exactly eight years ago in 1980. Ever fighting, ever back-stabbing, the ego clashes of the main characters presented an image of warlords engaged in an internecine 'Star Wars'.

And the man who walked off with the mantle of 'Darth Vader of Opposition unity' was the bearded Chandra Shekhar. He began the year with the clamour of "V.P. Singh cannot be my leader" and "I cannot assent to submersion of the Janata Party's history", but ended it parleying with Singh (for 22 hours in three days last fortnight) and merging the party with the Janata Dal.

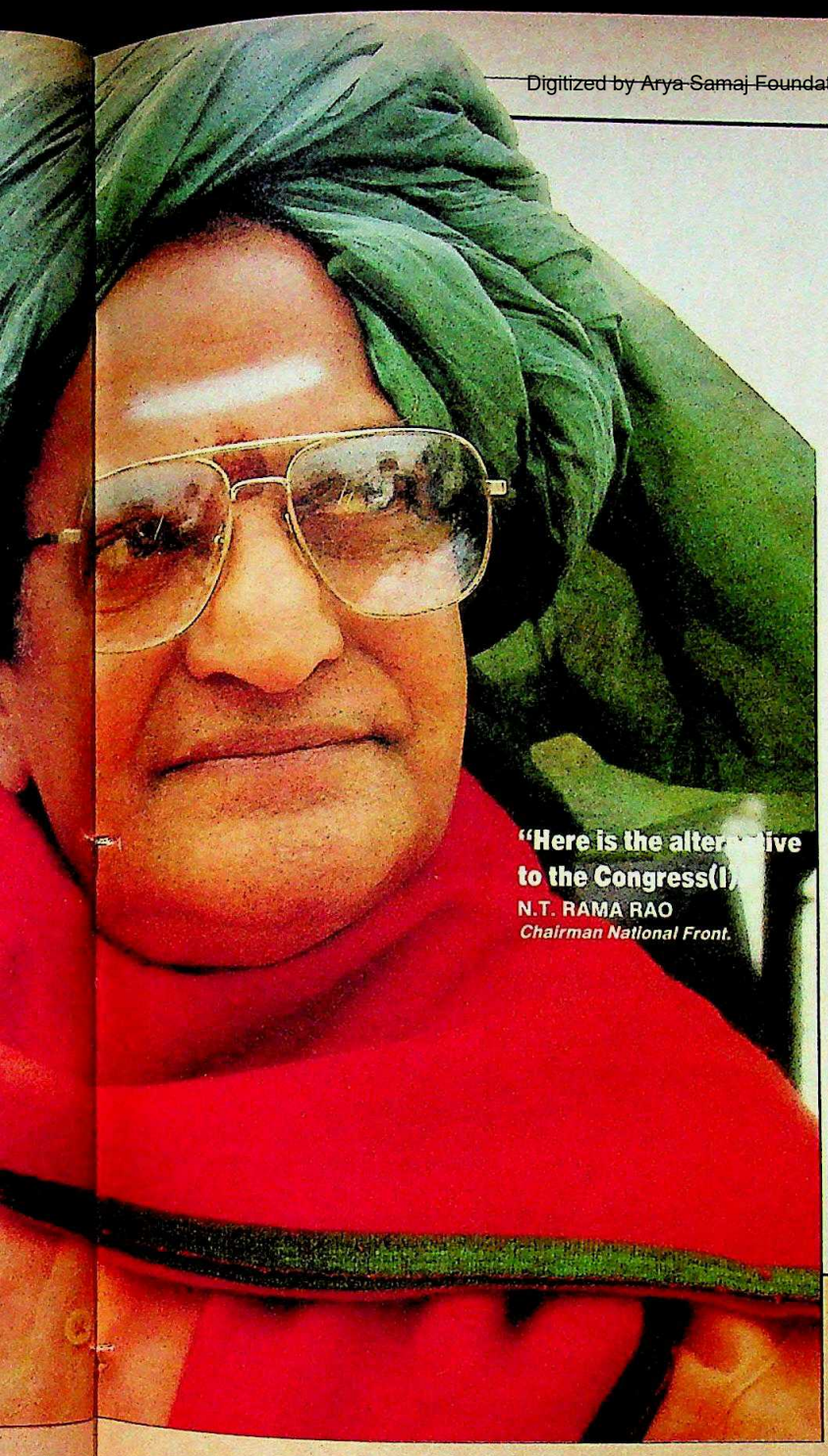
Chandra Shekhar's biggest victim was Ramakrishna Hegde whose stars failed miserably. First he lost to a rank outsider—Ajit Singh—the captaincy of the Janata spaceship. He protested in an interview: "A national alternative need not necessarily be from the Hindi heartland." Then tangled in a telephone tapping scandal, he lost his six-year-old chief ministership of Karnataka in August. "Nobody can keep me away from national politics," he warned his detractors. Finally, he became a strong candidate for the Janata Dal's vice-presidency.

But another leader from the south, N.T. Rama Rao, proved his star status by launching the National Front into a safe orbit. "Here is the alternative to the Congress(I)," he said while assembling the galaxy of dissenting opposition leaders on one platform in September. His formula for bringing seven regional and national parties together was simple: Keep the communists and the BJP out and give every man a post. At home, he countered every attack of the Congress(I) deftly and did his share of theatrics.

Devi Lal tried his version of lance-thrusts but faced lasergun rapid-fire from opponents. Striving to restore the shattered facade of opposition unity, the six-foot Jat launched broadsides at his adversaries. Frustrated in his efforts at forging peace, he shouted: "All those working against unity are Congress(I) agents." He forgot that in the National Front there was place for every personality conscious man, while merger of parties involved compromises and sacrifices. But whatever

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

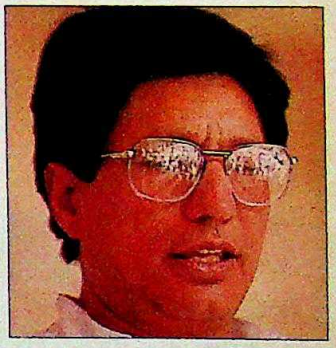
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"Here is the alter[illegible]ive to the Congress(I)"
N.T. RAMA RAO
Chairman National Front.

"A national alternative need not necessarily be from the Hindi heartland."
R.K. HEGDE

"If they don't want us in a united opposition, it's their problem."
AJIT SINGH



unity was achieved could be well ascribed to his earthy political manoeuvres. "Mahabharat lasted for 18 days. Our Mahabharat took one year and 18 days. Now we are taking positions for the coming battle," he said confidently last fortnight.

While peace-making in the then alien territory of the national political arena, his fortress in Haryana was attacked and his family had to face charges of scandal. But all along he kept his party president H.N. Bahuguna on a leash and a watchful eye on his arch-rival, Ajit Singh.

Ajit's was a meteoric rise. Beginning the year with his minuscule Lok Dal faction, he soon usurped charge of the Janata Party in March and by the year-end he was waging an ambitious battle for the number two post in the Janata Dal. "I have arrived on the national political scene in this year and I am here to stay," he said. But while zooming to this new high, he lost a lot of shine on way when caught hob nobbing with Chandra Shekhar to storm the Hegde bastion. When his men were dropped from the Janata Dal's national executive in November, he sulked: "If they don't want us in a united opposition, it's their problem."

The man who was sucked into the anonymity of a black hole was H.N. Bahuguna. Humiliated by Devi Lal who expelled him from the party, Lok Dal(Bahuguna)—which still bears his name—and ditched by his own lieutenants, he shifted his battleground to Lucknow, trying to garner Jat support in the name of the late Charan Singh during December. His latest saying: "The Congress(I) has lost the faith of the nation because of its misdeeds but the Opposition has also failed in giving a decisive leadership." There were few takers for this wisdom since he himself had failed on this count.

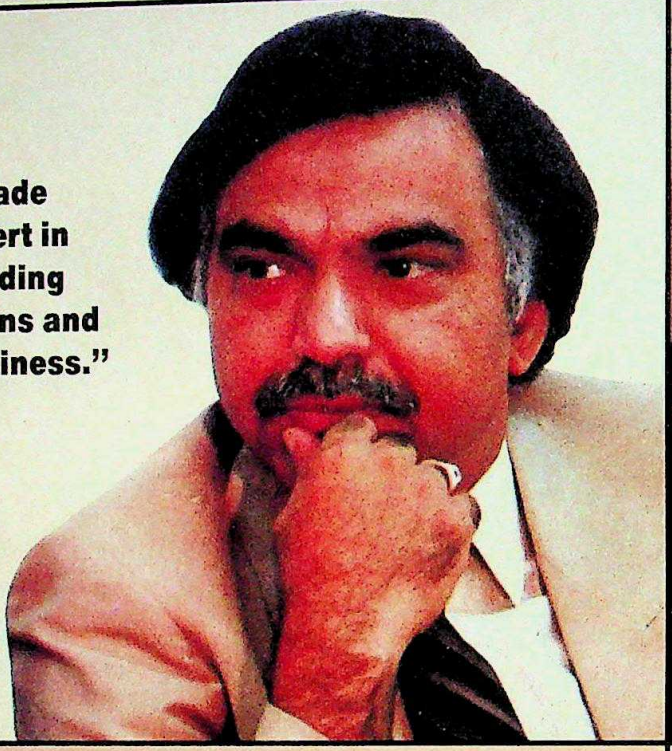
But sadly, that was the lasting impression from the opposition imbroglio. While the leaders fought each other, the Congress(I) launched an offensive with Rajiv Gandhi's war cry that the National Front was "an affront". And a belated realisation dawned upon the warring opposition leaders that if they did not change their course, the electorate will deservedly dump them to the dustbin of history.

—PANKAJ PACHAURI

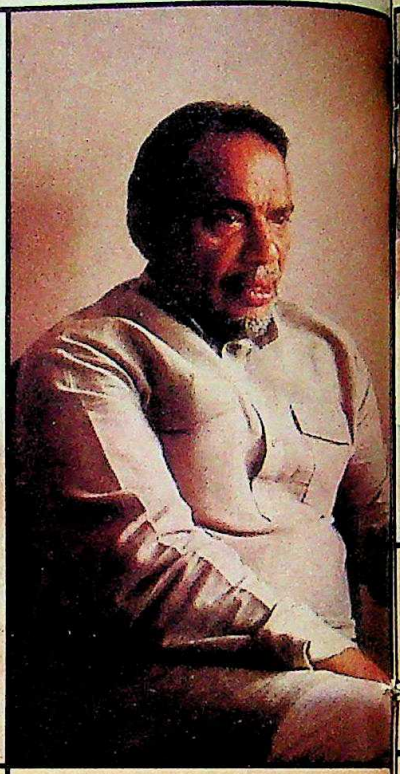
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

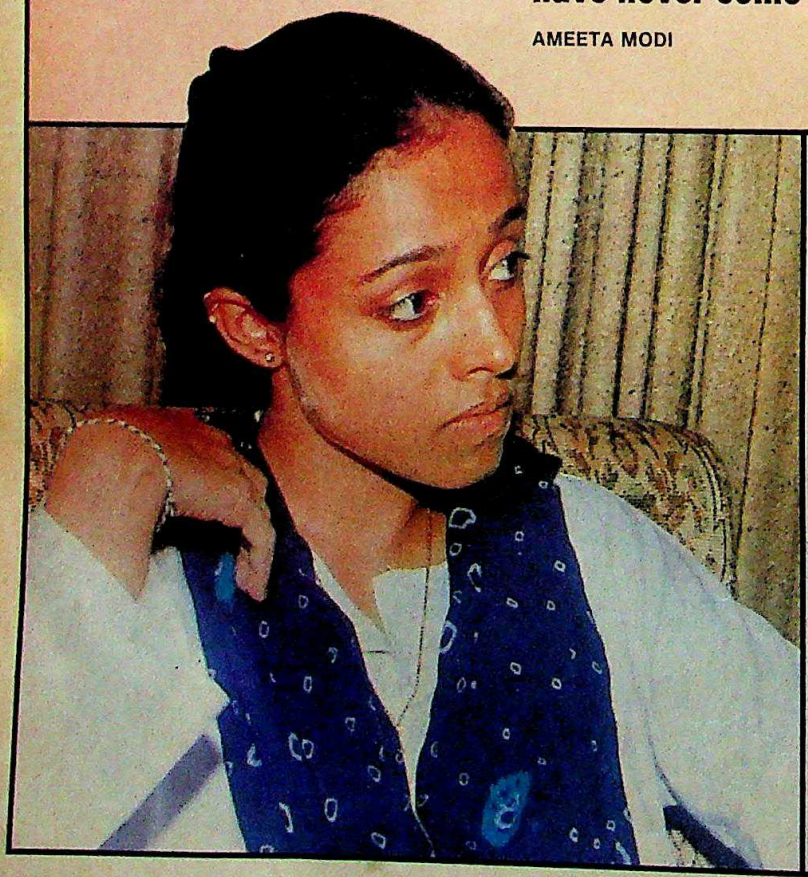


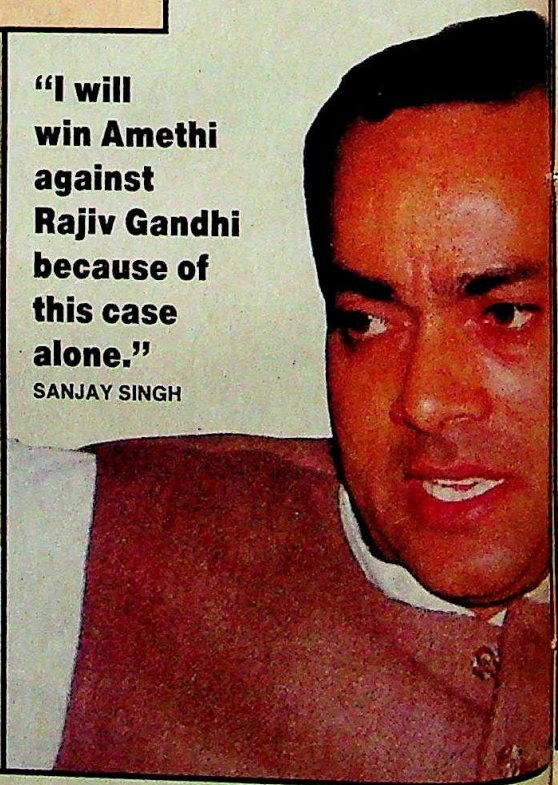
"I am a self-made man. I am expert in steel body building and know the ins and outs of the business."
LALIT SURI



"I never remembered Modi more than I did in the jail cell. I kept thinking that had he been there, I would have never come here."
AMEETA MODI

"It (tapping) was not being done with my prior approval."
R.K. HEGDE





"I will win Amethi against Rajiv Gandhi because of this case alone."
SANJAY SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Unethical methods of character assassination are being employed by certain elements in our public life."
SATISH SHARMA

CONTROVERSY

A VOLATILE MIX

AN explosive potpourri of murder, sex, crime and scandals kept the nation's enormous appetite for controversies sated right through 1988. Samplers from the murky broth:

A badminton star is shot dead late one evening and his equally famous wife and her alleged paramour become the key suspects. Spicing the plot is the fact that the 'other man' happens to be a close associate of the ruling party's source of indigestion.

A wily chief minister gets entangled in a tapping scandal and all his legendary charm cannot stave off his resignation.

More bloodshed when the wife of a grandson of another opposition chief minister accidentally fires a bullet under her chin and the Congress(I) does some skullduggery.

Meanwhile, two of the prime minister's chums, get embroiled in controversies over subjects as far-fetched as pipelines and coffins.

And to end the year with high drama, the nation's supreme arbiter of justice, stays the hanging of a prime minister's assassins and the executioners lower the rope in disappointment.

But if the stuff was eminently palatable to readers, for the *dramatis personae* it was a matter of life or death. Among the most haunting images were the soulful eyes of Ameeta Modi; they revealed the continuing tragedy that began on July 28 when her husband, Syed Modi, was shot dead outside a Lucknow stadium gate. Enter: the dashing Sanjay Singh, one-time Congress(I) darling now in league with its arch rival V.P. Singh.

What followed would have confounded even Dame Agatha Christie. For the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) sleuths, however, it was an open and shut case. Ameeta and Sanjay Singh, a family friend, were having a torrid extra-marital affair, the investigators claimed. Ameeta had even kept diaries where she referred to a certain S2 rather too fondly. When Modi objected to their relationship, Sanjay Singh is alleged to have hired goons to bump him off. But when the CBI took their "cast-iron" case to court, embarrassing holes kept showing up. And to the ruling party's dismay, the mud on Sanjay Singh's face fast disappeared.

Another politician who barely succeeded in turning adversity to advantage was the fading opposition star, former Karnataka chief minister Ramakrishna Hegde. At the height of his battle with rivals in the Janata Party, taped telephonic conversations between then president Ajit Singh and H.D. Deve Gowda—seeking to topple Hegde—were mysteriously leaked. Hegde's trump card, however, turned out to be a joker. The laugh was on him when the Central Government produced evidence to show that his government had ordered the tapping of telephones of several opponents and cabinet colleagues. Hegde resigned citing "value-based politics". By then his standing had been devalued.

Meanwhile, the usually vocal Haryana strongman Devi Lal was rather reticent over the death of Supriya, wife of his grandson, Abhay Singh. The Devi Lal clan maintained that on November 11, at their farmhouse, Supriya opened a briefcase containing her husband's gun and accidentally set off the trigger.

The Congress(I) cried murder. Party MP, Hardwari Lal, better known for his *Aya Lal Gaya Lal* antics, thought there was more to it than meets the barrel. After all, as he puts it: "Revolvers don't go off unless the trigger is pressed firmly." The ruling party is unlikely to allow Devi Lal to rest on his chronically aching back over the episode.

If the Congress(I) thought it could make mincemeat of the Opposition, it soon found itself in a soup. In the midst of it all was the prime minister's charmed circle of friends. For a change it was not the usual Bachchanalia. Instead the spotlight fell on the little known Lalit Suri, friend of Captain Satish Sharma, the prime minister's political co-pilot.

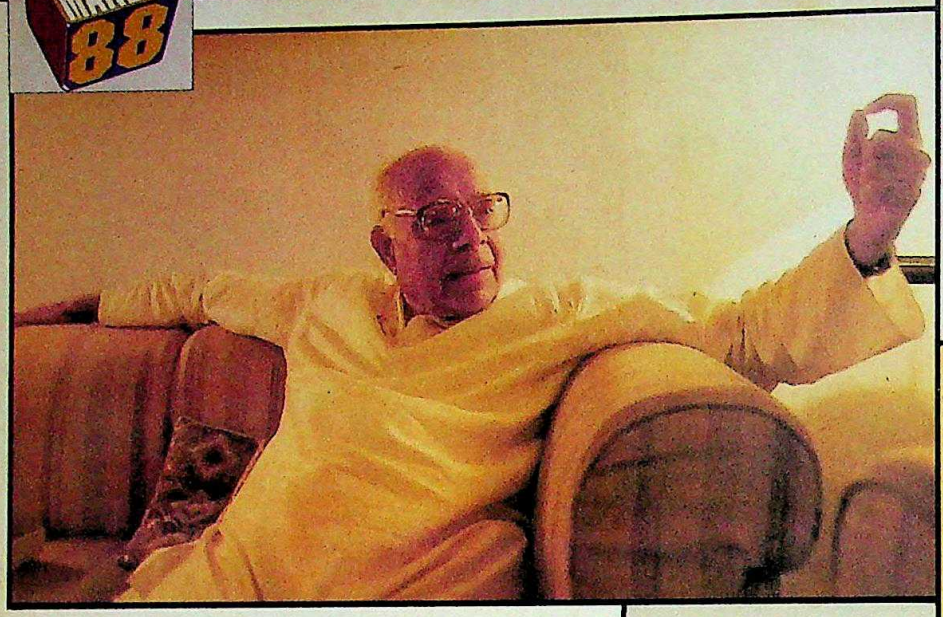
Suri, who drives around in a sporty Mercedes, suddenly found bumps on his smooth road to success. *The Statesman* dug up evidence in July to show that Jyotsna Holdings (owned by Suri's wife and mother-in-law) had received commissions worth Rs 6.61 crore from Sumitomo Corporation of Japan. The cut was for a Rs 100-crore steel pipes order of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

WHILE the scandal rocked Parliament, Suri maintained there was nothing fishy about the deal. He had even declared it to the Income Tax Deparment; paying over Rs 3 crore as taxes. The Central Government put up its now familiar road-block, saying "it would investigate the matter". Suri, however, is still in the hot seat.

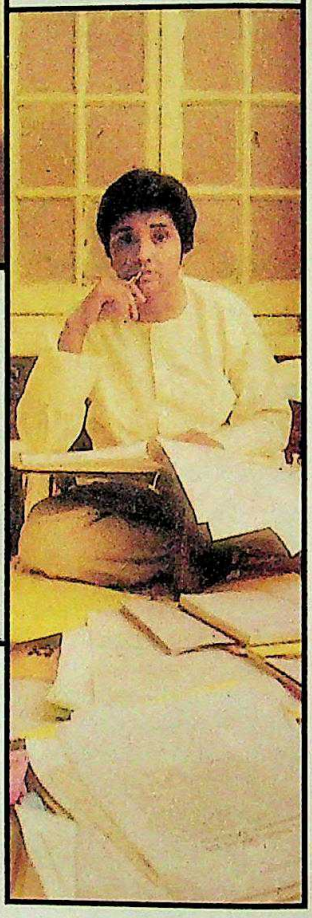
Meanwhile, his friend Captain Sharma was again at it with his tiles. Sharma's marble-tiled swimming pool had Rajiv committing the gaffe of declaring that it was normal for pilots to possess such pools. The public ridicule was boundless. Ram Jethmalani, the feisty lawyer-turned-politician, flashed documents drawing a link between a certain Virginia Cover De Rodrigues, vice-president of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"I have no choice but to keep fighting on."
KIRAN BEDI



Panama-based Svenska company (of Bofors fame), and a US firm, Tribute Caskets, that had sold coffins to Maruti Technical Service in 1975. Sonia Gandhi happened to be the managing director of Maruti Service at that time and Jethmalani even produced a letter to show Sharma was involved.

As Jethmalani saw it, the evidence proved that the ruling family had links with Svenska—which netted Rs 40 crore as commission in the Bofors deal. The captain saw only red and produced letters from Tribute Caskets denying that they had employed Ms Rodrigues or that Sharma was involved. Nothing more was heard of the issue after that.

Several governors and chief ministers too were locked in unseemly battles. In Andhra Pradesh, on Republic Day, Governor Kumudben Joshi waxed eloquent about the Centre's generosity towards the state. Chief minister N.T. Rama Rao termed her blatantly partisan and threatened to cut back Raj Bhavan expenses. Undeterred, Joshi went on a blitz of public meetings: by year-end she got Raj Bhavan to publish a 663-page volume of her select speeches.

In West Bengal, former pugilist Jatin Chakraborty or Jackie, the state's maverick public works minister, engaged himself in a fight-to-quit bout with Chief Minister Jyoti Basu. He charged Basu with favouring Bengal Lamps with which his son, Chandan, was associated. In November, a charged Basu finally showed Jackie the door. Jackie's parting shot—"I never hit Jyoti Basu below the belt."

In Delhi, several people got the boot when cholera struck the capital in August and showed how diseased the civic administration was. Among those who got the marching orders was Lt-Governor H.L.Kapur. Said the former air vice marshal "A soldier fights on and he dies with his boots on."

"I feel so alone. I would have seen this guy (Rajiv Gandhi) out of office. But my hands are so full."
RAM JETHMALANI

ANOTHER person fighting— uniform still on—is the gutsy Kiran Bedi. She earned the lawyers' ire on January 21 when she allegedly ordered a lathi-charge on a group of lawyers protesting against treatment meted out to a colleague. And when a mob attacked the lawyers the very next month—the police reportedly looked the other way—they (lawyers) struck work bringing courts to a grinding halt. A judicial committee is now enquiring into the incident. Meanwhile, Bedi was trasferred from her controversial post of DCP of Delhi's north district.

By year-end, law and death were still the dominant themes but for a different reason. The Supreme Court was making the most crucial and difficult judgement since the country's independence: the death penalty for the conspirator and assassin of the late prime minister Indira Gandhi. While the President dithered over "executive pardon", the court refused to be swayed by emotional considerations. It stayed the hangings of both Satwant Singh (one of the two security guards who pumped the fatal bullets into Mrs Gandhi) and Kehar Singh, a clerk, and alleged co-consipirator, till their petitions were heard.

But the man who stole the legal thunder was Jethmalani. Whether arguing for Kehar Singh and Sanjay Singh or unearthing documents linked to the Bofors deal, Jethmalani proved he was a "barking dog" with plenty of bite. After ensuring the hanging of Kehar was stayed, glass of scotch in hand, he declared: I feel so alone. "I would have seen this guy (Rajiv) out of office. But my hands are so full."

Never mind, Mr Jethmalani, a new year has just begun.

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

THE MAVERICKS

CARVING FIEFS

THEY started out as mere mavericks who shunned established herd politics and dared to stake out their own territory. But like other strong-minded people convinced of their cause, they gathered an immense following. Opposition by the state turned that following into a political constituency, and them into leaders. On their own turf, maverick leaders Mahendra Singh Tikait and Subhas Ghising have proved they cannot be trifled with. They may well be the forerunners of a new breed of earthy politicians springing from regional grassroots.

The bull-necked Tikait locked horns with the Uttar Pradesh Government by launching a new kind of non-cooperation movement: farmers were asked not to pay electricity bills or repay bank loans. He railed at the Government's lop-sided priorities. "The handpump in the primary health centre in my village has not worked for 12 years, and yet government ministers can spend crores on the weddings of their children."

At that time he had threatened to blockade the capital. "We can starve the cities of milk and vegetables." Instead, Tikait marched his kisan cohorts into Delhi, and gave the capital's elite a dusty taste of peasant power. The ubiquitous ice-cream vendors fled the India Gate lawns and the police stood sheepishly by as volunteers of the Bharatiya Kisan Union directed traffic along Rajpath. The ruling party, which wanted a confrontation even less, shifted its massive Indira Gandhi commemorative rally away from India Gate. After all, no election can be won with an antagonised peasantry.

But just when his star seemed in the ascendant, the unpredictable Tikait called off the dharna. Having made his point, he retreated to Sisauli village in Muzaffarnagar district to contemplate his next move over the community hookah. Through all this, Tikait retained the non-political purity of his movement. No politician was allowed onto the stage at India Gate despite friendly overtures by the opposition stalwarts who carted in buckets of water when the Delhi Administration cut off the squatting kisans' water supply.

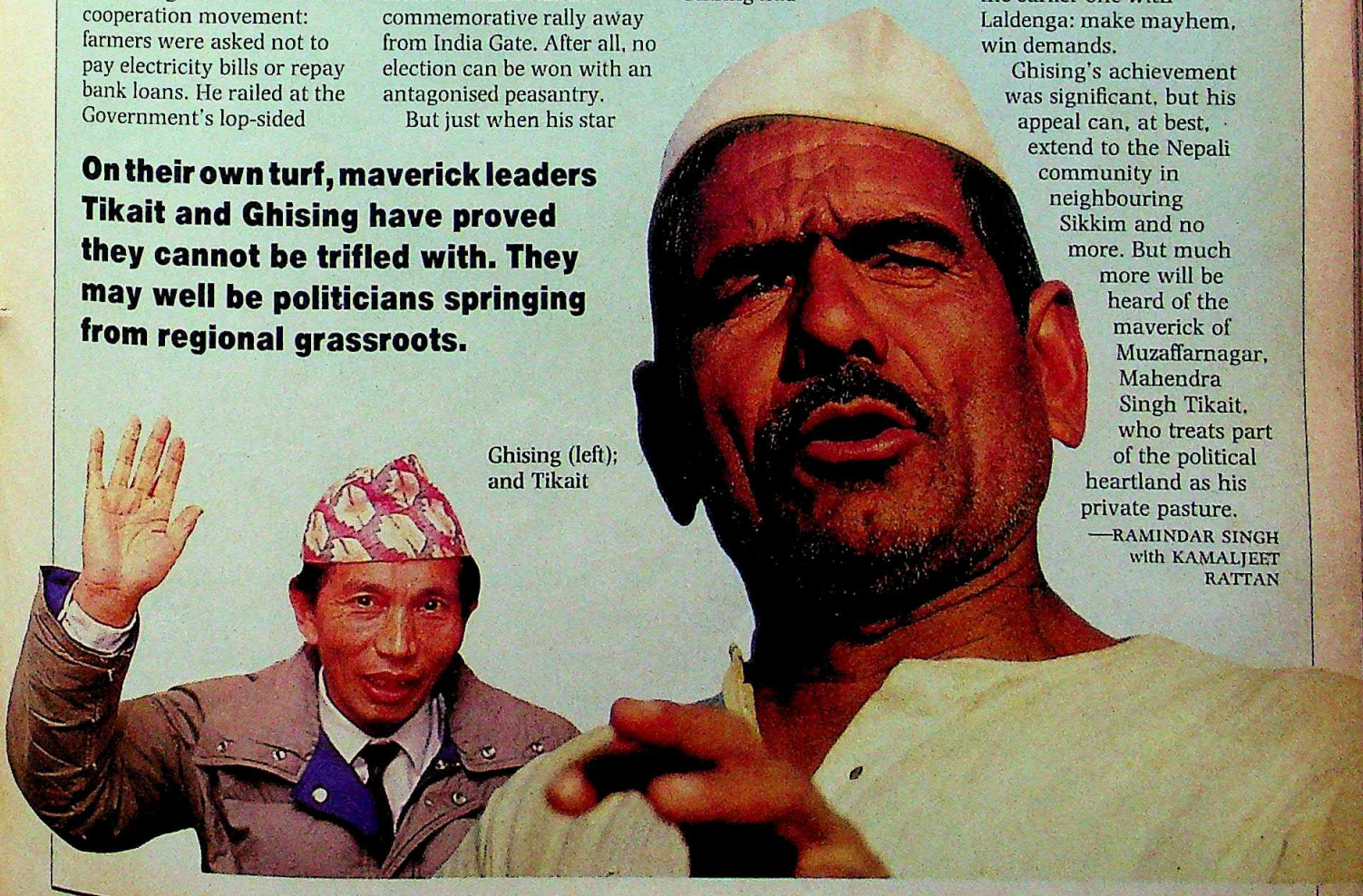
Farther east, Subhas Ghising too kept political parties at bay in his fight for greater autonomy for the Gorkha settlers in the Darjeeling hill region. In the process he defeated Jyoti Basu's well-entrenched CPI(M) in the elections to the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council. But unlike Tikait, Ghising had powerful political godfathers in Delhi. Home Minister Buta Singh and the prime minister egged him on, and used his resources to breach Basu's once impregnable bastion. Ghising demonstrated his possibilities in awesome fashion, rendering the hills trouble-wracked, and endangering the areas timber, tourist and tea trades.

What made him drop the Gorkhaland demand? "I realised a separate state was not possible...and civil war was in the offing. How could I let that happen?" he asked. But this could turn out to be a pyrrhic victory for the Central Government as autonomy does not take long to snowball. "We will have no other choice but to demand separation from West Bengal...if the (state) Government creates trouble for us," Ghising warned. Peace was welcome, but a disturbing moral emerged from the GNLF accord, and the earlier one with Laldenga: make mayhem, win demands.

Ghising's achievement was significant, but his appeal can, at best, extend to the Nepali community in neighbouring Sikkim and no more. But much more will be heard of the maverick of Muzaffarnagar, Mahendra Singh Tikait, who treats part of the political heartland as his private pasture.

—RAMINDAR SINGH with KAMALJEET RATTAN

On their own turf, maverick leaders Tikait and Ghising have proved they cannot be trifled with. They may well be politicians springing from regional grassroots.



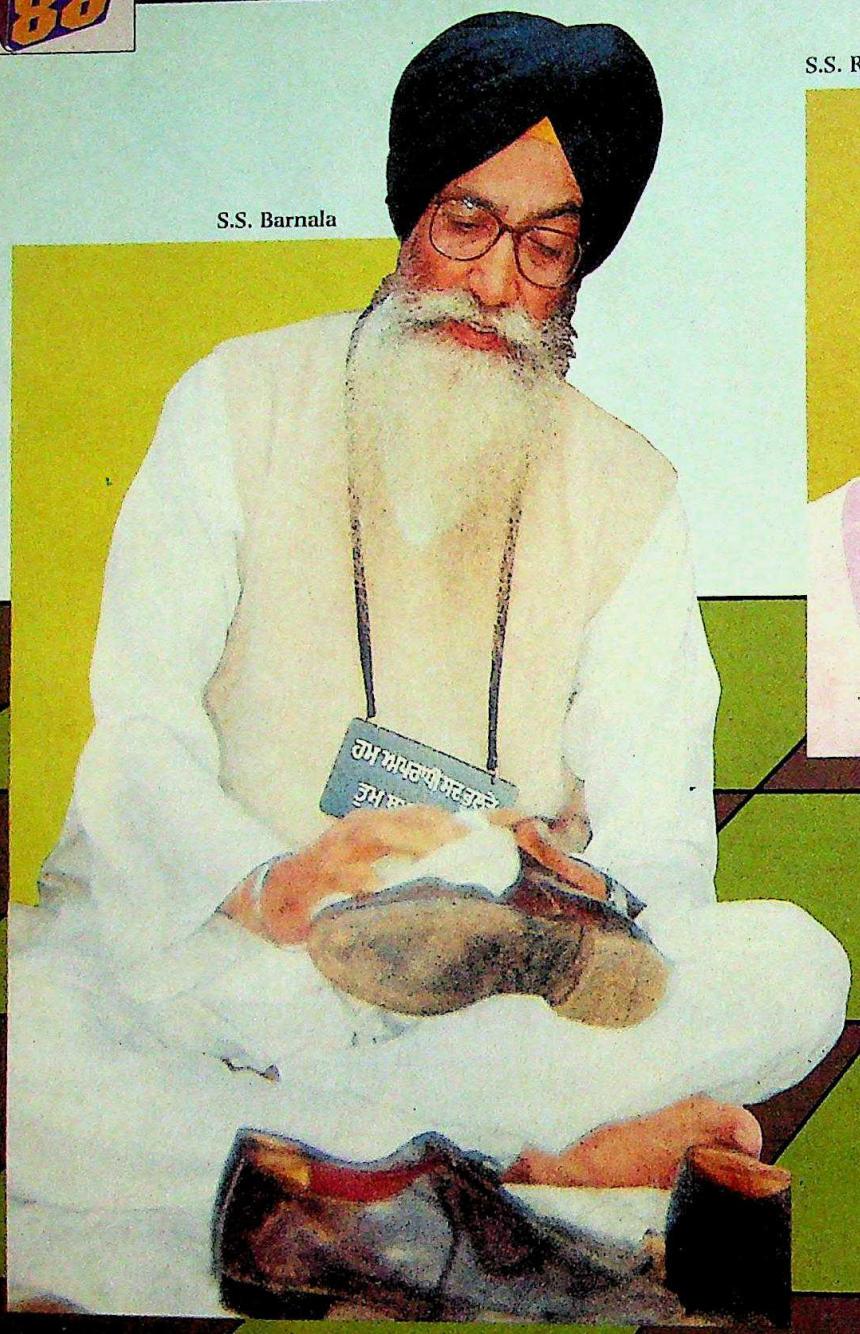
Ghising (left); and Tikait

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

S.S. Barnala



S.S. Ray

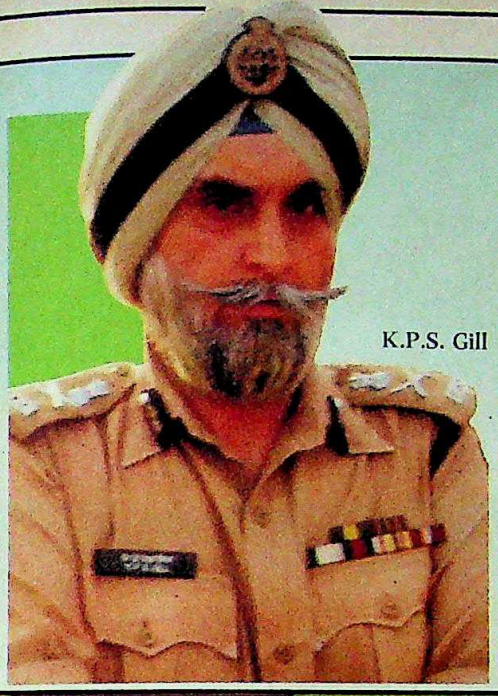
S.S. RAY: "Although terrorism has been controlled, the number of killings continues to cause anxiety." (October 24)

BARNALA came a full circle and began penance, declaring: "I accept the Akal Takht's verdict happily."

The Centre's endless blind man's buff with the Akali luminaries came to nought. Badal failed dismally to unite the Akalis or present a moderate mien. Talwandi tried fruitlessly to bloom late. And Barnala saw the year out reduced to medieval rites of atonement.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



K.P.S. Gill

TERRORISM'S TOLL
1985—64
1986—435
1987—910
1988—3,074
(till December 24)

PUNJAB

BLIND MAN'S BUFF

THEY are the luminaries of a state known for producing an annual montage of such horror and tragedy as cannot be matched by any other. They come in all garbs—clergy robes, terrorist bandannas, politician kurtas and administration coats and khakhi—yet contribute to the same thing: the nightmare story. And this year they oversaw a death toll that overleapt the 3,000 mark. In 1987 the score was a modest 910.

In 1988 nothing changed in Punjab but for the worse. Only suave Governor Siddhartha Shankar Ray continued to be lyrical about the steadily improving situation in Punjab. He mouthed lyric, struck with a mailed fist, and remained party to the Centre's thrust and parry games that went on winding the state's affairs into a convolvulus that will brook no unravelling.

The montage of 1988 was reminiscent of that watershed year of 1984. There was the same mounting spiral of terrorist violence, senseless and devious decisions, panic, a security forces' action followed by euphoria, and then once again the mounting spiral of mayhem, senseless decisions, and a widespread feeling of helplessness.

January dawned in horrific fashion as a trend of family killings swept the state. The terrorist recoil was so overwhelming that Julio Ribeiro, icon of the state's resilience, could declare resignedly in March: "I am not in Punjab to build a career. I am retired and on extension. I am here because nobody else came forward to accept the challenge."

Then all of a sudden—new advisors spawning new tactics—the Centre appeared to be circumventing the challenge through political stratagem. An obscure priest Jasbir Singh Rode, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's nephew, was released from prison to reach Amritsar in triumph and enter the Golden Temple amid the tumult of detonating firearms. When Rode was anointed Akal Takht jathedar at a resplendent ceremony in April, and the weapon-brandishing militants refrained from separatist speeches, hope surged in the media and administration.

That was a mirage for the ignorant. Rode came riddled with contradictions—opposed by the Panthic Committee and the Damdami Taksal—and within four weeks had shown himself to be of feeble spine and mind, clearly consigned to the heap of failed Punjab initiatives. But there was no time to lament, as over-hyped militants shot at the courageous DIG, S.S. Virk, and in decision-making of an order seldom witnessed, immediate siege was laid to the temple complex.

In mid May the Government covered itself with glory for the surgical handling of Operation Black Thunder 2 inside the Sikh shrine. There were several heroes—the nameless "black cats" of the NSG whose professional poise thrilled; the tall, unflappable chief of the state's security forces, K.P.S. Gill and an upright IG (border areas), Chaman Lal.

Gill did not take long to plummet from the heroic heights of Black Thunder 2. Controversy first erupted when he allegedly patted the rump of an IAS officer, Rupan Deol Bajaj. Scarce had the brouhaha begun to subside that IG Chaman Lal quit his charge in controversial and self-righteous fashion as the Government, now covering itself with ignominy, tried to foolishly resurrect the moribund fortunes of Rode. The IG indicted Gill for repression and political machinating, and declared that decisions on Punjab were being taken by "remote perception".

Gill, who became police chief when Ribeiro was named advisor, also remained involved in skullduggery as part of the ruling troika. Alignments kept changing, and past mid-year the twin-like Ray-Ribeiro appeared to have drifted apart somewhat, and it was Gill who seemed to have the governor's ear.

Meantime, the Centre's endless blind man's buff with the Akali luminaries came to nought. Prakash Singh Badal of the Unified Akali Dal failed dismally to unite the Akalis or present a moderate mien, and on May 29 was once again put away under NSA. Jagdev Singh Talwandi, UAD president tried to bloom late, but did not promise to bear fruit. The gnomish Akal Takht Jathedar Darshan Singh Ragi, after long months in oblivion, reappeared on centre-stage at year-end to chastise Surjit Singh Barnala.

And it was Barnala who provided the lasting impression of 1988. As he resorted to medieval rites of atonement—light years away from his stand against Ragi's diktats in February 1987—he presented the clue to why despite the elimination of major terrorist chieftains, such as Labh Singh and Avtar Singh Brahma, and a successful flushing operation, Punjab in the past year had moved yet another step away from sanity.

—TARUN J. TEJPAL

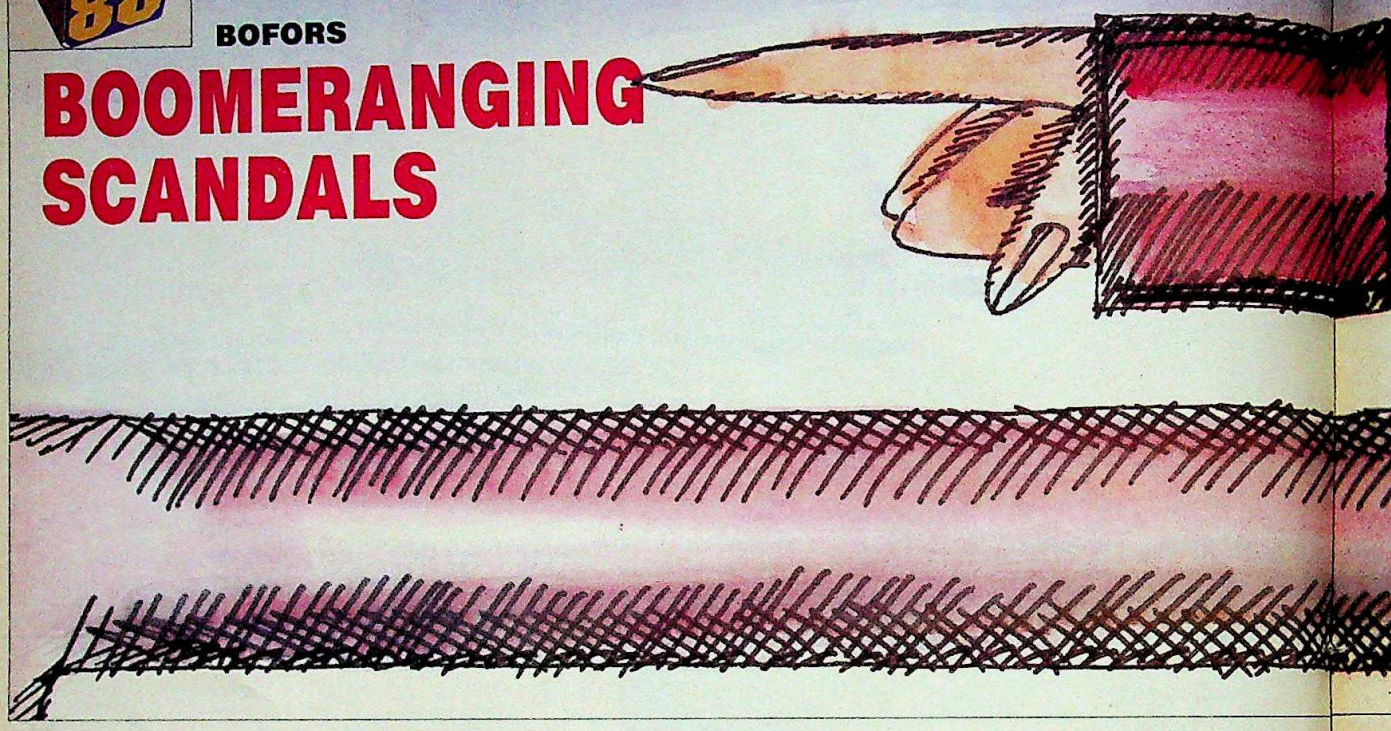
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

BOFORS

BOOMERANGING SCANDALS



LIKE an ominous dark cloud, the controversy loomed over the country's landscape for the last 12 months. More than hundred pages of documentary evidence published by *The Hindu* between April and November, days of the Parliamentary furore, five walk-outs and 13,725 hours of investigations by the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) later, the key question remained unanswered: who got the Rs 64-crore in the Rs 1,427-crore purchase of the AB Bofors' 155 mm Howitzers.

> **"The money may have been paid for industrial espionage."**
> RAJIV GANDHI

The smoke around the gun-deal got thicker every time a new piece of evidence surfaced and every time the Government ducked in defence. But what shook the Government most was incontrovertible documentation showing that money paid was definitely commissions for specific work done in India to facilitate the Bofors contract.

This knocked the bottom out of the Government's variously shifting stands. In 1987, Rajiv Gandhi had denied in Parliament that any commissions had been paid. He then held that the payments were possibly "winding up charges". And in February, the JPC had given the Government a clean chit. But on November 4, V.P. Singh, in a speech at Patna, recycled the evidence published in *The Hindu* in June, and accused Rajiv of being the recipient. "If I am proven wrong," he said, "I will take sanyas." Responding to Singh on November 10, Rajiv denied having any bank account outside India, but admitted, "we have never denied this (payment of commissions)". A few days later he said the money was paid for "genuine work, gathering information... that is, industrial espionage".

> **"If I'm proven wrong, I'll take sanyas."**
> V.P. SINGH

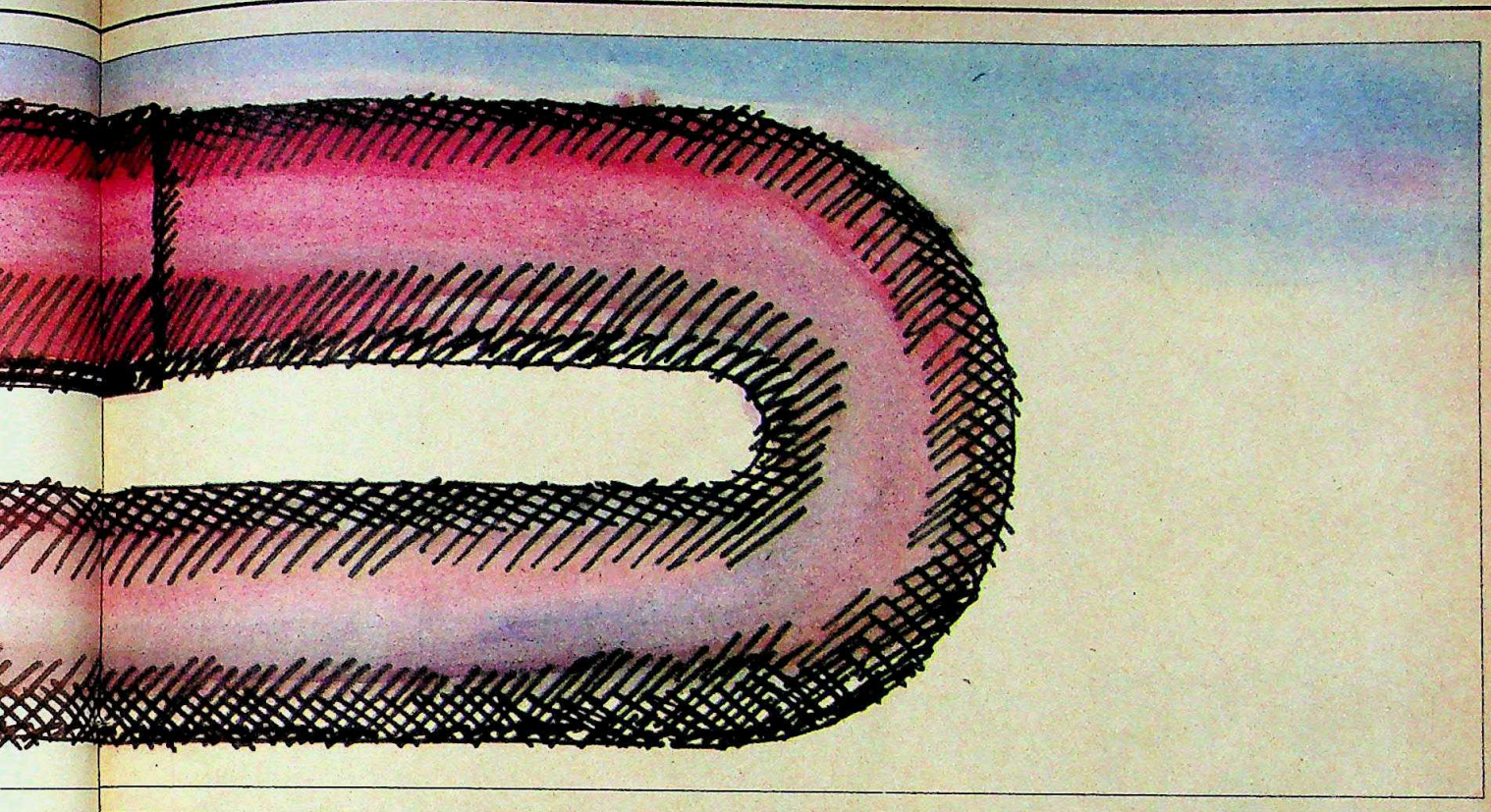
What added even greater incredulity to the Government's posture was that notwithstanding Rajiv's repeated assurances in 1987, early in 1988 and then following *The Hindu* disclosures that the CBI was investigating the evidence, the CBI failed to produce any report as the year ended. But Bofors also rebounded politically on V.P. Singh who refused to repeat his charges in Parliament when challenged to do so and said lamely: "If I am a thief, hang me. But where did the Bofors money go?"

Meanwhile, *The Hindu*'s reports were mocked and doubted by the Congress(I) megaphones. But Associate Editor N. Ram asserted: "Our documentation is strong."

One of the players in the hide-and-seek game finally emerged from the shadows. W.N. Chadha's Anatronic Corporation disappeared from the telephone directories but his face appeared on every front page. Abusing mediamen on his arrival from the security of the US, he walked into the witness box—only to reveal nothing. But his past caught up with him when his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



earlier pay cheques were found missing from his present tax records. And when the prime minister went on record calling him a suspect, many feared that he would be made a patsy. But Chadha shot back in anger: "I will see that no one makes me a scapegoat."

If Chadha's role came under the microscope, those who escaped the ambit of inquiry were the brothers Hinduja. Despite repeated accusations, the Government refused to rope them in an investigation. The prime minister and his lieutenants even spoke in the language of their press hand-outs. Detractors quipped: Hinduja Rashtra.

The Hindujas' involvement with Bofors remained mysterious. Especially because they countered every query with a deadpan "we have nothing to do with the deal. The documents published are forgeries". The guessing game thus became more fierce in an environment where the official investigators were seen digging up little evidence while burying more.

One of them, M.G. Katre, received a fresh lease of life as the director of the CBI. How did he fail to unearth what a reporter in Geneva did? His answer was unconvincing: "As official investigators we work through traditional channels, while a reporter can beg, borrow or steal information." But in its quest for information, the Government tapped unconventional sources like a fly-by-night guru. Gadfly Chandraswamy indicated last year that he would sing the dark secrets of a meeting between former Bofors boss, Martin Ardbo and the tycoon gun-dealer, Adnan Khashoggi. For sometime he promenaded as the man who had the answer. But as the year wore on he seemed to have genuflected in front of the people whom he accused. Ardbo, who kept a diary which significantly had Hindu, Muslim and Christian dates on its pages, was not available to decipher its contents which were all Greek to the readers. Only he and 'H' knew who the all important 'G' was, but they were not telling.

Instead of solving the jigsaw puzzle, the Government always hid behind the convenient flag of patriotism: "The guns are good. And those raking the controversy are demoralising the army." But it ignored the fact that buying good guns is no excuse for a dirty deal.

V.P. Singh understood this catch and recycled *The Hindu* documents in November to refresh public memory. The Congress(I) abused him for hawking old wine in a new bottle and in the process fermented the brew.

Throughout 1988, the Bofors affair gave an image of a powder-keg whose fuse was shortening with each expose. The election year could prove the year of explosion.

—PANKAJ PACHAURI

"Our documentation is authentic and it is strong."
N. RAM

"I will see that no one makes me a scapegoat."
WIN CHADHA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

HINDI CINEMA

ROMANTIC RITES

THE Cassandras have gone hoarse predicting the death of commercial Hindi cinema. But in 1988 the bells finally tolled. Block-busters fell like nine pins. The stack of unreleased films piled higher. Producers grew desperate: even dead-ends were crowded.

But in the encircling gloom there were a few sparks. The brightest was the July release *Qayamat Se Qayamat Tak* with its unbelievably young and unknown trio—director Mansoor Khan and the leading pair of Aamir Khan and Juhi Chawla. The film catapulted Khan with his softly tragic looks to instant cult status.

Aamir Khan: cult status

The old movie moghuls may be losing the Midas touch but a new one—N. Chandra—seemed to have acquired it. His third feature film, *Tezaab*, with the unlikely Anil Kapoor as the anti-hero, hit the halls in November and proved a runaway winner.

1988 saw the hero being edged out to one side of the picture by the heroine. Dimple and Rekha, with their seasoned sensuality, dominated the box-office, outshining the twittering flock of starlings. Acting still matters, obviously.

While, the era of women-oriented films did not quite arrive, the trailers were on display. For Dimple the year began with a bang with *Insaaniyat ke Dushman*, but the big hit came with *Zakhmi Aurat*, a copy of the American film, *Sisterhood*. The audience lapped up the tale of a policewoman who is raped and then organises other victims to castrate the rapists.

Revenge was also the theme of Rakesh Roshan's *Khoon Bhari Maang*, the come-back vehicle for Rekha. Rekha was pleased with the way Hindi films had begun to evolve: "The heroine has emerged as a strong, tough woman. Things have changed, thank God."

For the hero, too. The anti-hero appeared as the emerging trend. Job finally lost his patience and struck back— bloodily. Whether it was Anil Kapoor in *Tezaab* or Jeetendra in *New Delhi* (released in December) the anti-hero had murder on his mind—and hands. Meanwhile, villainy reigned supreme. The king of villains, Amrish Puri, made his evil presence felt in 12 films this year. But even he was pessimistic about Hindi cinema's future: "People are shying away from investing in films. The number of films lying unreleased is affecting film makers."

For Amitabh Bachchan the year was not as lucky. *Shahenshah*, released in February, was expected to herald his re-annexation of box-office territory. It did not get him past first base. All hopes now hinge on *Ganga Jamuna Saraswati*, Manmohan Desai's swan song as director, released in December. It could also be Bachchan's swan song.

But one film-maker will no longer delight audiences. 1988 lost the greatest showman of them all, Raj Kapoor. With him, the heart went out of show business. Gone was the tragi-comic figure who brought out the innocent child and the passionate lover in all of us. Raj symbolised romance and the grand gesture, both, in his films and life. Unlike others he did not need to plagiarise. He had only to look within.

Naseeruddin Shah at the crossroads of parallel and mainstream cinema perhaps symbolised more than anything else the darkening shadow over Hindi cinema. Shah hopped from art cinema to Ketan Mehta's semi-commercial *Hero Hiralal*—and landed, pat, in the secure lap of television with *Mirza Ghalib*. Said Shah: "Somewhere along the year, the epitaph has been written for all those who claim to be making serious cinema. Much as we may hate the thought, TV is the future." Feroz Khan could echo him. His multi-crore depiction of Bombay's underworld, *Dayavan*, came a cropper.

Cinema just had to give. It seemed to be suffering from an excess of deja vu. There was a dreary monotony of themes. The same films repeated themselves. It was a time for introspection. Spiralling prices, unbought films and four-shift actors threatened to staunch the fantasies of the dream merchants. As it is their wares appeared soiled and unattractive, their dream factories rusty and ready to shut down for overhauling.

—MADHU JAIN

Dimple Kapadia: back with a bang

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAJ KAPOOR

1988 was the year in which the greatest romantic of them all died—Raj Kapoor. The vacuum he left will be difficult to fill. The heart has gone out of show business. For Raj Kapoor was the last of the showmen whose films came straight from the heart. Unlike everyone else he did not need to plagiarise. He had only to look within.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

TELEVISION

MESSIANIC MODE

FIRST there was *glasnost*. And then there was none. Ultimately, the shadow of politicians like Information and Broadcasting Minister H.K.L. Bhagat loomed over the small screen. For a while, though, it seemed a smaller shadow would squeeze in. But former director-general, Doordarshan, Bhaskar Ghose, with his easy style, was clearly a misfit in the intrigue-filled corridors of Mandi House.

After colour, Ghose seemed to be the best thing to happen to television. Untouchables made their way onto the screen: Bofors, Gorkhaland. The drama of the terrorists holed up in Harmandir Sahib was served up live from Amritsar. And for the first time, V.P. Singh and Chandra Shekhar came on TV. What was happening? Had Doordarshan made up its mind to tell the truth?

"You can expect a sea change by the beginning of '89," promised the ambitious Ghose. Except, Ghose himself was pulled out. The brief era of *glasnost* was over. And by year-end, the prime minister's puppeteers pulled all the strings: TV was back to eulogising its old hero, Rajiv Gandhi.

While he was there, Ghose unleashed the cinematic force called *Tamas*, the most controversial serial to hit TV. Based on the few weeks before Partition, it was raw, disturbing and threatened to re-open all the communal wounds so carefully bandaged in the last 40 years. It set the stage for an open debate on communalism. As the heat and fury swelled, police fired on demonstrators in Bombay, Delhi and Hyderabad. Director Govind Nihalani had to get a bodyguard. For six weeks, the country looked back in shame and anger at 1947. Then, the debate and the goosebumps subsided.

But then there was *Ramayan*. Ram, with his beatific smile, touched the nation on Sunday mornings. And director Ramanand Sagar became a man with a mission. Said he: "Without *Ramayan*, there would have been great catastrophes. Now I see light around. Darkness is fading."

During the sacred 45 minutes, ministerial swearings-in are known to have been put off and ads in papers have read: "Car for sale. But call after *Ramayan*." It was also the year to collect epic memorabilia: Ram dolls, Sitaji toffees, and Hanuman armaments.

In October came another messiah: B.R. Chopra with *Mahabharat*. And the nation spent much of the cocktail hour wondering whether *Ramayan* was superior or *Mahabharat*. The verdict: *Ramayan* was godly, but *Mahabharat* was more interesting with its fratricidal conflicts, incest-is-best episodes and political innuendoes. The two serials zoomed to the top of the ratings, leaving viewers all over the country with their hands folded.

Religion proved the power of television and others made way to the El Dorado, including Naseeruddin Shah, Gulzar—and Shyam Benegal whose big budget *Discovery of India* was like a heady dose of history. At another level, Jaspal Bhatti's *Ulta Pulta* fill-ins had audiences bent over with laughter.

As its revenues touched the skies, new equipment rolled into Doordarshan's Rs 50 crore Central Production Centre in Delhi. New cameras, recording machines, special effects gadgets. Doordarshan need no longer be dowdy. Ministers can now be presented in rock video style. Perhaps next year may see a fusion of PTV (political television) and MTV (music television): old H.K.L. Bhagat give a speech in break dance.

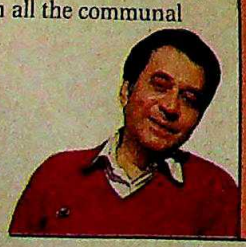
—SIMRAN BHARGAVA

Nitesh Bharadwaj in *Mahabharat*

Deepa Sahi in *Tamas*

Arun Govil in *Ramayan*

H.K.L. Bhagat, I&B minister



Bhaskar Ghose, former director-general

Bhaskar Ghose was pulled out. 'Glasnost' was over. And TV was back to eulogising its old hero, Rajiv Gandhi. It was also the year of *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat*. They zoomed to the top of the rankings leaving viewers all over the country with their hands folded.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Kirloskar Electric Challenge Series

Anybody who has even a passing acquaintance with electrics knows that Kirloskar Electric is a leader in specialist welding equipment.

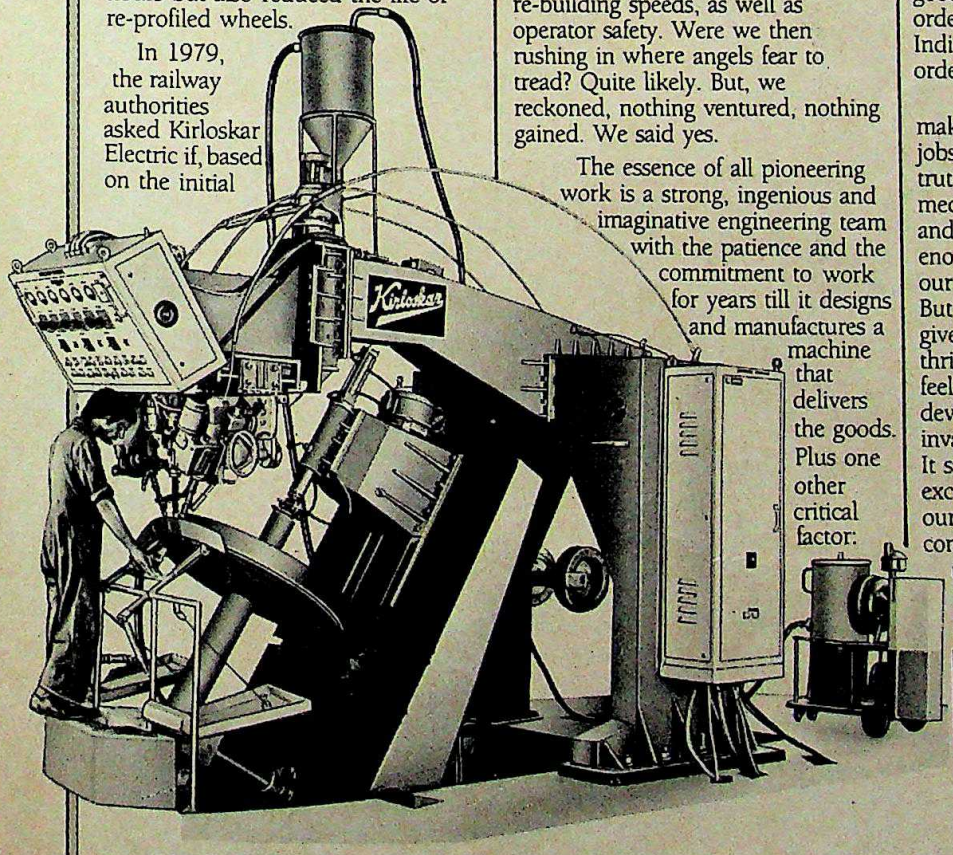
But did you know that we are the first Indian company to design and develop a tyre flange re-building plant that increases the life of a railway wheel by at least a 100%?

Railway wheels account for a major part of the inventory of rolling stock as well as costs in the Indian Railways. The tyres of wheels are made from alloy steel, a substantial part of it imported. The cost of a wheel is thus very high. Because of the heavy load while negotiating curves, the flange wears out much faster than the tread. In the past the only method of salvaging such wheel sets was to give a substantial cut to both the tread and the flange and get the required profile. This not only consumed costly lathe-man hours but also reduced the life of re-profiled wheels.

In 1979, the railway authorities asked Kirloskar Electric if, based on the initial work done by RDSO Lucknow, we would design and develop a machine for re-building flanges. The process would use submerged arc-welding techniques and increase the life of a wheel from eight years to almost twenty. We were highly excited but the problems involved were truly daunting.

The welding knowhow required for the job was not only advanced but depended on a complex set of electrical and electronic parameters. The client wanted to maximise automation to ensure almost assembly line re-building speeds, as well as operator safety. Were we then rushing in where angels fear to tread? Quite likely. But, we reckoned, nothing ventured, nothing gained. We said yes.

The essence of all pioneering work is a strong, ingenious and imaginative engineering team with the patience and the commitment to work for years till it designs and manufactures a machine that delivers the goods. Plus one other critical factor: the total involvement and continuous guidance and insights of the client. We were lucky. We had both.



Here are some examples of the special demands in this job:

- Difficulties involved in re-building flanges of special high carbon steel.
- Re-building flanges without preheating.
- Automating the entire process with electronic logic and also using three welding heads simultaneously for high productivity.

We must have done a pretty good job. Because after the trial order of 5 machines in 1979-81, Indian Railways placed another order for 13 more machines in 1984.

What, you may well ask, makes us take on such challenging jobs that others won't touch? The truth is standard motors — small, medium and large — are our bread and butter. We make them with an enormous amount of care because our livelihood depends on them. But it's the really tough jobs that give us our kicks. We don't just thrive on them, we need them to feel alive. What we are doing is developing technological muscle and invaluable expertise and experience. It saves the country crores in foreign exchange. And it does wonders to our self-confidence and the confidence our customers have in us. They know that when nobody else can do the job, Kirloskar Electric will.

Kirloskar KIRLOSKAR ELECTRIC COMPANY LTD

Regd. Office: Industrial Suburb, Rajajinagar, Bangalore 560 010.

When nobody else can do the job, Kirloskar Electric will.

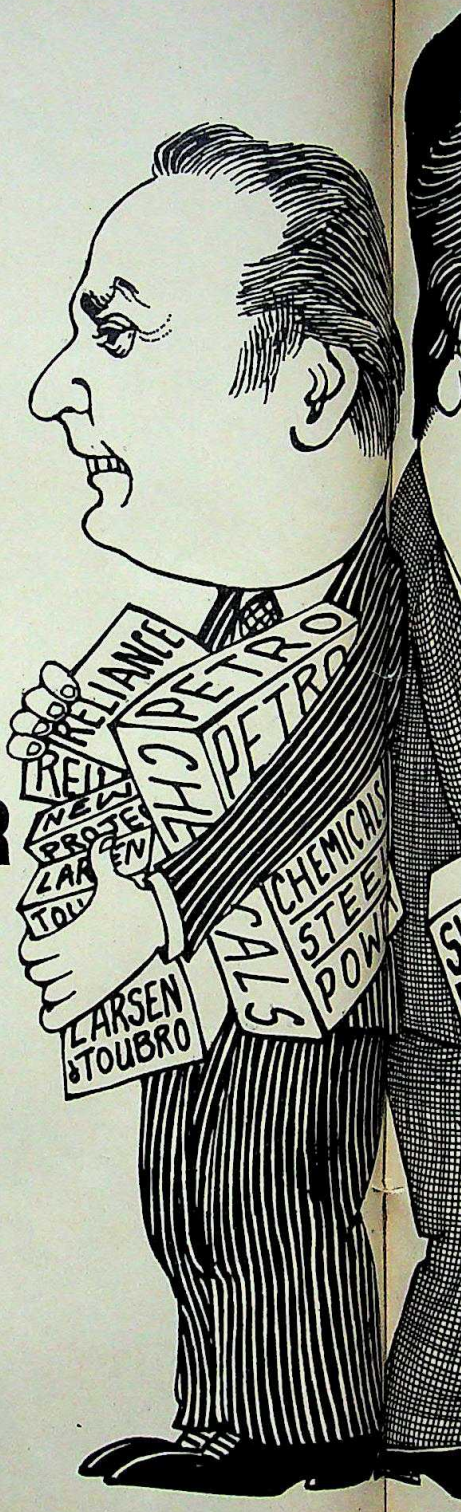
Pratibha /KEC/27/88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

The Ambanis burst upon the takeover scene by pipping the Chhabrias to the Larsen & Toubro post. Nevertheless they cite the success of the Reliance Petrochemicals Rs 575-crore issue as their high-point of the year.



BUSINESS

THE YEAR OF THE RAIDER

IT was the best of times for the corporate raider. It was the worst of times for leading business families. It was a year of turbulence in the corporate world. And sure, there was excitement about the economy and the stock-markets.

The economy bounced back from the effects of the previous year's drought, so much so that businessmen were forecasting industrial growth rates of 11 per cent.

Not to be outdone, the markets went through the roof. With share prices soaring, punters made a killing. Between 1987 and 1988, the country's shareholders made over Rs 10,000 crore.

Yet the image that stood out of a cluttered canvas of events was that of the corporate raider, a cameo figure who dominated the pages of the financial press. Leading the takeover pack were Dubai-based Manohar ("Manu") Rajaram Chhabria and his feisty Calcutta-based brother Kishore, followed by the Ambanis, the Piramal brothers, Abhey Oswal and many lesser lights.

The Chhabrias clearly stole the limelight. In early 1985, they were rank outsiders in the Indian business firmament. By 1988, they'd arrived. Kishore was ensconced as managing director of Shaw Wallace, one of their earliest acquisitions. The tall, peripatetic Manu was attending meetings of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and talking about consolidating his Rs 1,100-crore industrial empire.

Nevertheless, the brothers are still in the thick of takeovers. For that's what pitchforked them into the ranks of the country's top 10 business groups.

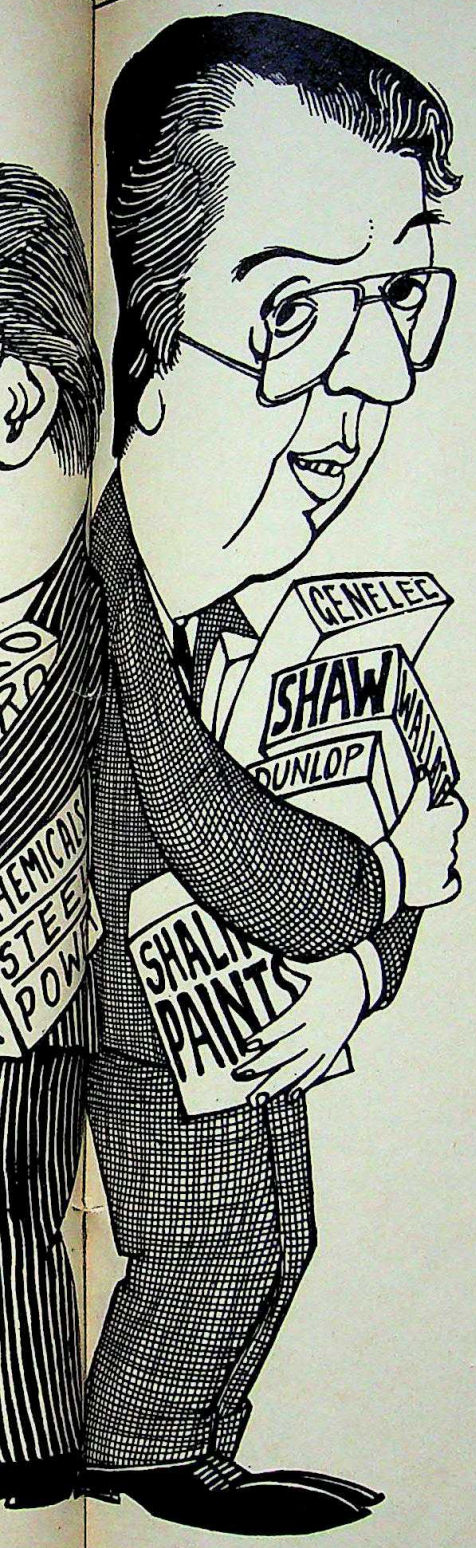
Inevitably, Manu cites the "emergence of the Chhabria group in the first eight business houses and official recognition of its status in India as an industrial giant" as among his biggest successes of the year. His biggest disappointment? Says the takeover artiste: "The delays in the acquisition of Gammon India and the loss of Larsen & Toubro to a rival business group."

Yet oddly enough, the Ambanis who burst upon the takeover scene last October by pipping the Chhabrias to the Larsen & Toubro post do not cite this as their high point of the year. Says Reliance Industries' Executive Director Anil Ambani: "I would say that the success of the Rs 575-crore Reliance Petrochemicals issue is the high point. Which shows that the investing audience has full trust in the promoters of Reliance. This increases our burden." The low point? "I can't think of it," says he.

Quite. The Ambanis are riding high. Recently, Reliance amended its articles of association so that it could diversify into a dazzling array of businesses. Plans for the future include ambitious forays into steel, shipping, offshore drilling and construction, among others.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



MANJULA PADMANABHAN

With his bevy of corporate acquisitions Manohar Chhabria has barged his way into the ranks of the top ten business houses. His only regret: having lost Larsen & Toubro to the Ambanis.

Not every business family is on a high of course, and several have been plagued by disagreements, including the Modis, the Srirams, and the descendants of the late K. Seetharama Rao, who run the small but high-profile Dasprakash hotel chain in the south. Even the formal division of the Birla empire seems to have run into the problem of unscrambling family shareholdings.

Yet the most visible symbol of the troubled business family continued to be the Modis. In early September, the feud between the two branches of the Modi family spilled over into Modi Rubber, erupting into a boardroom slanging match when group founder Gujar Mal Modi's sons tried to oust their uncle K.N. Modi from the chairmanship of the profitable tyre company. The financial institutions and K.N. Modi stormed out of the meeting, the matter landed up in court and the courts restored the status quo. Clearly irked by these developments, the institutions began flexing their muscle. Evidently, the message went home—and the Modis are now trying to partition the Rs 1,200-crore family empire.

Naturally, both K.K. Modi, who heads one branch of the family, and his uncle K.N. Modi cite the inability to end the family dispute as the disappointment of the year. Says K.K. Modi: "The negative side of the year was the family dispute." K.N. Modi adds: "In spite of my best efforts, I could not settle the dispute among the youngsters. Ultimately, things will work out." With both sides now going into a huddle, he may well be right.

The other big business giant whose problems hit the headlines is the ailing DCM, where the grandsons of founder Shri Ram have been feuding for years. In early November, DCM Chairman and Managing Director Bansi Dhar, Managing Director Vinay Bharat Ram and Deputy Managing Director Siddharth Shriram formally agreed to divide the Rs 624-crore giant into three. The agreement was kept under wraps, till media reports forced the family's hand. Several question marks hang over the proposal, but it seems the only solution to the problem at DCM. As one member of the family privately insisted: "We've seriously considered what's best for DCM and are trying to sort out a major problem."

The odd one out here is soft drinks multinational Pepsi-Cola International. After having been stymied for two years by a frothy stream of protest from local soft drinks manufacturers, the Government cleared Pepsi's proposal to put up the Rs 22-crore project (in association with Punjab Agro-Industries Corporation and Voltas) in September. Even last July, it had looked as if the project would not go through and Pepsi was on the verge of throwing in the towel. But the bubbly battle finally ended. Ramesh Vangal, Pepsico International's director for business development, therefore, sees "the project's approval in September" as the high point of the year for Pepsi.

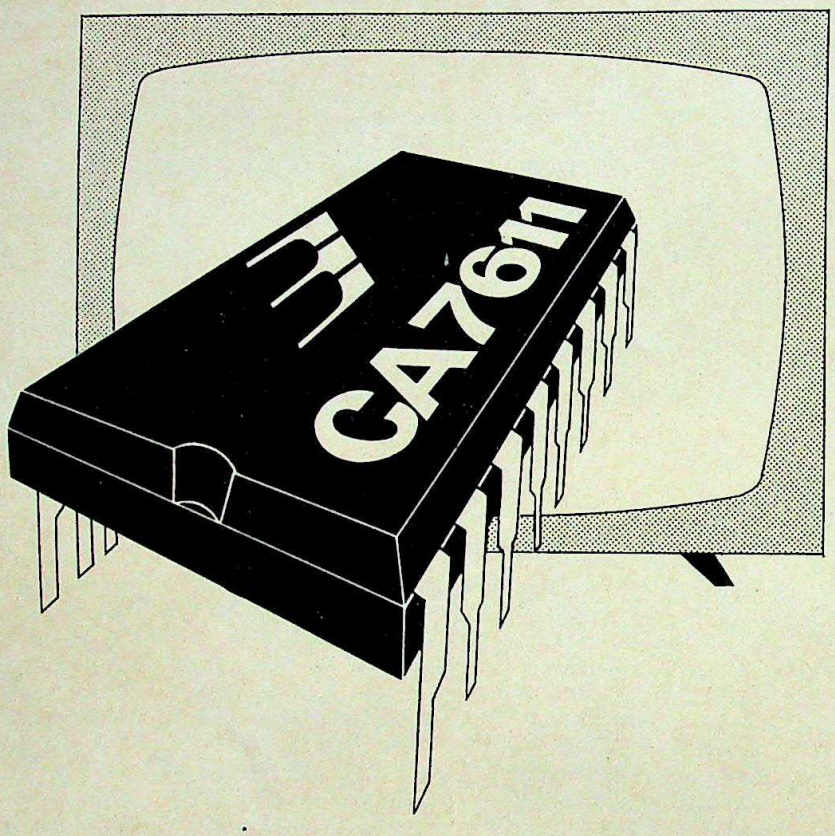
Pepsi was predictably followed by Coca-Cola, which has put in a bid to set up a unit at the Noida Export Processing Zone near Delhi. While the two could eventually set the soft drinks market on its head, the affair was less than monumental in a landscape of mega corporate battles and deals. But at day's end, even these may be less than memorable as history flips the pages of time.

—PALAKUNNATHU G. MATHAI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Why import when you can get them right here?



ICs for Colour TVs from Bharat Electronics.

Good news for Colour TV manufacturers!

Bharat Electronics offers a proven range of ICs here in India - saving you foreign exchange and a lot of bother.

Moreover, Bharat Electronics also offers you fully proven CTV designs incorporating its ICs, discretes and other highly reliable and readily available components. At very competitive prices.

ICs and other semi-conductors from Bharat Electronics are available through a countrywide network of sales outlets. Application engineers from Bharat Electronics are always available to solve your design problems.

When you want to build in quality in your Colour TVs, do it with Bharat Electronics Components.

Bharat Electronics offers:

CA 7607/CA 7611:Video IF (16-pin)
CA 1190:Sound IF (16-pin)
CA 3223:Horizontal/Vertical Digital Sync. Subsystem (24-pin)
CA 3194:Chrominance and Luminance (24-pin)

HTA 8930

भारत इलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स
BHARAT ELECTRONICS
QUALITY, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

For more details, please write to:
Commercial Manager, Semiconductors Division,
Bharat Electronics Limited
(A Government of India Enterprise)
Jalahalli P.O. Bangalore 560013 Tel: 361813, 345382
Telex: 0845/2244 BEL IN 0845/8379 BEL IN
Grams: BELTRONICS. Telefax: 91-812-343119

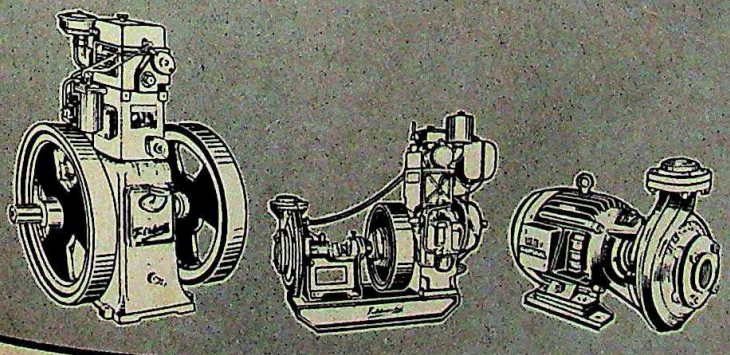
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fieldmarshal®

SILVER JUBILEE
Fieldmarshal®
1963 25 1988

1963 1988



APEX/8817

FIELD MARSHAL®

MANUFACTURED BY:

P. M. DIESELS LTD.

AJI INDUSTRIAL ESTATE, RAJKOT 360003,
PHONE: 87315-16-17, 87768,
GRAM: MARSHAL, TELEX: 0169-263.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SPORTS

UNEVEN RUN

SHE was India's only hope. A village girl who honed her natural running talent by racing to pick fallen ripe mangoes, P.T. Usha had crossed many hurdles and broken many barriers to stand misty-eyed atop many victory podiums. For a country used to seeing its sportsmen gasp and limp away from coliseums their faces covered with sweat and shame while the anthems of other countries wafted through the air, Usha was the answer.

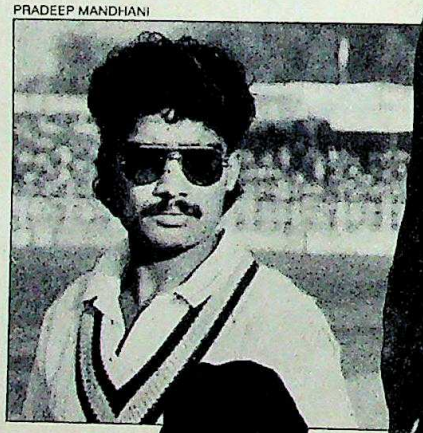
But at the Seoul Olympics, it was Usha who limped away. "This year has really been a nightmare for me," a sobbing Usha said later. The freeze-frames of Usha making her agonising progress over the hurdles at Seoul is in a way the story of India's performance in sports this year. The scenario is ringed with catafalques of defeat. The arches of triumph became a distant memory.

As usual it was the white-flannelled stars who gave the sports fans the few reasons for champagne-popping in 1988. Ravi Shastri celebrated his brief stint as captain by winning the Sharjah Cup. India's mastery at the one-day game was asserted once again when they won the Asia Cup and whiplashed the visiting New Zealanders in four of the games played. For Indian cricket it was a heady finale, what with the fluently clinched 2-1 Test series victory, despite the timeless guiles of Hadlee.

From Madhya Pradesh came a puny bespectacled Narendra Hirwani having mastered the dying magical art of legspin. He scalped 16 West Indian wickets for 136 runs in his record-shattering dream debut at

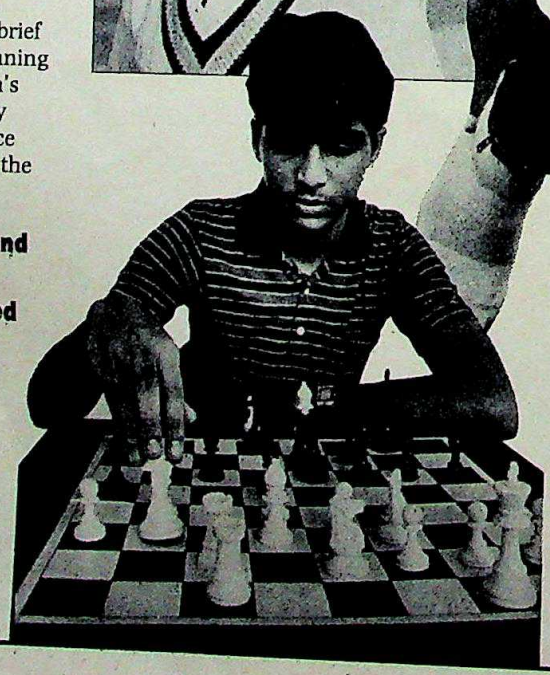
Hirwani mastered the magic art of legspin and around him will be spun legends in the future.

PRADEEP MANDHANI



Vishwanathan Anand the country's first Grandmaster helped India finish 19th among 107 participants in the Chess Olympiad.

SHYAM TEKWANI

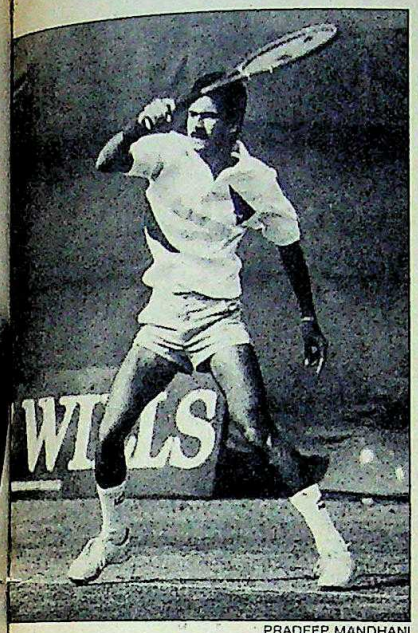


"This year has really been a nightmare for me."
P.T. USHA

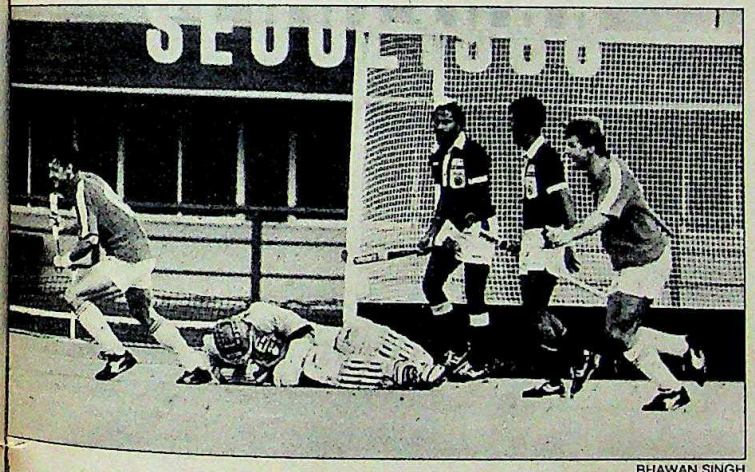
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Zeeshan Ali has leap-frogged above 150 in the ATP rankings.



PRADEEP MANDHANI



BHAWAN SINGH

The Indian hockey team with its traditional style fell to the power game of the West.

the Madras Test which India won on January 14. And by the end of the year it was evident that in him India had found a bowler who could make batsmen pirouette in bewilderment and around whom many legends would be spun.

Navjot Singh Sidhu shaped into a forceful, stylish batsman and "one of the finest strikers of the spinning ball" as Asif Iqbal commented. The strange one-day bowling exploits of Srikanth, who along with Vengsarkar joined the elite band of those who have scored 3,000 runs in one-dayers and the long-awaited return to form of Mohammad Azharuddin who cracked the fastest one-day century in 62 balls, were the other heroic feats. And the crowd of talent at the threshold of Test cricket, was a sign that cricket is fast becoming a mass-based game which, unlike other games in the country, can throw up wrist-wizards and miniature Gavaskars every now and then.

Mohinder Amarnath who was poised to become the only cricketer to play Test cricket over four decades was dropped yet again. For once he lost his composure and called the selectors "a bunch of jokers". But Vengsarkar who was suspended for six months for disregarding the ban on players writing, returned to lead the country to victory against New Zealand and in the process completed his 100th Test.

If in 1987 India reached the finals of the Davis Cup, this year saw the team being relegated—after a heart-stopping defeat against Yugoslavia and the Government's refusal to permit a match against Israel—to play out the preliminary rounds in 1989. The scenario darkened further when Vijay Amritraj—who incidentally was awarded the UNESCO Fairplay Trophy—expressed his doubts about continuing to play Davis Cup. "I have done my bit for 20 years," he said. The rise of Zeeshan Ali—as if in answer to what Ramanathan Krishnan said early in the year, "someone will come along"—was the burst of sunshine this year. He has leap-frogged above 150 in the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP) rankings after his brilliant showing in the Japanese circuit. The promise being shown by Ali's doubles partner Mark Fereira (the pair is ranked 120 by ATP) is also remarkable.

The 18-year-old whiz-kid Vishwanathan Anand who on December 26 last year was knighted the country's first Grandmaster and the world's fourth teenaged Grandmaster—"I want to find greater success," the middle-game expert says—helped the Indian team finish a creditable 19th among 107 participants at the Chess Olympiad at Greece.

The national bridge team including the brilliant Jaggy Shivdasani, became the semi-finalists at the Olympiad at Venice, losing to eventual winners USA.

The hockey team seemed to have emerged from the ruins of their World Cup debacle and on the eve of the Seoul campaign looked a confident lot. Skipper Somayya hoped that "Seoul would be the harbinger of the revival of the traditional game" but against the power hockey of the West, the team capitulated again.

The toast of every soccer stadium this year was an outsider—the ebony pearl from Nigeria, Cheema Okerie—yet again making alarmists wonder into which bottomless abyss all the talented schoolboy footballers get sucked into. The sprawling dusty maidans of Calcutta, for long the nursery of *desi* Peles, have by now become stages for the heroes of yester-year to play out their ghostly encores.

Volleyball is emerging into big time and the federation has already put together the core team for the Beijing Asian Games. The elitist golf ironically continued to be dominated by caddies turned professional like Asghar Ali who imbibed the techniques of the rich man's game while roaming the greens bearing the burden of golfbags and poverty.

It was a year during which many of the names that were an inseparable part of the sports pages, began disappearing. Vijay Amritraj hinted that his joints were creaking and Prakash Padukone could no longer caress the shuttle to the other side with that elegant unpredictable flick of his wrist. Hockey skipper Somayya moth-balled his stick and Abdul Basith, that majestic volleyball spiker, announced he had served his last. Gundappa Vishwanath who had till the last cherished hopes of a call-back to the Test side retired from first-class cricket.

A collage of images remain etched: Thoiba Singh speeding down the wings, Shiny Abraham in bridal finery clinging to husband, ace backstroker Wilson Cherian, Vimal Kumar's effortless elegance with the shuttle, the bloodied body of Syed Modi, Anita Sood swimming the oceans...

The Tata Football Academy, the Brittania Amritraj Trust for tennis, the sports hostels, the new schemes launched by the Sports Authority of India to tap talent especially among tribals and the many maidans that dot the country's ruralscape are all emblems of hope. And from amid there somewhere new sportsmen and sportswomen will rise ready to do battle.

—BINOO K. JOHN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

HOW TO OWN THE BEST BUSINESS ADDRESS IN U.P.'S FASTEST GROWING TRADE CENTRE.

GET THE EDGE OVER YOUR COMPETITORS. BOOK YOUR OFFICE SPACE NOW.

Lucknow. The business centre for India's single largest market.

Lucknow is today Uttar Pradesh's fastest growing business centre, with improved communication and transport facilities, and an ever widening sphere of commercial possibilities.

Pioneer Plaza—the modern commercial complex in the heart of Lucknow.

The Pioneer Plaza is just the kind of commercial complex Lucknow needs.

Located in the centre of the city, it is just a few minutes' walk from Hazratganj, the major shopping mall.

So every public and business amenity is within your reach. Making it the ideal address for banks, public sector undertakings, government and corporate offices.

Facilities that make business sense.

At the heart of the Pioneer Plaza is the Business Centre which provides every kind of secretarial facility. Everything, from FAX to computers is being installed for the convenience of the occupants of the Plaza.

Other distinctive features of the Plaza include free hold land, a spacious lobby in marble, covered basement parking and open parking, six automatic elevators, fire-fighting facilities with three independent fire escapes, attached toilets for all units and stand by generators for essential services.

Fidelia Constructions— impeccable credentials.

The Pioneer Plaza project has been undertaken by Fidelia Constructions (P) Ltd., a company promoted by the well known industrialist family—the Jaipurias. Dr. Raja Ram Jaipuria, who has rich and valuable experience in Financial Planning and Management heads the show as Chairman & Managing Director. Until recently, Dr. Jaipuria was also Chairman & Managing Director of Swadeshi Polytex Ltd., proven the most cost-efficient polyester fibre plant in the country. The Board includes Dr. Ramesh C. Vaish, who is a Chartered Accountant & Vice Chairman of Jaiprakash Industries Ltd., one of the largest construction companies in the country, with several prestigious overseas contracts. Shri Shailendra Swaroop, who is a Director in companies like Modi Xerox, Ester India Ltd., Bihar Sponge Iron Ltd., and Samtel Colour Ltd., and Senior Advocate Supreme Court of India, is also on the Board. Assisting the Board is a team of highly qualified Civil Engineers and other professionals—all with impeccable credentials.

Renowned architects.

The Board has also engaged the designing and structural expertise of M/s. Kothari & Associates to benefit its activities. The firm's list of architectural achievements includes the designing of the Bank of Baroda—New Delhi's 14-storeyed office building, Reserve Bank of India Headquarters, Jaipur, office building for Deptt. of Electronics, New Delhi, ONGC Works at Dehra Dun, Hotel Centaur, New Delhi, Shakti Bhawan, Lucknow's 15-storeyed office building, Escorts Heart Institute, New Delhi, Indira Gandhi Institute of Medical Sciences, Patna, and other buildings that have come to be known for their architectural excellence.

Pioneer Plaza. A profitable investment.

Today, real estate is the most profitable investment you can make. Especially when you consider the added benefits of Pioneer Plaza. So it makes sense to invest now and watch your money multiply as the construction progresses.

Space availability and payment modes

You can book office space of a minimum size of 500 sq. ft. At prices that will make you smile. For your convenience, two payment plans have been introduced. An Interest Free Payment Plan and a Cash Down Payment Plan.

For more information, mail the coupon below. And book your space in the best business address in Lucknow.

BOOKING OPEN!

PIONEER Plaza
LUCKNOW

FIDELIA CONSTRUCTIONS PVT. LTD.

Marketing and Site Office : 20, Vidhan Sabha Marg, Lucknow-226 001. Tel : 36516-19. Telex : 535-436 FAST IN PIONEER

Regd. Office : Jai Market, 55/55, Generalganj, Kanpur.

Name :
Address :
Tel. No. :

I'd like to own the best business address in U.P.'s fastest growing trade centre. Please send me more information.

ACCREDITED AGENTS : LUCKNOW : U.K. Agarwal & Associates. Ph. 40673. Fairdeal Property Dealers. Ph. 32093. KANPUR : Padam Kumar Jain Associates. Ph. 52395 & 65245. Sidh Nath Bhatia. Ph. 24748 & 24837. DELHI : N.K. Jain & Co. Ph. 3311792 & 668289

everest/d88/FCPL/408

© Sri Sri Ravishankar Gurukul Kanoh Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

AVIATION

NOSEDIVING

NAMAS BHOJANI

Indian Airlines Airbus; (inset) Jetley: times of crises

Rajan Jetley was in trouble for doing too much. His reforms raised the hackles of pilots, engineers, and commercial staff, but supported by the Government he carried the day.

IT was a year that air travellers and aviation watchers would rather forget. Etched in the mind are harrowing images of mangled bodies in plane crashes, grieving relatives, miraculous escapes in crash landings, endless waitlists and interminable delays as the operations of both Indian Airlines (IA) and Air-India virtually spun out of control. It was a period which forced the air traveller to recognise the relatively tension-free reliability of rail travel. Cartoonist Laxman said it all when he showed passengers kissing the ground in thanksgiving after an uneventful landing.

Nothing focusses attention on air travel like an accident, and 1988 had its share including two fatal ones costing 164 lives. The glare of media and public scrutiny revealed the laxity of the flying and maintenance procedures of Indian Airlines and Vayudoot and a woeful inadequacy of reliable landing aids at most domestic airports. Passengers coined wry new meanings for the acronyms IA (Inform Allah) and AI (Already informed). Since dead men tell no tales, the two crashes at Ahmedabad and Guwahati were inevitably blamed on pilot error. IA pilots revolted, overflew ill-equipped airports and forced the Government to order time-bound installation of landing aids.

Despite the scare, seats on Indian Airlines flights could not be had for love or money. And the Civil Aviation Ministry finally intervened and started negotiations with Russian manufacturers for acquisition of Soviet passenger planes which should start arriving in early 1989. Two Air-India flights, on the other hand, took off for European destinations, one with a single passenger and the other with nine. One delayed flight flew to London without any passengers.

If the executives of Indian Airlines were on the firing line for not doing enough, their counterpart at Air-India, Rajan Jetley was in trouble for doing too much. His reforms raised the hackles of pilots, engineers, and commercial staff, but with strong support from the Government he carried the day. Having initiated his product improvement measures, Jetley promised to unleash a public relations blitz to win over his staff. But his main problem remained: "How do you handle indispensable categories of employees like pilots and engineers", he asked. With employee support, Air-India could become one of the world's most profitable airlines in three years, Jetley claimed.

Part of the turnaround strategy is a revamped image for Air-India. One proposal: all white livery for the planes with a red slash and yellow sun symbol on the tail, new interiors, designer uniforms for cabin staff and better service to attract business passengers. And on the ethnic-traffic Gulf flights–non stop *Chitrahaar*

But for the present, when Chinese symbology is again in fashion, this was the year of the rat for Air-India. For the second time in a year, little rodents invaded the high security hangars at Bombay airport and nibbled away some crucial wiring in the VVIP plane being readied for the prime minister's trip, ironically, to Beijing. The damaged plane had to be hastily replaced by another from out of Air-India's meagre fleet. This incident once again raised the question: how safe is Bombay's slum-ringed airport from intrusions by men and mice? Air-India has its Iacocca, what it needs now is a Pied Piper.

—RAMINDAR SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DATABYTE'S TLX-10

ELECTRONIC TELEX/TELEPRINTER

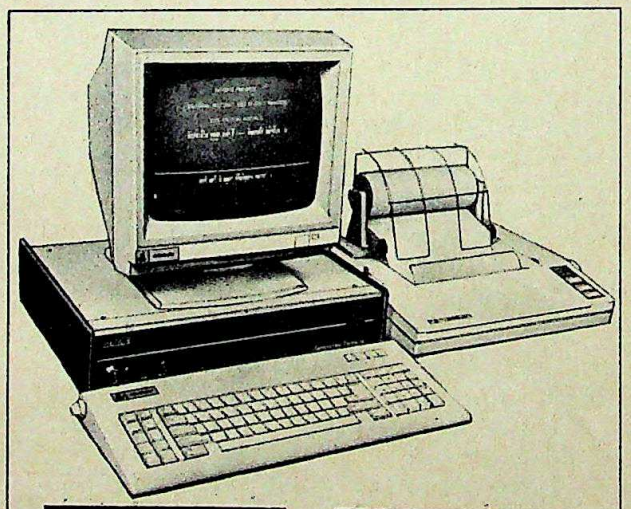
Why did State Bank of India, Indian Airlines, United News of India, Videsh Sanchar Nigam, Press Trust of India, Indian Airforce and Bank of India select 'Databyte' for their Bulk requirement of communication terminals ?

The answer is simple:

1. **WIDEST RANGE —**
   - Single Port: Telex/Teleprinter
   - Multiport: A Single machine can handle upto four telex/teleprinter lines simultaneously.
   - Bilingual: You can now send/receive your messages in English as well as in Devnagari.
   - Receive only teleprinters: Here again we offer English as well as Devnagari.
   - Short Haul Modems/Lines Drivers.
   - And now PC-Telex Box too!: Our Telex box does not have the drawbacks that others do,for instance you do not have to leave your PC on in order to send messages at night.
   - Soon to be introduced: PSTN terminals.
2. **RUGGED & RELIABLE** — TLX-10 confirms to stiff environmental specifications of defence.
3. **USER FRIENDLY** — so simple, anyone can operate.
4. **INDIGENEOUS TECHNOLOGY** — The entire range has been developed by our in-house R&D team — Comparable to the best in the world — Approved by DSIR.
5. **FIELD PROVEN** — over 500 installations.
6. **SERVICE NETWORK** — The best is backed by a matching All India Sales & Service network.
7. **FUTURISTIC** — TLX-10 can be field upgraded to communicate with networks such as PSTN, X25, X400 Etc.
8. **EXECUTIVE MAIL BOX** — Busy Executives can call' their telex number from anywhere in the world at any time and pick up their mail.
9. **NEVER BEFORE FEATURES** — * Battery backed up memory * Memory upto 160 KB * Multiport * Security Lock * Pre-Transmission time * Reliable * Power fail mode * Multi tasking * Word processing * On line traffic * Status * Different type Style * Autodial * Fixed Time calls * Message scheduling * Broadcasting * Refile * Message & Time stamp * Speed dialling * Compatible with all telex exchange * Executive mail box.

WANT TO KNOW MORE? JUST DIAL ANY OF THE FOLLOWING NUMBERS AND TYPE YYYYTELLME 145-596 BYTE IN, OR 31-71075 MTEL IN.

Leadership through indigeneous technology!



- TLX-10 complies with defence requirements as per JS 55555
- TRC Approved No.51-118/2/88 TRC Dt. 14.3.88 for Telex and Private Wire

databyte

databyte Equipment Pvt. Ltd.

200 Narayan Peth Laxmi Road, Pune 411 030.
Tel.: 444742/437032 Tlx.: 145-596 BYTE IN.

India's first and only screen based bilingual Electronic Telex/Teleprinter.

We are also located at: ***Bombay:*** 8-33/34 Grant Building, Arthur Bunder Road, Colaba, Bombay 400 005. Tel.: 204 2553/204 2858/204 3870. Tlx.: 11-3796 YMC IN. ***Delhi:*** B-3 Guru Angad Bhavan, 71-Nehru Place, New Delhi-110 019. Tel.: 644 8415. Tlx.: 31-71075 MTEL IN ***Madras:*** Dinroze Estate, 79 Mount Road, Madras 600 002. Tel.: 848584. Tlx.: 416693 EXHO IN. ***Calcutta:*** P-19, C.I.T. Road, Scheme X/M, Calcutta-700 010. Tel.: 363290. ***Nagpur:*** Tel.: 23115. ***Patna:*** Tel.: 55435. ***Hyderabad:*** Tel.: 75191. ***Bangalore:*** Tel.: 367438.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A chance to achieve every success

AKIK CHITRA presents - Self-Improvement Series on video cassettes.

Series I-

Time Management & Human Relations.
Authored by late Mr. M.K. Rustomji

Set of 2 VCs.
Price: Rs. 700/-

Series II-

Improvisation in Office Procedures & Systems & Receptionist/Telephone Operator
Authored by Dr. (Mrs.) K.D. P. Madon

Set of 3 VCs.
Price: Rs.1000/-

Rs.100/-OFF till 31 Jan.'89 on each Series

Akik Chitra, professional video-film makers now offer you Basic Education and Professional Training in action, with perfect guide-lines, showing you how to fulfil objectives making the most of time & talents, to achieve every success.

In an easy-to-understand manner, these albums are the result of comprehensive research, with extracts from popular references. And have the over-all guidance & supervision of professionals in the field.

akik CHITRA

Gufic Building, Subhash Road-A,
Vile Parle (East), Bombay 400 057 (India),
Phone: 6341521/22, 6344523. Cable: 'GUFIC'.
Tlx.: 011-79006.

Akik Chitra.... Success in Series.

PUBLISHED

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

NEIGHBOURS

NEW BEGINNINGS

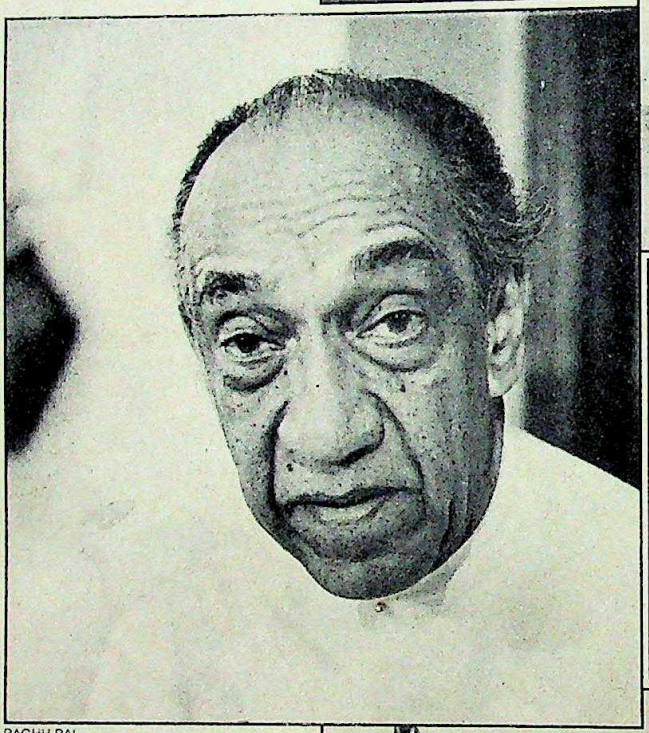
LIKE a tempest, gusts of democracy blew across India's neighbouring countries last year, toppling regimes, uprooting systems of governance. In country after country, column upon column of the people clogged the streets; protesting against authoritarianism; cheering and clapping for democracy; queueing up for hours to cast their ballots.

It all began with Burma's summer of discontent. Protest reached a shattering pitch, forcing strongman Ne Win to step down after two-and-a-half decades of iron rule. And once democratic forces gained momentum, they seemed possessed of an infectious fervour—in defiance of terrorist threats, Sri Lanka went to the polls; in neighbouring Maldives, popular rule was restored after a minor hiccup; and towards year-end, 35-year-old Benazir Bhutto's coronation in Pakistan made her the first woman to lead a Muslim country.

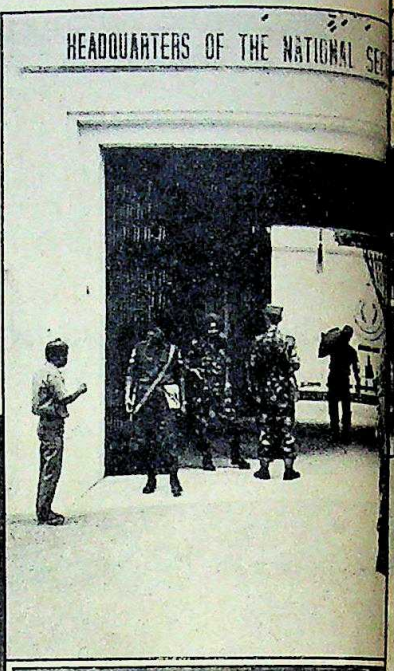
It was on August 18, 1988, that Pakistan's democratic destiny began unfolding. On that day, Pakistani caudillo, President Zia-ul-Haq, who had reigned supreme for 11 years, was blown up in a military aircraft. A period of turbulence was predicted for the nation. But the Cassandras were proven wrong: instead of devolving into chaos, Pakistan crossed the road blocks to representative rule with remarkable ease. And Benazir Bhutto achieved something few leaders have since the country's inception: a legitimacy untainted by assassination, coup or electoral fraud. Her installation as *Wazir-e-Azam* capped the most peaceful transition to democracy in Pakistan's 41-year history.

Charismatic, intelligent and gutsy (pregnancy did not deter her from campaigning vigorously), Benazir reclaimed the legacy of her father, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The resurrection of Bhutto was, in fact, the most striking feature of the Pakistan People's Party's campaign. But ironically, a slender lead compelled Benazir—a consummate politician—to horse-trade with the very forces that had sent her father to the gallows—the mullahs, the landlords, the businessmen and most crucially, the army. Asked if she would like to cut the army's budget, Benazir had replied: "Surely, if you want to bring in martial law." In some ways Benazir may seem a victress in chains ("To survive in politics you have to keep a centre of

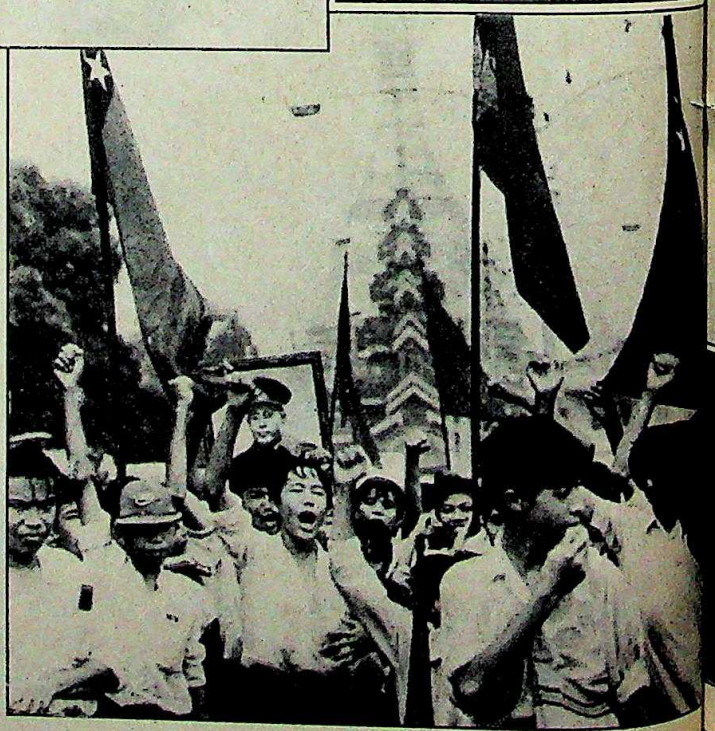
▼ Jayewardene, did his bit for democracy by stepping down after two terms and dissolving the 11-year-old Parliament.



RAGHU RAI

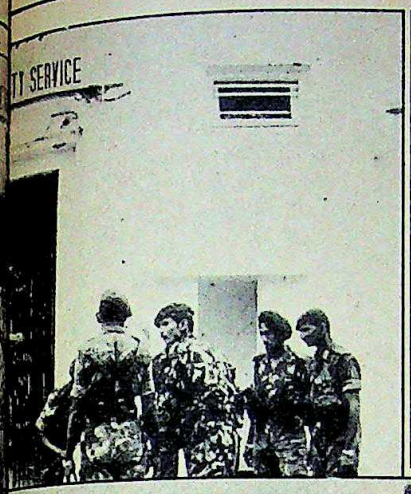


▶ Benazir's installation as *Wazir-e-Azam* capped the most peaceful transition to democracy in Pakistan's history.

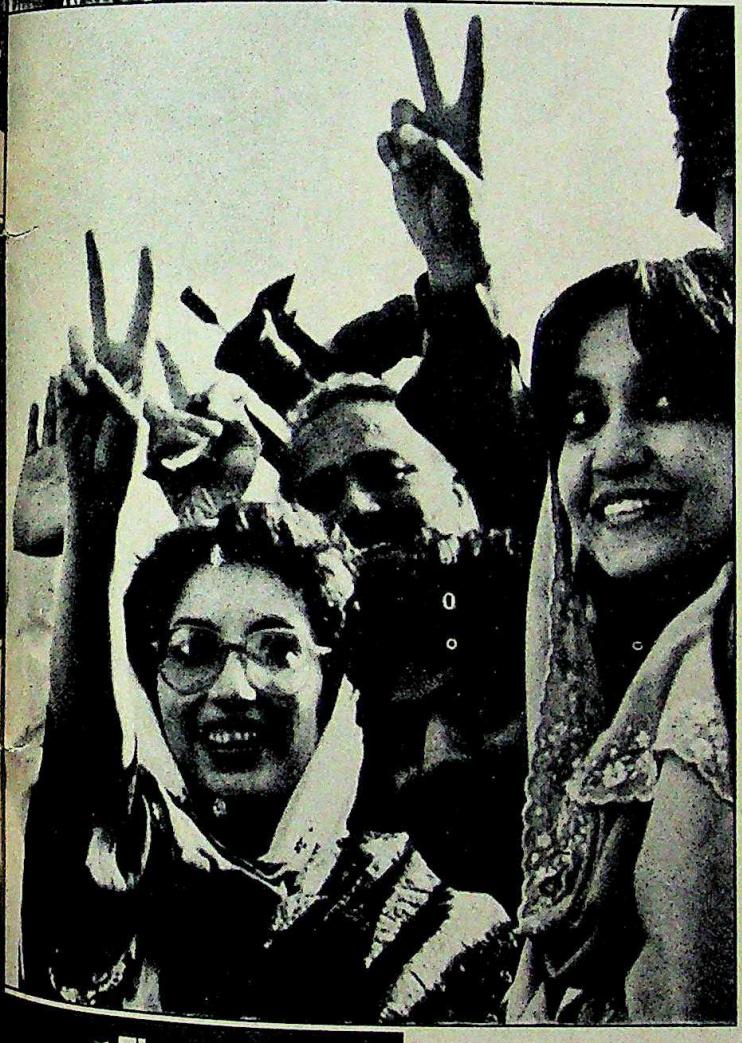


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



◄ India's growing military role in the region was underscored when Rajiv rushed troops to squash a comic-book coup attempt in the Maldives.



◄ The cry for democracy ended strongman Ne Win's reign, yet Burma's revolt did not reach a decisive stage.

gravity"). Yet, for Pakistan she represents a new beginning.

The path to people's power was more bumpy in Sri Lanka. For the Tamils of the North-east—except the LTTE who were driven into the jungles by the IPKF—1988 was possibly a less miserable year than 1987. The presence of Indian troops restored some semblance of order to their distrupted lives. And on November 19, the Tamils amazed other Sri Lankans by turning out in force to vote for a provincial council. Courtesy Indian guns, the North-east got its council and a terrorist-turned-democrat as chief minister.

But it was the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) that took centre-stage in 1988, killing at least 600 people. The JVP's main platform: opposition to "Indian occupation". The LTTE-JVP combine became Sri Lanka's hydra-headed monster.

1988 was also the year when the 'Colossus of Sri Lanka', President Junius R. Jayewardene did his bit for democracy. Like Zia, he had held power for 11 years and like Zia was prone to fits of authoritarianism. But after two terms the 82-year-old President finally decided to step down, and on December 19 the people gave their mandate to Ranasinghe Premadasa of the ruling United National Party. The democratic process came full circle when Jayewardene dissolved the 11-year-old Parliament—whose term had been extended during Jayewardene's reign—and scheduled polls for February 15.

Fighting bullets with the ballot was probably the sanest step to take in a blood crazed environment. But India was worried as Premadasa had strongly opposed the Indo-Sri Lanka pact. At best, he will give it lukewarm support. But given the geo-political realities, it is doubtful if he can totally repudiate the agreement. Though polls have restored a semblance of order to the troubled, tear drop island, Sri Lanka's civil war is far from over.

Big Boy India's military role in the region was further underscored during a coup attempt in the Maldives. A distress call from President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom on November 11 saw Rajiv Gandhi rushing Indian troops to save the remote islands. After a dramatic chase on the high seas, the Indian Navy nabbed the 100 odd mercenaries, successfully squashing the comic-book coup attempt. President Gayoom bent over backwards to express his gratitude, and so did the citizens—without displaying signs of a damaged ego as had happened in Sri Lanka.

In sharp contrast to such fairy-tale piracy, the most vivid image from Burma was of a machine-gun nest on a Rangoon roof-top and policemen mowing down demonstrators on the street below. If 1988 was one of Burma's bloodiest years, it was also the year when the Indian public became aware of its eastern neighbour. Though there were some gains for the pro-democracy forces—political parties have been legalised and a nebulous promise of elections made—the Burmese revolt is yet to come to its logical conclusion.

In Bangladesh, after opposition to him mounted following a stage-managed election in March, President Mohammed Ershad sought God's aid—he made Bangladesh an Islamic state. But Allah did not seem to be on his side—in September, the worst floods of the century submerged two-thirds of the nation; in November, a devastating cyclone left 1,000 dead. In this deluge of disaster, the demand for democracy and voices of dissent against dictatorship were drowned.

Comparisons may be odious, but being witness to their neighbours' struggles for freedom, citizens of India should consider themselves privileged for being born in a land which has nurtured the world's most populous democracy.

—SABA NAQVI BHAUMIK

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

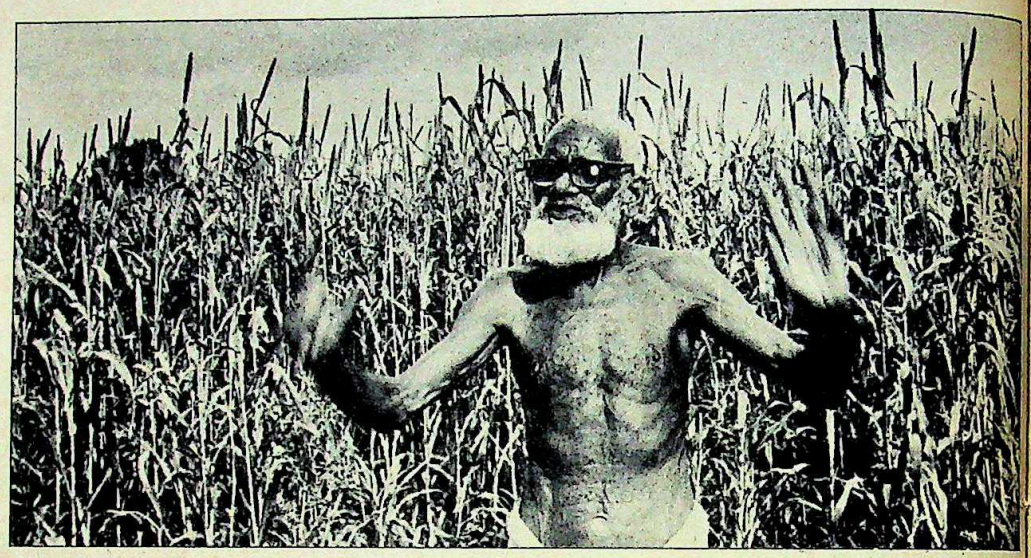
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWS MAKERS 88

THE YEAR

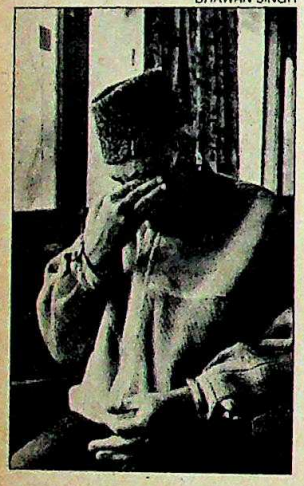
POWER, PAIN AND PLENTY

THERE was something else that happened last year, something significant, something maddeningly spiritual that spread like a beatific aura across the entire land, momentarily lifting the people from the doldrums of conflict, confrontation and contention. The monsoon. The truant, teasing monsoon poured from the skies and knit up—like sleep for Lady Macbeth—the nation's



PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

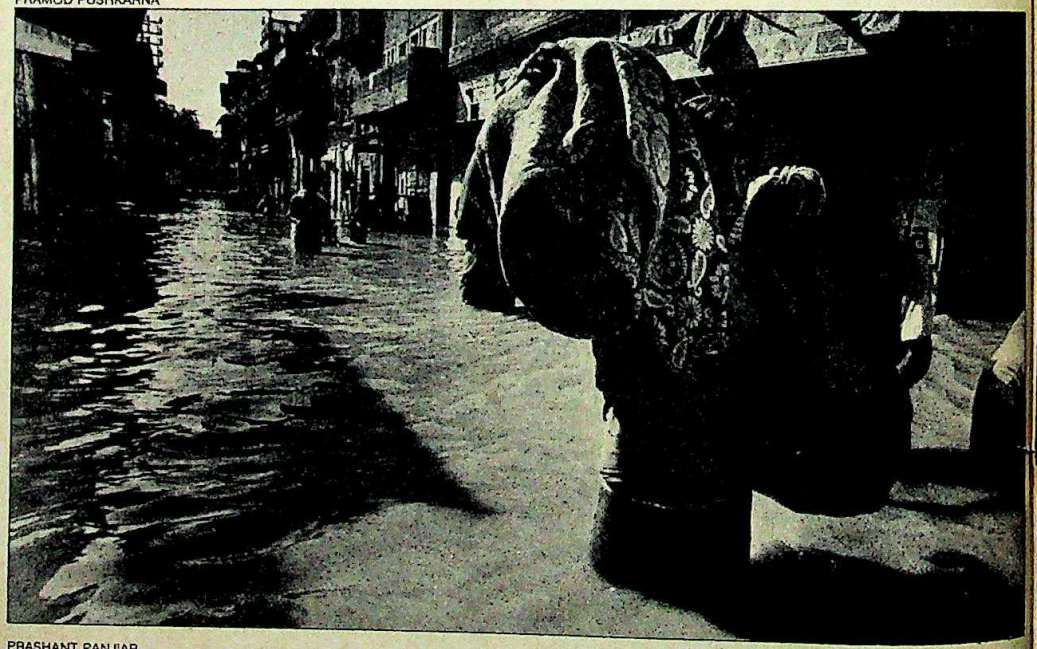
BHAWAN SINGH



ravelled sleeve of care.

It was the one happening of last year in which the people and the politicians rejoiced together. For, the Congress(I) feared a monsoonless year more than Bofors, HDW and Punjab terrorism put together.

The statistics seemed too good to be true. By September, when the monsoon began to recede, it had delivered excess or normal rainfall in nearly 90 per cent of the country's districts, and filled almost half the nation's major reservoirs to 80 per cent capacity. Overall, the land received more than 116 per cent of normal rainfall. Crop prospects, both kharif and rabi, brightened. After a 15 per cent decline in food produc-



PRASHANT PANJIAR

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(Clockwise from far left) Farooq Abdullah; Kale Khan stands tall amid his crops; Jyoti Basu; Janaki; Jayalalitha; quake-ravaged Bihar; and flood waters enter Ferozepur

SHYAM TEKWANI

tion the previous year, the country—as Rajiv Gandhi was quick to announce—stood ready to produce a record 170 million tonnes of grain, bursting through a four-year period when production stagnated at 150 million tonnes.

In 1987 Kale Khan, 74, of Kesharpur village in Rajasthan's Alwar district, used to sit in his parched fields praying for rain. A year later a profusion of crops stood tall in his fields. "God has heard my prayers," he exulted. "*Yah Allah tu sach hai.*" (God is truth.)

But other prayers surely must have remained unheeded for behind the silver lining of the monsoon there lurked the dark cloud of natural disaster and disease. During the waning days of the monsoon, at 4.39 a.m. on August 21, just as north Bihar was stirring to life, something else was moving about 20 km below the earth's surface. In 40 seconds the worst earthquake to hit the country since 1950, measuring 6.5 on the Richter scale, left 400 dead in Bihar and 600 in Nepal.

A month later, the rains themselves became a curse. On October 31, massive releases of water from the Bhakra and Pong dams inundated 75 to 80 per cent of what promised to be a record crop in Jalandhar, Amritsar and Gurdaspur districts of Punjab. About 1,500 people perished in the worst floods in living memory, and agricultural losses were Rs 500 crore.

One man had to unjustly pay for the floods—Major-General B.N. Kumar, chairman of the Bhakra Board, was gunned down by terrorists even as the administration prepared to absolve him of all blame.

Further south, disaster struck suddenly in Quilon on July 31. The train, 26 Down, from Bangalore to Trivandrum was crossing the Perumon bridge at 80 km an hour when nine coaches jumped the rails and plunged into 30 feet deep water. Nearby villagers choreographed a superb rescue act. They used crowbars, pickaxes, anything to break open the shutters and pull out the trapped passengers. The toll: 100 dead.

In the wake of disaster came pestilence—cholera struck in the capital's backyard in August. Having killed over 300, mostly children, it spread to Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. Children also suffered in eastern Uttar Pradesh where Japanese encephalitis claimed over 1,500 lives.

But come regeneration or calamity, the drumbeat of politics was incessant. Came mid-year and it was clear that the electoral gong had begun to sound. The ruling party rushed in new chief ministers to key states. Shiv Charan Mathur took over Rajasthan; Sharad Pawar, Maharashtra; Narain Dutt Tiwari, Uttar Pradesh; Arjun Singh, Madhya Pradesh; and Bhagwat Jha Azad the chaos of Bihar. At several places the initiative floundered, and year-end saw most of the chief ministers neck-deep in dissidence. In the north, November 1988 marked the second anniversary of the Congress(I)-National Conference accord signed between Rajiv Gandhi and Farooq Abdullah. But there was no rejoicing in the state's capital. Troubled by rising violence in the valley as well as by serious infighting among the alliance partners, Abdullah lashed out at the Centre for "not keeping its promises" about project aid to the state. "There is a limit to which my patience can be tested," he said.

In the south the mild-mannered Kerala chief minister E.K. Nayanar spent the entire year warding off a relentless agitation by the Congress(I) and its allies against his Marxist rule. His frustration led to a controversial outburst against demonstrators in which he said: "The police will throw stones back at you if they are hit by stones." But Nayanar had one solid achievement. Corruption—which ran rampant in Karunakaran's time—was curbed. And with his simple life-style Nayanar won the heart of the common man.

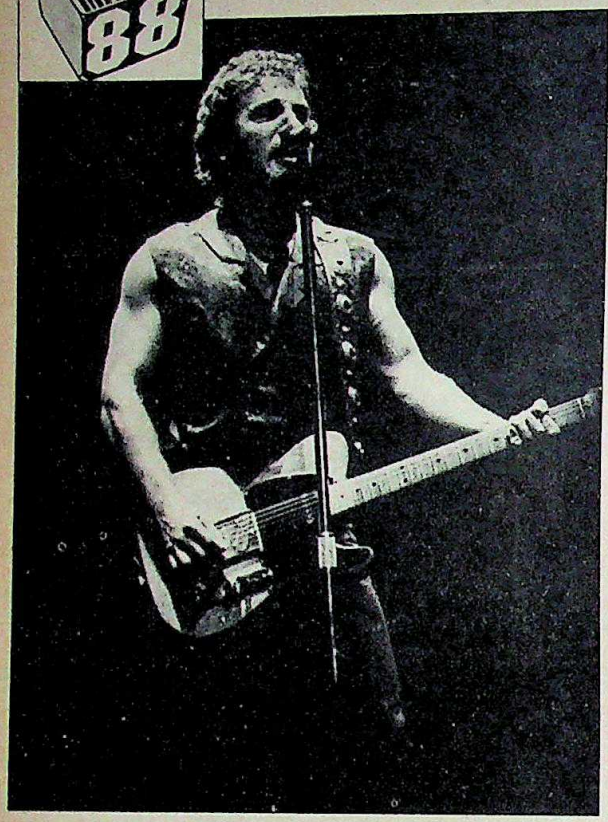
In neighbouring Karnataka, Somappa Rayappa Bommai, 64—in the twilight of his long political career—saw a sudden upswing in his fortunes, after long playing second fiddle to the flamboyant Ramakrishna Hegde and the mercurial Deve Gowda. The canny Hegde who had waltzed across an ugly grid of scandals for more than five years, finally found himself hopelessly entangled in a telephone tapping episode and had to resign. And Bommai became Karnataka's eleventh chief minister. "Yes, I became chief minister. But it was also the low point of the year for me as I saw my dearest friends turn their backs to each other and me," he said, referring to the desertion of his friend of 25 years, Deve Gowda.

In the east, Jyoti Basu, 75, the colossus of Bengal, the perfect *bhadralok*, began to sound a wee bit like Rajiv Gandhi. At the pinnacle of his career he seemed to be slipping. Beset with the Gorkhaland problem, a confrontation with CPI(M) General Secretary E.M.S. Namboodiripad, criticism from partymen for his increasingly autocratic behaviour, and scandals involving his son, Chandan Basu, and former minister Jatin Chakraborty, Basu thundered: "All these are attempts to destabilise our government."

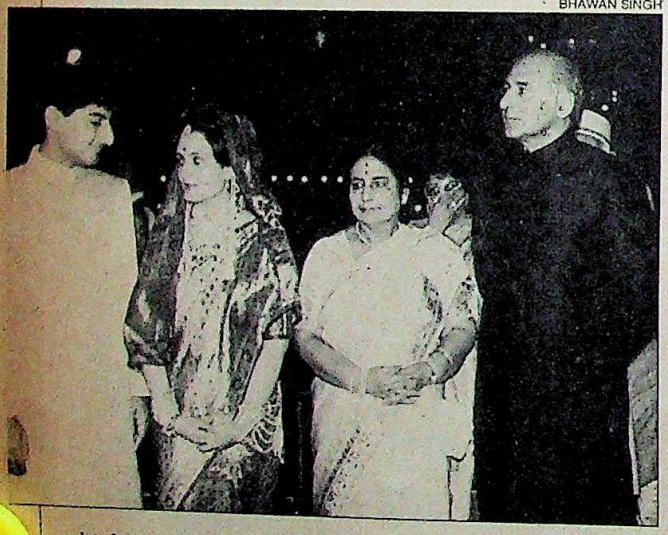
Notwithstanding pinpricks of dissidence, in the west it was clearly the year of Sharad Pawar. So dramatic was his elevation to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



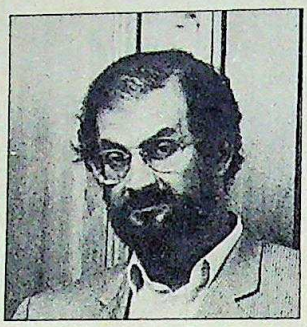
BHAWAN SINGH



chief ministership after his return to the partyfold 18 months earlier that headline writers continued to pun on his "return to Pawar". He chalked up notable successes. For example, he persuaded Shetkari Sanghatana leader Sharad Joshi to call off the proposed indefinite gherao of the Reliance Industries' Patalganga plant. Said Pawar: "Failure is a word that does not exist in my dictionary."

And 1988 was also political showbiz time, especially in Tamil Nadu, courtesy the two women leading rival factions of the AIADMK, Jayalalitha Jayaram and Janaki Ramachandran. They rent their hair and shed copious tears. Each claimed to be MGR's true heir, the second leaf of the two-leaf symbol of the party (MGR was, of course, the first.) The Election Commission responded by freezing the

(Clockwise from bottom) The Tikkoo wedding; Bruce Springsteen; and Rushdie



symbol. But the people of the state, nurtured for years on sob-story films, applauded. *Chakkalathi Chandai* (the battle between the wife and the mistress) was how they described their antics. Both insisted they were the anointed ones. Jayalalitha: "MGR himself told me several times that I was his successor." Janaki: "People say I have not studied enough to take on governmental responsibilities. I have studied in the university called MGR for 40 years."

UP north, the Congress(I) was indulging in its share of political melodrama. In a desperate bid to woo voters in the crucial Allahabad by-elections, it sought "divine" intervention in the form of Arun 'Ram' Govil. The god's efforts came to nothing. And the loser of the year was Sunil Shastri, the man-who-would-be Bachchan who finished up a Mukri.

Even as political battles raged, Amnesty International came touting a different message. At the Human Rights Now! concert, it had capacity Delhi audiences *Dancing in the Dark* with Bruce Springsteen, Peter Gabriel, Sting and Youssou N'Dour. Also commemorating 40 years of the declaration of human rights was the UN Human Rights Award—which turned out to be a moment of pride for India as the honour went to Baba Amte.

Another Indian to prove his mettle on foreign shores was Vijaypat Singhania who blazed a new international speed record while covering 6,000 miles from Biggin Hill near London to New Delhi in his Microlight aircraft in 23 days. Ravi Tikkoo, the NRI shipping tycoon, made waves in more conventional fashion: by simply marrying his son Vikram to Radhika, the daughter of Arun Nehru.

But true honours belonged to Indo-Anglian writing which in 1988 made its emergence definitive. At the top of the heap—and in the eye of a raging controversy and ban—was London-based Salman Rushdie, whose *The Satanic Verses* added to his growing reputation as a prose-worker of Joycean dimensions. Written in the same vein of the fantastic, Allan Sealey's *The Trotternama*, the saga of an Anglo-Indian clan drew critical acclaim, but fetched insufficient media. Amitav Ghosh reinforced his literary credentials with *The Shadow Lines*, but the best media was received by Upamanyu Chatterjee, though his *English August* was really only a competent first novel. O.V. Vijayan's self-translated satire *The Saga of Dharmapuri* was the other major release. At year-end Indo-Anglian literary horizons glowed, what with Vikram Seth working on a new novel and the master V.S. Naipaul visiting India for a possible work.

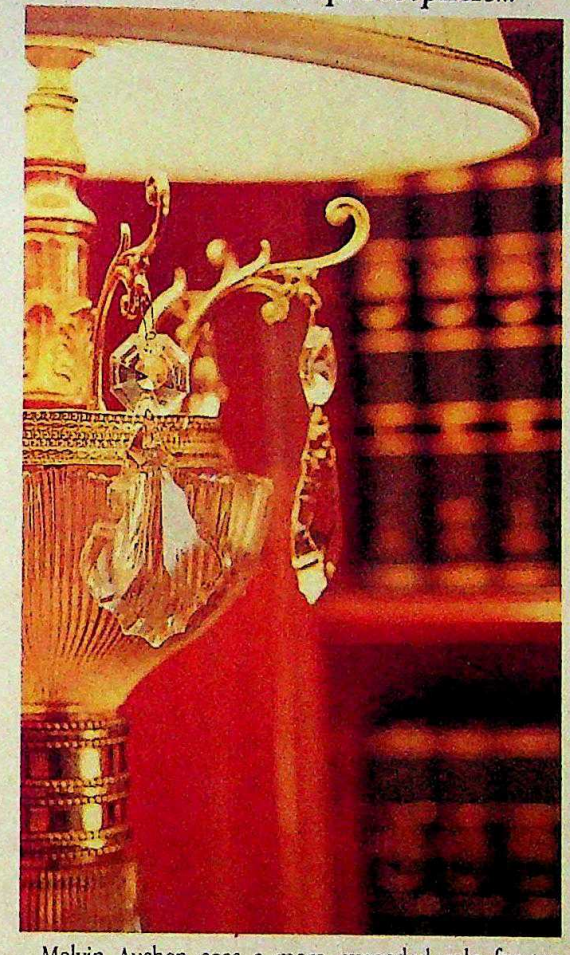
So between a munificent monsoon and an acidic Rushdie, a bumper crop and a devastating earthquake, cholera epidemics and a jiving Springsteen, between failed gods, rich weddings and embattled chief ministers, India produced images as rich, varied and tragic as its promise.

—INDERJIT BADHWAR and TARUN J. TEJPAL with bureau reports

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"To prosper in a fast-changing world, top business leaders must think more like philosophers..."



Melvin Aushen sees a more expanded role for top executives—in the management of ideas.

It's no coincidence that the Executive Club offers the perfect environment conducive to this dual role.

The exclusivity begins with a separate check-in; and continues to the well-appointed rooms with a host of add-ons—an elegant worktable with an additional telephone extension; complimentary Continental breakfast; special toiletries; bathrobe and slippers....

A full-fledged Business Centre with its meeting rooms; and the Lounge Bar that offers just the right stimulus for work and ideation.

Undeniably, the accent is on comfort, luxury and convenience, set in very exclusive environs. On that score alone, the Club is fertile ground for the management of ideas.

EXECUTIVE CLUB

Welcomgroup's special privilege for the discerning business traveller.

WELCOMGROUP

Executive Club at: Bangalore: Windsor Manor Sheraton. Baroda: Vadodara. Bombay: SeaRock Sheraton. Delhi: Maurya Sheraton. Madras: Chola Sheraton, Park Sheraton.

HTA 6155 C

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Dyanora® is the registered tradema

Dyna®

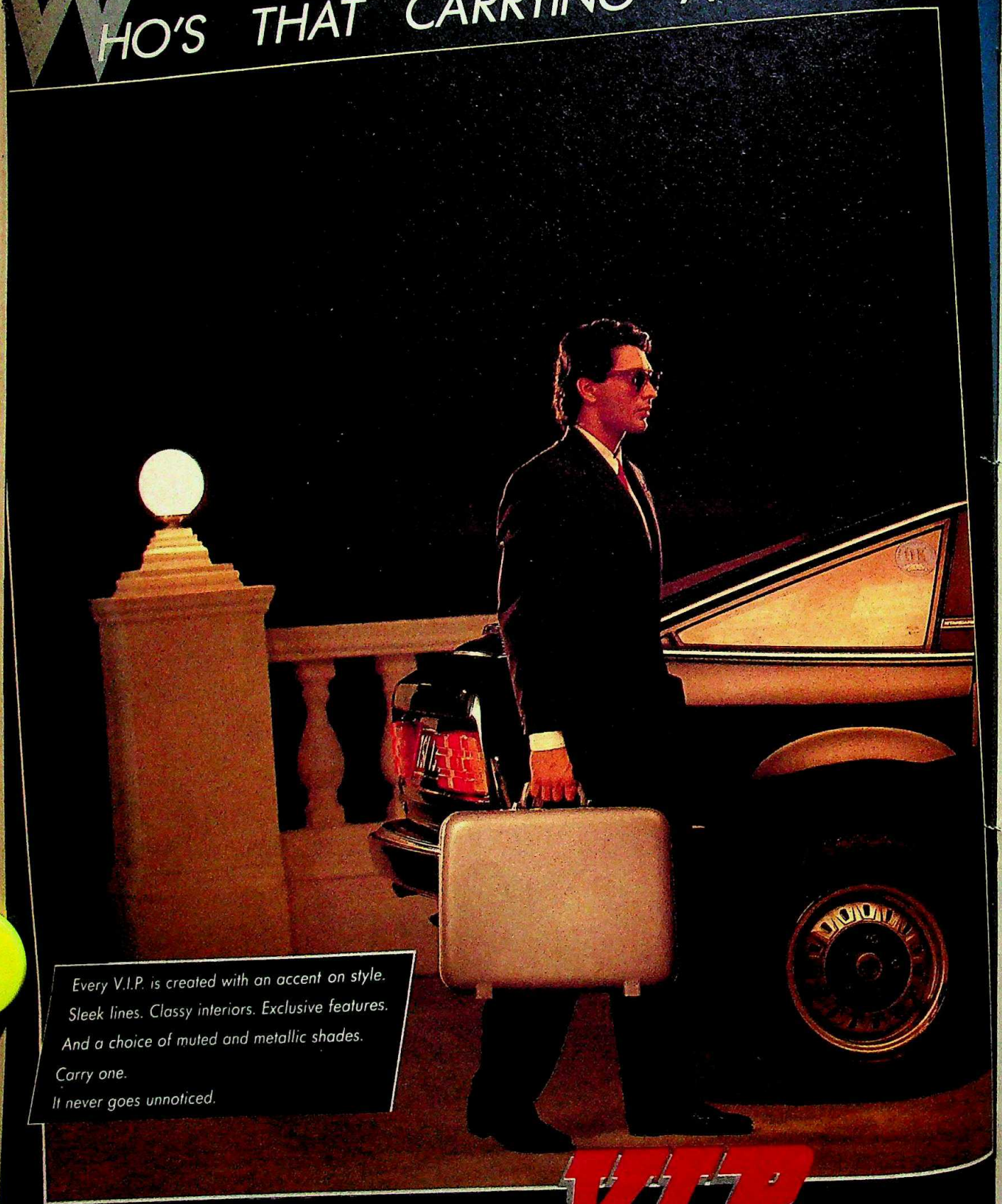
COLOUR TELEVISION

KEEP IN TOUCH!

ademark of Dynavision Limited, Madras

Digitized by Chennai and eGangotri

WHO'S THAT CARRYING A V.I.P.?



Every V.I.P. is created with an accent on style.
Sleek lines. Classy interiors. Exclusive features.
And a choice of muted and metallic shades.
Carry one.
It never goes unnoticed.

V.I.P.

LUGGAGE TO BE SEEN WITH

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

• *I am here to help the prime minister behave like the inheritor of Jawaharlal Nehru.*

■ KAMALAPATI TRIPATHI, veteran Congressman in *The Times of India*

• *We have seen prime ministers. We have seen liars. But we have never seen a prime minister who lies so much.*

■ P. UPENDRA quoted in *The Times of India*

• *May I welcome the prime minister on his occasional visit to India?*

■ P. UPENDRA, Telugu Desam member of the Rajya Sabha

• *The Opposition will have to remain quiet if lies are not to be spoken in the House...* ■ RAJIV GANDHI in Parliament

• *...Therefore now we realise why the prime minister is silent in all the debates.* ■ MADHU DANDAVATE, Janata leader

• *Ayodhya is where Ram is, Congress is where Rajiv is.*

■ P. CHIDAMBARAM, Union minister of state for home, at the Madras AICC(I) meet in April

• *She (Sonia Gandhi) tries to give the impression that she does not interfere but my feeling is that she does.*

■ ZAIL SINGH in *Asiaweek*

• *I would be a disaster as prime minister.*

■ V.P. SINGH at a press conference

• *He (V.P. Singh) has become everyone's flower vase. Anyone can use him.*

■ PRIYARANJAN DAS MUNSHI, Union minister of state for commerce, quoted in *Sunday*

• *He (V.P. Singh) should be arrested under the* NSA *to put an end to this nuisance he's creating in public life.*

■ KALPNATH RAI, Union minister of state for power, quoted in *The Statesman*

• *The mantra of the Opposition is Bofors, the bhajan is Bachchan and their lord is Vishwanath (V.P. Singh).* ■ H.K.L. BHAGAT, Union minister for information and broadcasting, in *Indian Express*

• *The Congress has made this country. The rest (the opposition parties) are all tenants.* ■ BHAJAN LAL, Union minister of agriculture, quoted in *The Statesman*

• *Barring the Marxists and the* BJP *to some extent, all political parties treat their constitution as toilet paper.*

■ GEORGE FERNANDES, Janata leader, quoted in *The Illustrated Weekly of India*

• *If any of you want to cut a tree, do not seek government permission. Just go ahead and do it. From now on the capital of India is Sisauli.*

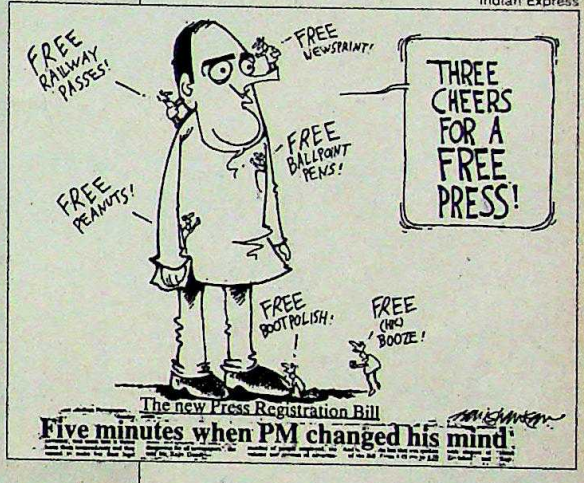
■ MAHENDRA SINGH TIKAIT, BKU leader, addressing followers at the Boat Club in New Delhi on October 31

• *How can you talk of swimming pools when you don't have enough water in the bathtub?*

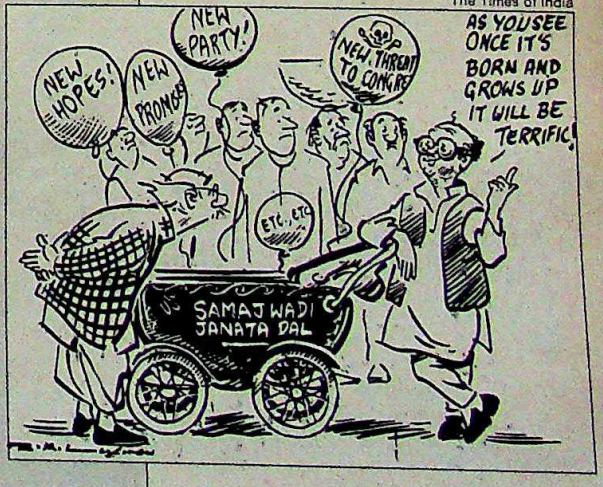
■ An Indian Airlines pilot in response to Rajiv's statement that they can afford personal swimming pools in *Sunday Mail*

The Times of India

Indian Express



The Times of India



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Times of India

● *The most irritating part of being a member of the Janata Party is that I never know whether I am coming or going.*

■ MANEKA GANDHI, quoted in *Sunday*

● *Those who believe India is not governed well should remember how miraculous it is that it is governed at all.*

■ RICHARD NIXON in his new book, *1999-Victory Without War*

● *If any enterprise is run on the line that the Government of India is run, it would go into liquidation.*

■ NANI PALKHIVALA, eminent lawyer, in *Sunday*

● *India is too costly for me. I cannot afford India.*

■ SWARAJ PAUL, London-based NRI industrialist, in *The Week*

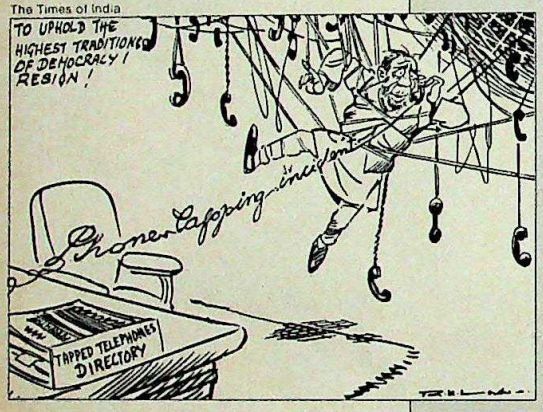
● *Debarring him from parties is like snatching away a lollipop from a child.*

■ RUPAN DEOL BAJAJ, IAS, on Punjab Director-General of Police K.P.S. Gill, quoted in *Indian Express*

● *I ran to remove the impression that I was afraid to lose.*

■ P.T. USHA, after failing to qualify in the 400 m hurdles heats in the Seoul Olympics

The Times of India



● *The Indian Hockey Federation is being run by bogus people. I can't even call them pimps...that is too respectable.*

■ ASLAM SHER KHAN, MP and former hockey Olympian, in *Surya India*

● *We didn't come here for anybody's birthday bash.*

■ BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN on *The Times of India* advertising the Human Rights Now! concert as part of its 150th anniversary celebrations

● *You don't have a right to have sexual intercourse with anybody you wish, if it's going to destroy the country.*

■ DR A.S. PAINTAL, director-general of ICMR in *India Today*

● *Doordarshan seems to be unaware of India beyond the Vindhyas*

■ E.K NAYANAR in *Indian Express*

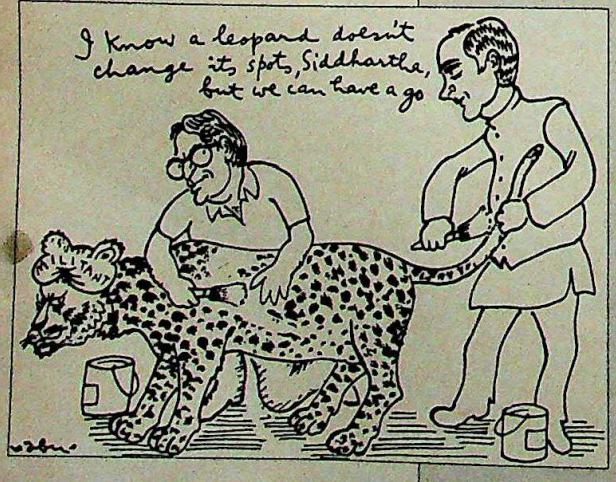
● *If you give me your word that you'll support the Congress, I'll give you my blessings.*

■ ARUN GOVIL, canvassing for the Congress(I) during the Allahabad by-election, in *Indian Express*

● *I agree that playing Ram has done a world of good to Arun Govil's image. But what about the damage done to Ram's image?*

■ RANDHIR KAPOOR in *Filmfare*

Tribune



● *I think he (Amitabh Bachchan) should treat politics like Rekha and give up both. Like her (Rekha) it is more than he can handle.*

■ SHATRUGHAN SINHA quoted in *Sunday*

● *The problem with Satyajit Ray is that he's always sitting on a pedestal. I want to bring him down.*

■ MRINAL SEN in *The Times of India Sunday Review*

● *Cinema is like an aging whore. But there's a new bitch in town—video and* TV.

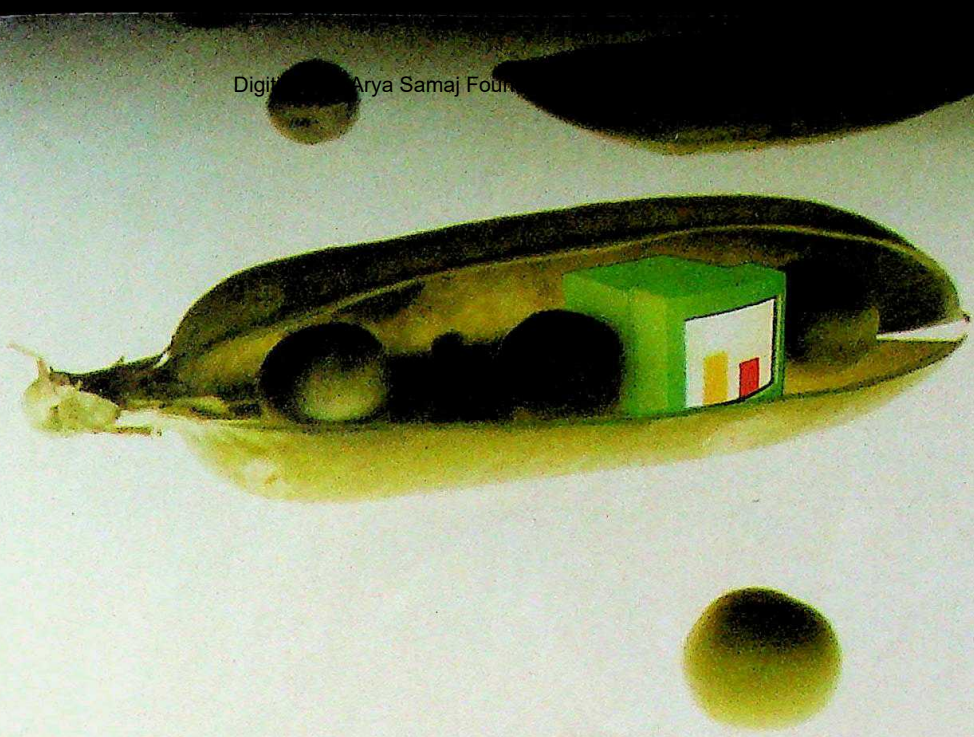
■ MAHESH BHATT in *India Today*

● *Even when I'm alone, when I'm doing nothing...I feel mushy, I imagine there's a beautiful woman beside me.*

■ VINOD KHANNA in *The Times of India Sunday Review*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation



IN TOMORROW'S WORLD ALL WILL NOT BE THE SAME. COMPUTERS WILL MAKE THE COMPETITIVE DIFFERENCE.

PREPARING YOU TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE

APPLE LEASING & INDUSTRIES LIMITED • BANGALORE • BARODA • BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • DELHI • HYDERABAD • MADRAS • PUNE.

COMPUTER
EDUCATION
TRAINING
CONSULTANCY
SOFTWARE

a

Apple

INFORMATION
TECHNOLOGY
DIVISION

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IN TOMORROW'S WORLD ALL WILL NOT BE THE SAME. COMPUTERS WILL MAKE THE COMPETITIVE DIFFERENCE.

PREPARING YOU TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE

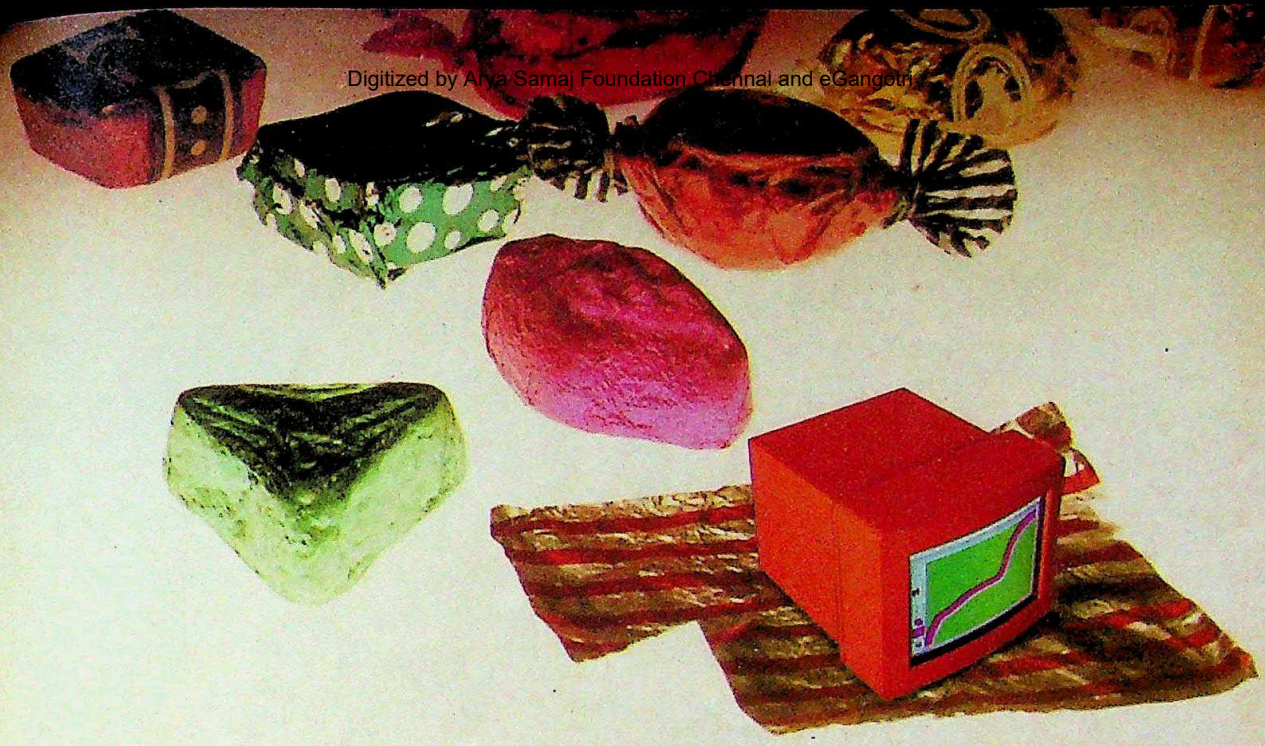
APPLE LEASING & INDUSTRIES LIMITED • BANGALORE • BARODA • BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • DELHI • HYDERABAD • MADRAS • PUNE.

COMPUTER
EDUCATION
TRAINING
CONSULTANCY
SOFTWARE

Apple
INFORMATION
TECHNOLOGY
DIVISION

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



IN TOMORROW'S WORLD ALL WILL NOT BE THE SAME. COMPUTERS WILL MAKE THE COMPETITIVE DIFFERENCE.

PREPARING YOU TO MEET THE CHALLENGE OF CHANGE

APPLE LEASING & INDUSTRIES LIMITED • BANGALORE • BARODA • BOMBAY • CALCUTTA • DELHI • HYDERABAD • MADRAS • PUNE.

COMPUTER
EDUCATION
TRAINING
CONSULTANCY
SOFTWARE

Apple
INFORMATION
TECHNOLOGY
DIVISION

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

e Thapar Group

YOU CAN TAKE OVER A COMPANY ON NEW EXECUTIVE BOND PAPER

HAMPTON CHEM
Express Towers, Nariman Point, Bombay-400
Tel : 2026884, 2023921.

M.K. Shah
Managing Director

November 25, 1988

To
Mr. A.D. Gupta
President,
Forward Investments Pvt. Ltd.,
World Trade Centre,
Cuffe Parade
Bombay - 400 005

Dear ADG,

I've gone through your report on company X. I think your assessment is correct. It does fit rather nicely into our plans.

As far as buying them out is concerned, I prefer plan A.

It's the cleanest !

Regards,

M.K. SHAH

Introducing New Executive Bond Paper. It's so special that top management will find it specially suitable for all their communication – from takeovers and technical collaborations to new product launches.

And what makes it so special is the look. It's rich, pure white, with a distinctive but discreet watermark. And the feel. Crisp, of course and entirely expensive. *(Imported D.O. Paper is not even remotely near.)*

NEW

Executive Bond

A speciality paper from Ballarpur Industries Limited

Regional Offices : Bombay : Ph. 2023876 Calcutta : Ph. 443173 Delhi : Ph. 3328811 Madras : Ph. 474564.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rajiv Gandhi

• *Don't read newspapers. They are writing blatant lies.*
■ to the students of Viswabharati University on January 16

• *India cannot afford socialism....Instead of generating resources, the public sector has been eating up the wealth of the nation.*
■ in January

• *We cannot imagine any philosophy other than...socialism in economics which can hold our people together and take our country forward.*
■ in February

• *You (the CPI-M) always talk of Karl Marx, but you talk like Groucho Marx.*
■ to Amal Datta, CPI(M) member of the Lok Sabha in March

• *We are totally convinced that the (Defamation) Bill is needed. I am myself completely convinced that we are proceeding on the right line.*
■ at a Congress(I) meet on September 4

• *Without a free press there can be no democracy....We uphold this legacy....We have therefore decided not to make the Defamation Bill, 1988 into law.*
■ on September 22

• *I spend more time with the poor than I think any other prime minister did.*
■ quoted in The Statesman

• *Kisi ki bhi ma marti hai to bahut dukh hota hain, lekin mujhe sahas mila kyonki poore desh mein ek aisa mahaul hua ki Bharat ke har nagrik ki ma mar gayi.*
■ addressing a New Delhi rally on 31st October

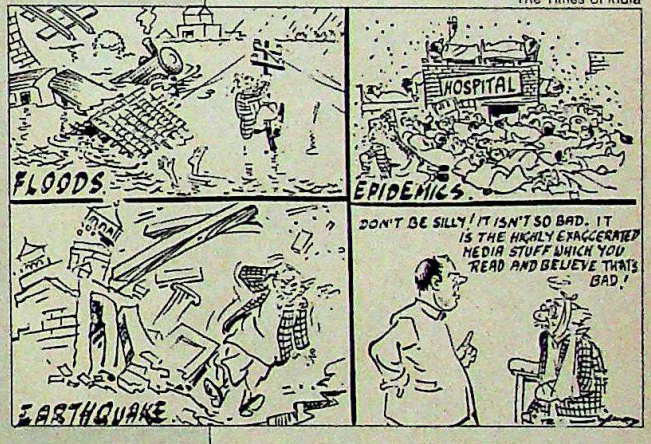
• *They (Indian Airlines pilots) have them....A pool itself is not that expensive.*
■ in Sunday

• *Whenever the Opposition does not cheer me I know I am doing something right.*
■ on the Opposition not cheering him when he announced in Parliament the decision to send Indian troops to Maldives

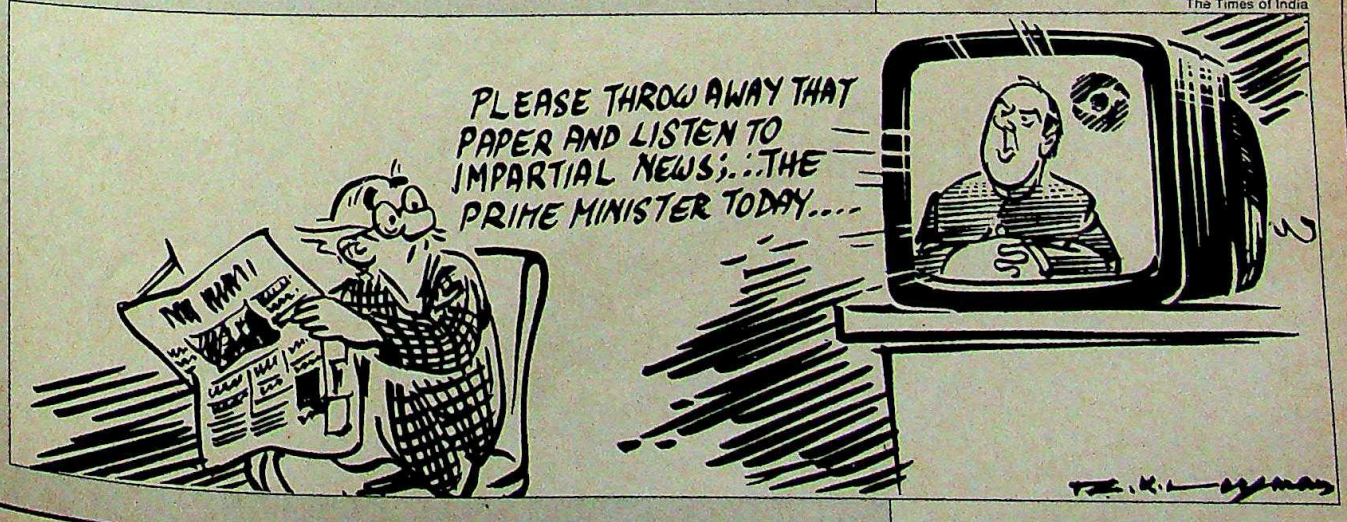
• *It (the opposition alliance) is a national affront, not a National Front.*
■ at a public meeting in Madras in December

Indian Express

The Times of India



The Times of India



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NUCLEAR INITIATIVE

FIRST the Soviets staged a coup last month by clinching a deal to set up two 1,000-MW nuclear plants on soft credit terms. Now, it's the turn of the French. The French private nuclear giant Framotone has submitted to the Government a proposal to put up several nuclear plants on a turnkey basis. The Atomic Energy Commission is reportedly studying the proposal, while some of the country's premier nuclear organisations are vetting it. It's not clear what terms the French company is offering and these may not be as soft as the Soviet terms. Nevertheless, they are believed to be attractive enough. The French company has also told the Indian Government that it can decide the size of the power plant (500 MW to 1,000 MW). French officials have been visiting India in connection with the offer.

TOWARDS SETTLEMENT

IN all probability, the new year will see the Modis signing a formal agreement on dividing their Rs 1,200-crore Modi empire. The two branches of the family—one consisting of the sons of group founder Gujar Mal Modi and the other comprising K.N. Modi (who's Gujar Mal Modi's stepbrother) and his sons—have been separately meeting Industrial Finance Corporation of India Chairman D.N. Davar almost daily for weeks. At one stage, K.N. Modi's sons insisted on gaining control of either the profitable Modi Rubber or Bombay Tyres (which owns valuable real estate). But their cousins evidently wanted a division of companies. Observers suggest that both Modi Industries and Modipon may eventually have to be informally divided. If that happens, the K.N. Modi branch could wind up with Bombay Tyres, a part of Modipon, Modi Cement, Modi Alkalies, Modi Champion and a part of Modi Industries. His nephews would then bag the rest—over 60 per cent of the group's assets.

OFFSHORE ISSUES

TATA Steel created a flutter last fortnight with its proposal for a $200 million (about Rs 300-crore) bonds issue which it wants to float overseas, a first for an Indian company. But the Tata proposal is only a statement of intent; no application has been made as yet. In mid-1988, Reliance had made a similar proposal to part-finance its Rs 700-crore petrochemical project in Hazira. Though the Finance Ministry may grant approval for offshore issues several administrative details have yet to be worked out. An Indian company listed in an overseas stock exchange would necessarily have to comply with local laws. Observers point out that a dual registry system—where stockholders in Singapore with shares in Indian companies can get their shares transferred locally instead of complying with cumbersome Indian legislation—is a must before clearance is given.

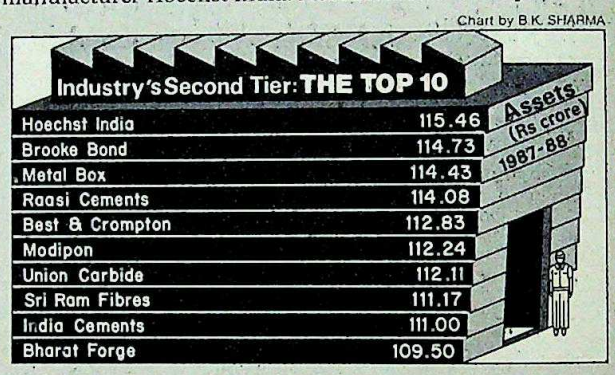
MEAGRE SALARY

ONE would expect big corporations to pay its top executives the officially-pegged maximum salary. But guess what the monthly salary of one of Reliance Industries' three executive directors is? Just Rs 4,000, with an annual increment of Rs 400 (apart from perquisites). The executive director in question is Nikhil R. Meswani, and the reason for his relatively low salary (executive directors Anil and Mukesh Ambani are on a Rs 12,500 to Rs 15,000 scale) is that he's just 23. Meswani, a nephew of Anil and Mukesh Ambani, has taken the place of his late father Rasikbhai.

ALTERED RANKS

WHICH company heads the second tier of industry? The answer, says *The Economic Times* study of the performance of 124 mini giants—companies whose sales exceed their assets—in 1987-88, is pharmaceutical manufacturer Hoechst India. Hoechst is followed by Brooke

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



Bond, Metal Box, Raasi Cements, Best & Crompton, Modipon and Union Carbide *(see chart)* when ranked according to their assets. But the picture changes sharply when viewed from the sales angle: Brooke Bond is top dog, followed by Lipton India, Bata India, Britannia Industries and Glindia. Still, the study points out that four (Hoechst, Brooke Bond, Modipon, Union Carbide) of the top 10 companies in terms of assets are in the list by virtue of having become mini giants because they were overtaken by other companies in the list of giants.

LOCKING HORNS

WILL public sector banks finally receive approval to become members of stock exchanges? The answer: yes and no. For several months now, the banks have been involved in a tussle with stock brokers over membership to the Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE). Brokers feel that they'll lose business once the banks enter the exchange. They also see it as a conflict of interest: they'd be both stock brokers and mutual fund owners (several of them have a large presence in the market through mutual funds). The Glass-Steagall Act in the US which prohibits commercial banks from investment banking activities is cited as a prime example. However bankers claim that the country's stock exchanges have been a closed club for too long and there is a genuine need to broad-base membership. So a compromise proposal has been mooted to allow small stock exchanges to accept nationalised banks as members. The hitch: banks will not settle for anything less than BSE membership. Obviously, bankers and brokers will continue to lock horns over the issue.

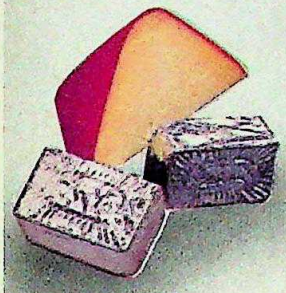
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IN DISTINGUISHED COMPANY

How do you distinguish between an ordinary refrigerator and a masterpiece? Look at any ordinary refrigerator. Then take a look at the new Godrej 300-litre refrigerator. With dimensions so vast, its wide-bodied interior can offer you more storage space than ever before. And with a design so classic, a distinguished person like you could never settle for less.

Butter, Cheese and Chocolics Anonymous



Twin compartments keep dairy products in prime condition.

Eggstraordinary Design

Two detachable egg racks fit as many as 16 eggs. The space can be used to store other items if you don't find use for the egg racks.

Tall, Broad and Handsome

The wide door panel fits 12 large bottles with ease. Plus, there's a rack that is specially designed to fit 3 smaller-sized bottles.

Shelf Space as Creative as your Culinary Concoctions

The wide shelves are adjustable and flexible and can be adjusted to accommodate odd shaped containers, even a tiered cake.

More Room at the top: the Spacious Freezer

The extra large freezer provides ample room to store more frozen food than ever before.

Top Priority: Cooling Efficiency

Faster cooling. Power saving. It's the result of an all-new robust compressor plus polyurethane insulation, an international standard.

The Secret of the Perfect Hostess

Discover twin crispers that are transparent, lighter and less cumbersome to handle. They allow you to segregate vegetables. That means less spoilage, and you can keep your choice vegetables fresh – the secret of a perfect meal.

Superior Finish

Every feature of the new Godrej 300-litre refrigerator is distinguished by its excellent design. A superior epoxy powder-coated finish. And a choice of extraordinary colours. Exclusively, Godrej.

THE NEW WIDE-BODIED 300-LITRE REFRIGERATOR

Godrej®

The Connoisseur's Choice

HTA 2832

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

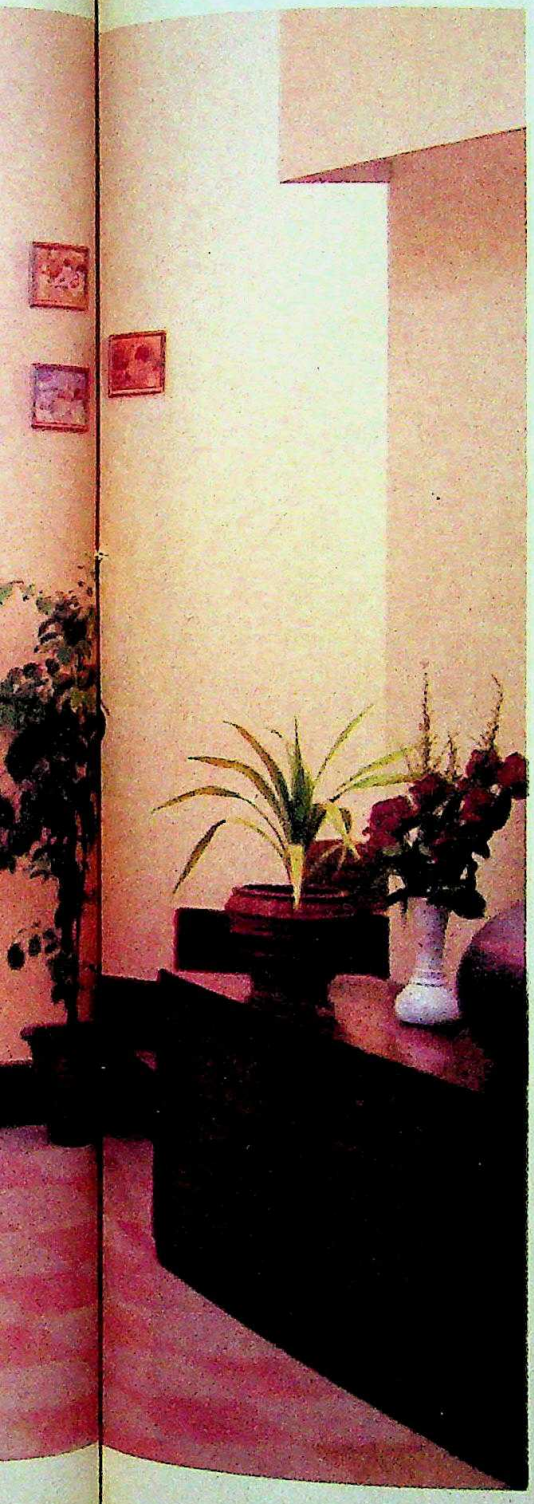
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Light up your walls with t

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

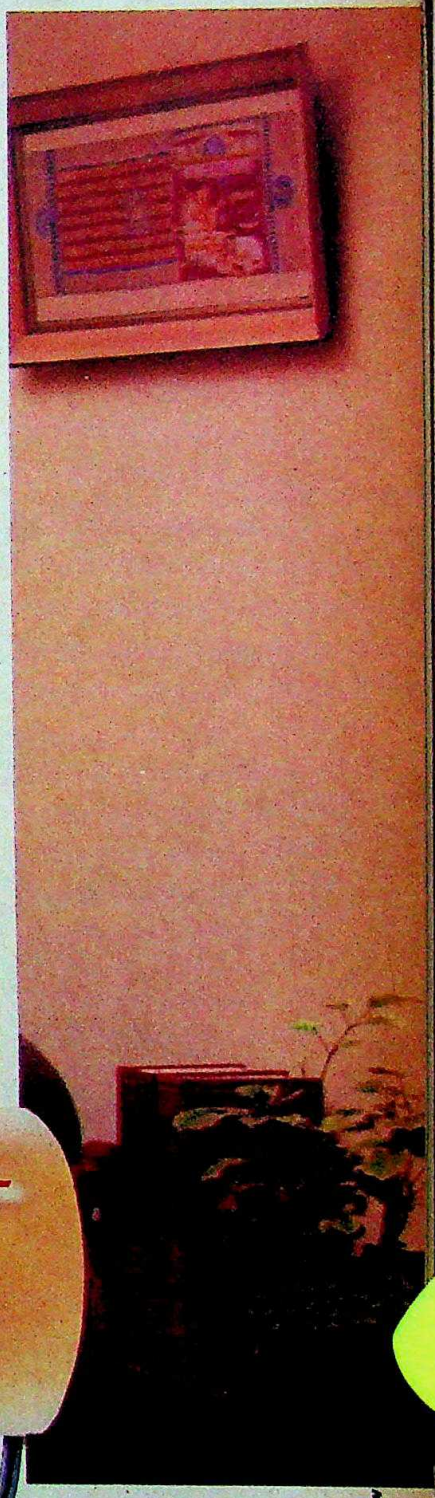
th the lasting beauty of Apcolite.



Now in over 150 ready shades.

Now you can light up your walls with Apcolite, the **100% pure acrylic emulsion** that gives you lasting beauty... For years. That's because Apcolite is a tougher, longer-lasting finish. It can stand repeated washing. It is also specially formulated for tropical conditions and is therefore fungus-resistant.

And, now, for the first time, Apcolite is available in a dazzling range of **over 150 ready shades.** From whisper-soft pastels to deep, rich hues. Every shade has been created by sophisticated, computer-aided matching facilities to ensure perfect colour fidelity — from wall to wall.



100% pure acrylic emulsion for beauty that lasts.

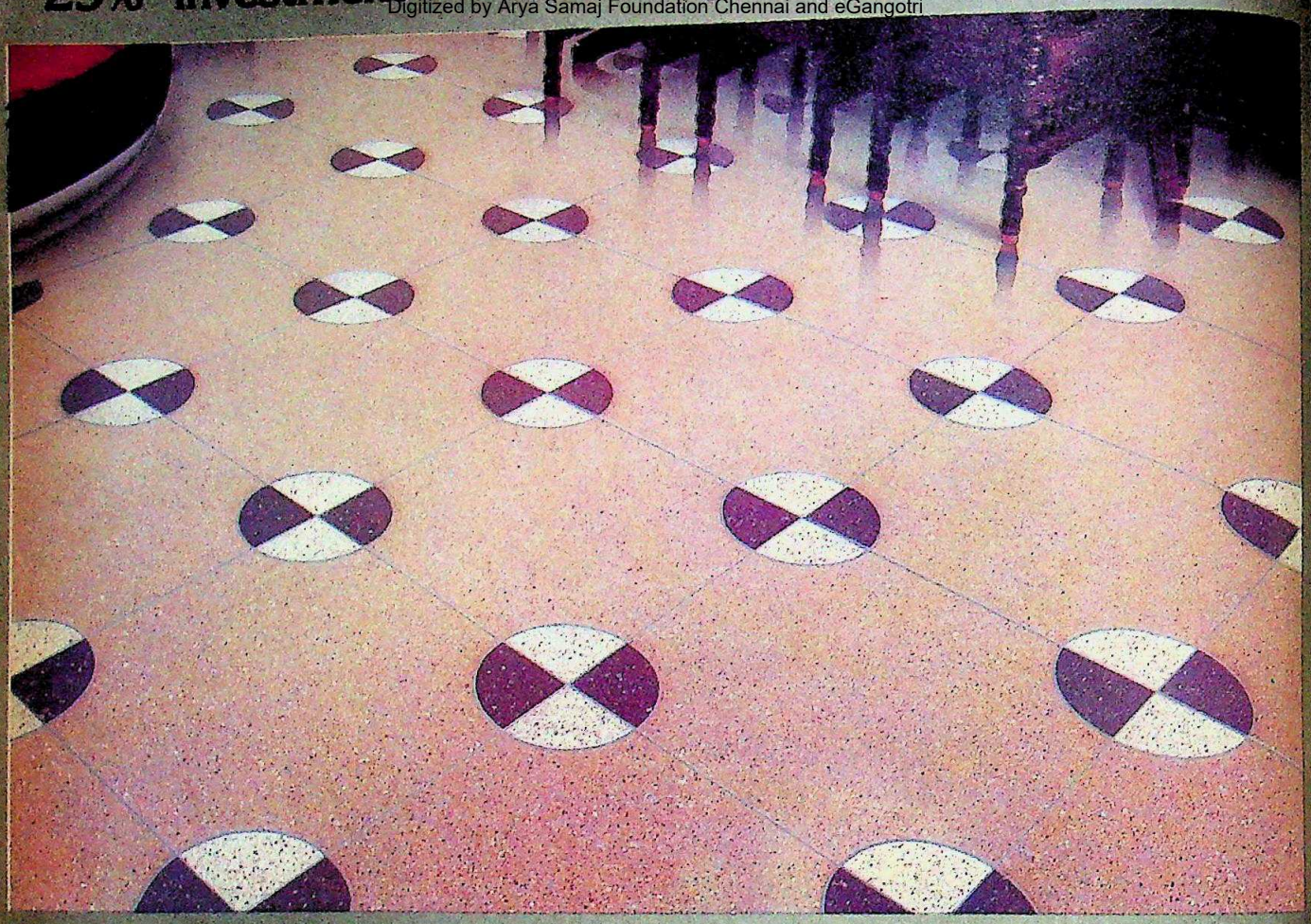
asian paints

OBM/3883 Rev

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

25% investment + 75% imagination = 100% floors!

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



JK White Cement — Your imagination, our economy, elegant floors

When you build your house don't limit yourself to designing the four walls.

Use JK White Cement and design your floors as well.

Give yourself beautiful floors without paying a fortune.

Consider the cost comparison for a 10'×10' floor. The difference in cost is only Rs. 225/-

Grey Cement	Rs. 875/-
JK White Cement	Rs. 1100/-

International Class White Cement

JK White Cement is made with technical expertise from F.L. Smidth & Co., of Denmark, world leaders in white cement technology.

And because of this JK White Cement is the purest white cement, free from impurities.

International quality that has made JK White Cement, India's largest selling white cement.

It mixes easily with colours, marble powder and chips to give a galaxy of shades and designs of your own choice.

Free Consultancy Service

Discover the unending possibilities of JK White Cement with the 'JK White Cement Floor Design Plan'. We will help you design your floors. What's more, when you avail of the free consultancy, you will get a special discount on all your purchases of JK White Cement. This is an exclusive offer, with unmatched benefits given to you only by the leader — JK White Cement. Choose JK White Cement. Get the best. Cut out the coupon below and mail it to us.

Today.

To: JK White Cement Floor Design Plan
Ashoka Estate, 8th Floor,
24, Barakhamba Road, New Delhi-110001.

I'm building my house and would like to know how 'JK White Cement Floor Design Plan' can help me to design my own floors.

Name _____

Address _____

Tel. No. _____

JK White Cement
India's largest selling white cement

IT.6

J.K. White Cement
FLOORS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Made with your imagination. Built to last

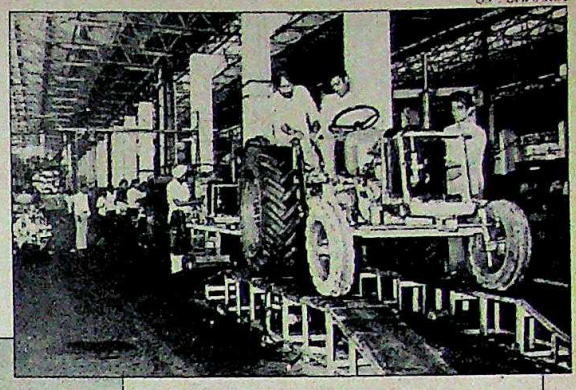
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

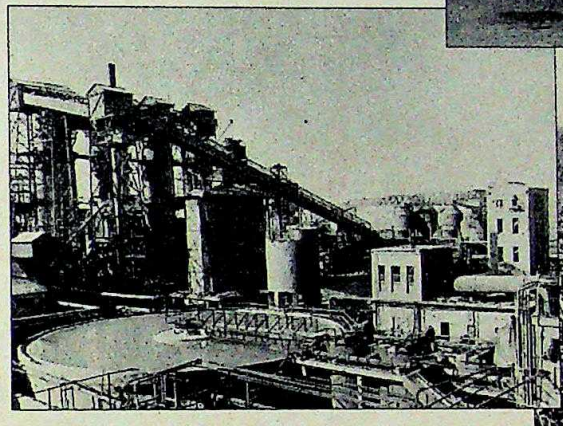
COMPANY PROFITS

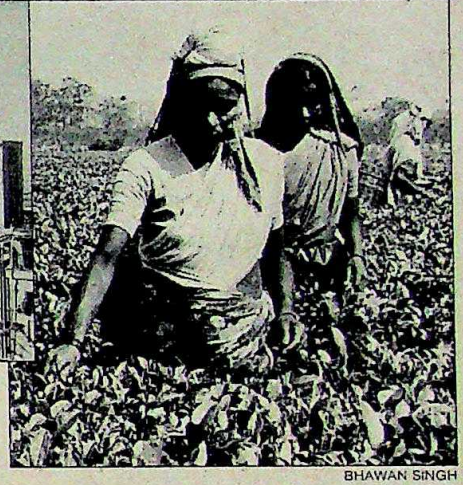
Touching A New High

Good monsoon, leaner companies help

S.P. SHARMA







BHAWAN SINGH

(Clockwise from above) chemicals plant; tractor factory; and tea plantation: superb results

ONCE upon a time, companies grimly faced surplus production capacities, fierce competition, and low profits. Several of them trimmed their work-force, cut prices and launched economy drives. Soaps and detergents giant Hindustan Lever, for example, cut off long-distance telephone dialling facilities for senior executives.

Inevitably, many companies cut back on new investments or postponed share issues to raise money for new projects. The stock-markets had plunged. In that gloomy climate, fresh projects were virtually a no-no.

Today all of this is changing. The stock-markets are booming. Companies are coming to the markets with mega issues to raise money for a bevy of new projects. And they are coming up with some glowing balance sheets. In industries as diverse as chemicals, tractors, and consumer goods sales are climbing and profits are showing distinct signs of a surge.

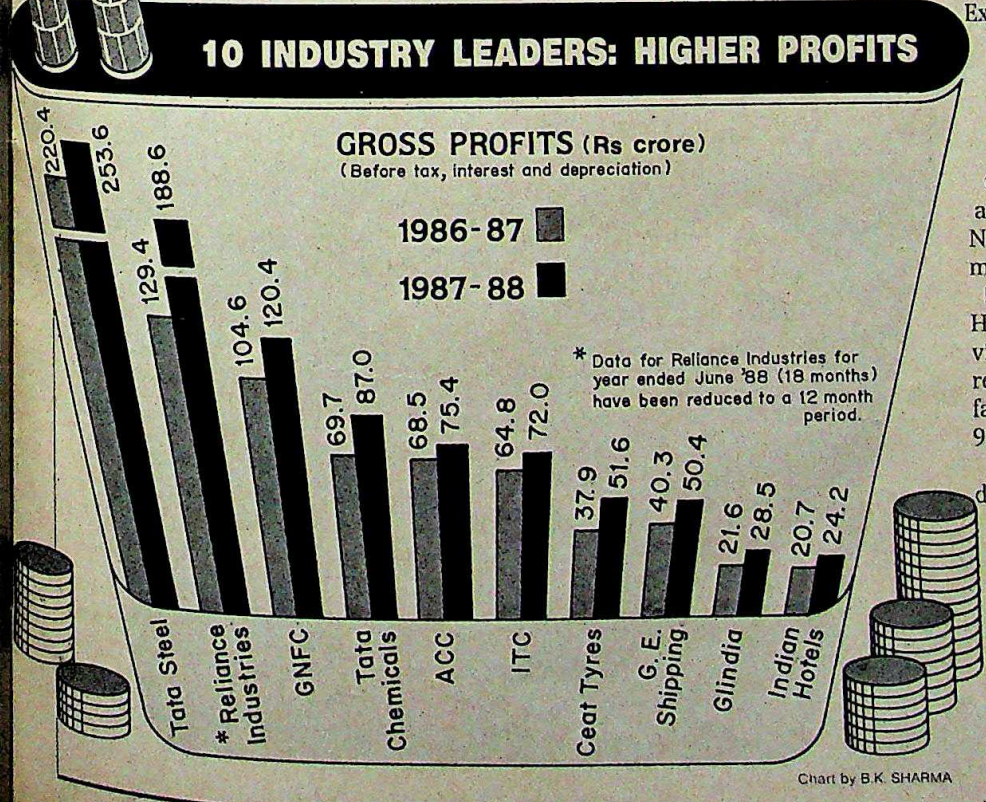
The evidence is still trickling in. Even so, the figures available so far make for compelling reading:

► At Tata Chemicals, sales went up by 24 per cent, gross profit by 32 per cent and pre-tax profit by 39 per cent in the first six months of this financial year. Says Darbari S. Seth, chairman of Tata Chemicals, Rallis India, Tata Tea and Excel Industries: "In all these four companies, to my delight the results have set a record. I expect the trend to continue."

► At Hindustan Lever, profits are marginally higher in the first half of the year—despite a crippling lockout at the company's factory in Bombay. Naturally, executives are permitted to make long-distance calls.

► At Mahindra Ugine, Chairman Harish Mahindra, who's not yet convinced that corporate profits are on the rebound, concedes that the steel manufacturer will do at least as well this 9-month year as last year.

You want more? Eicher Tractors has doubled its profit, from Rs 2.5 crore in 1987 to Rs 5 crore in 1988. Gujarat Ambuja Cements closed its accounts last June with a post-tax profit of Rs 4.1 crore, up 167 per cent from the previous year's Rs 1.5 crore. JK Synthetics turned a Rs 11.4-crore loss in 1986-87 into a post-tax profit of Rs 8.6 crore in 1987-88. Confirms N. Vaghul, chairman of the state-owned



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India (ICICI): "The corporate sector has reported a surge in profitability."

Look at the pace-setters in a number of industries (*see chart*). All notched up higher gross profits last year than in the year before. According to the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE), the Bombay-based data gathering unit, pre-interest and pre-tax profits for 740 companies shot up by 7.6 per cent in 1987-88 from 1986-87 levels. Post-tax profits dropped by 7 per cent, but CMIE believes that even these have perked up after April 1988. A financial daily's study of 28 big companies bolsters the point: their combined gross profits are up 28.5 per cent this year.

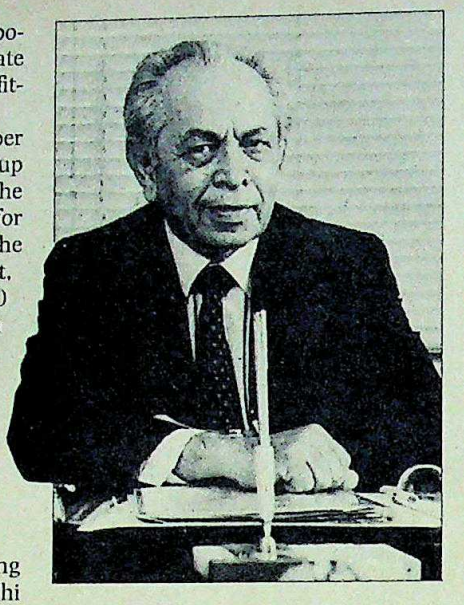
Says Ram K. Piparaiya, managing director of the Bombay-based Aridhi Investment Consultants: "I would share the optimism. Invariably, we find that the performance in the current year is better than in the previous year. And 1989 will be better than 1988."

Perhaps the most visible symbol of improved bottom lines is the stock-market. Mahendra N. Kampani, vice-chairman of JM Financial & Investment Consultancy Services and a former president of the Bombay Stock Exchange, notes that investor psychology and the stock-markets pick up when companies report improved performances.

To be sure, more than one industry continues to swim against the tide. S.M. Chakravarty, secretary-general, Cement Manufacturers Association, says excess production continues this year too. And large sections of the organised textile industry are in the doldrums.

Yet even here, there are patches of optimism. According to an Indian Cotton Mills Federation (ICMF) analysis, textile barons had borrowed Rs 615 crore by last June from the Government's modernisation fund, and invested Rs 313 crore in 60 modernisation projects. If the textile industry is unprofitable, why are people investing in it? "That puzzles me also," admits ICMF Secretary-General C.V. Radhakrishnan.

Indeed, the profit surge may seem puzzling because the reasons for last year's profit squeeze—competition and surplus production capacities—still exist. So what's happening now? Well, this year's good monsoon will put money into farmers' pockets and fuel demand. Notes B.P. Gunaji, secretary-general of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry: "After three years of bad monsoons, a good monsoon has now created a psychology of growth. Rural incomes have increased."

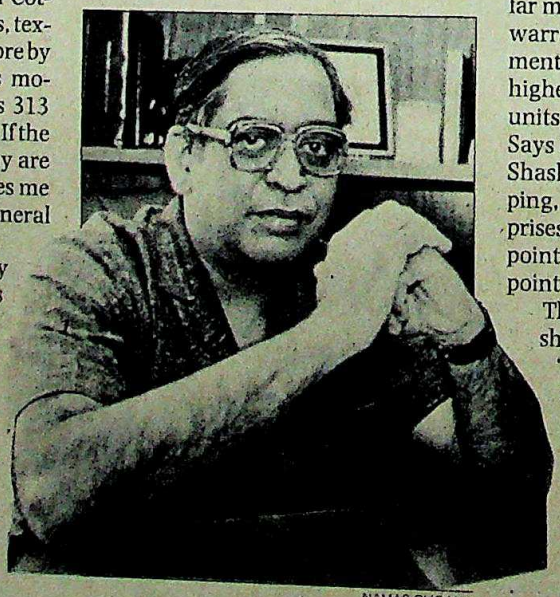


"The results have set a record. I expect the trend to continue."

DARBARI SETH
chairman, Tata Chemicals

"The full impact of the monsoon will be felt in the first quarter of next year. The best is yet to come."

N. VAGHUL
chairman, Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India



NAMAS BHOJANI

One result is that the market for common consumer wares has expanded. Darbari Seth partially confirms this when he says: "We don't have enough tea to sell." A Hindustan Lever spokesman adds that the soaps market is growing by 4 to 6 per cent a year, the detergents business by an average of 10 to 12 per cent, and the toothpaste market by between 6 and 10 per cent. There's also little doubt that lower input costs have helped in some cases (example: soaps and oil), thanks again to the monsoon.

Not all agree that the good monsoon is behind the higher profits. "I don't think profits are up due to the monsoons; the harvesting season finished in October," argues Vikram Lal, chairman of the Eicher group of tractor and light commercial vehicle companies. "The monsoon's real effect on farm incomes is yet to be seen. I think we're seeing the effect of the years of liberalisation, of competition and better efficiency."

While companies could also have emerged leaner after going on a cost-cutting binge, many are now reaping an export harvest. The Government exempted export profits from taxes in the last budget. As a result of this, and of the Government gradually lowering the value of the rupee against a basket of hard currencies (so making Indian exports more competitive abroad), a host of businessmen are seeking to export their surplus production. R.V. Kanoria, joint managing director of Kanoria Chemicals & Industries Ltd, says his company will double chemical exports from Rs 1 crore this year to Rs 2 crore next year.

Finally, some have jacked up prices far more than their input cost increases warranted. For instance, the Government has raised steel prices to cover higher production costs, and many steel units are making respectable profits. Says Ravi Kant Ruia, who with brother Shashi heads the Essar group of shipping, steel and offshore services enterprises: "If prices are increased by 10 points, 8 points may be cost increases—2 points stick in the balance sheet."

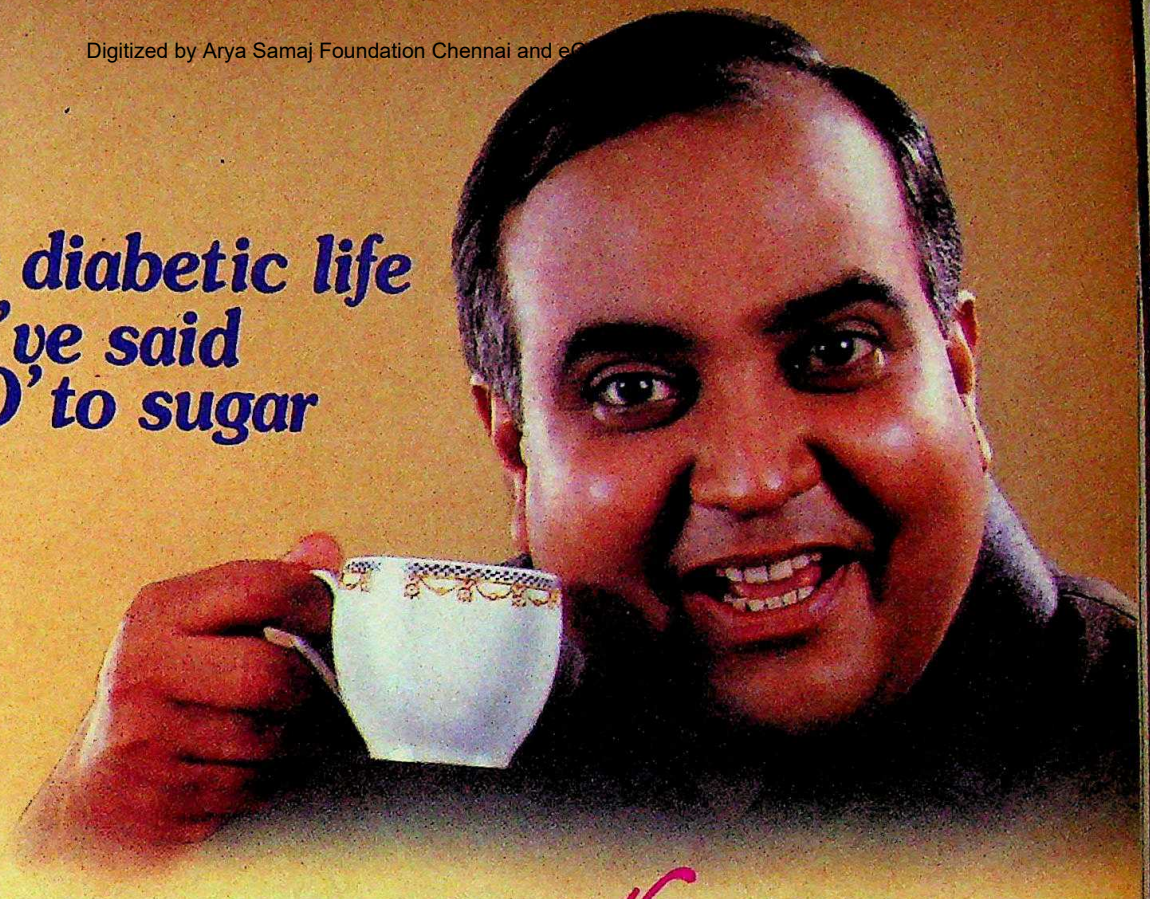
The outcome is becoming visible in the shape of fatter profits. Says Vaghul: "The full impact of the 1988 monsoon will be felt in the first quarter of next year. There will be a sharp acceleration in demand. The best is yet to come." Right now, few would disagree.

—PALAKUNNATHU G. MATHAI
with SURAJEET DAS GUPTA
and bureau reports

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and e

All my diabetic life I've said 'NO' to sugar



Now I SAY YES! to Sugar free

It's not saccharin. It tastes just like sugar!

For over twenty years now, I've either avoided sugar, or had to make do with saccharin substitutes with their bitter after-taste. Ugh! No more! I'm free to enjoy sweet tea, coffee, lassi, home-made sweets. Thanks to SUGAR FREE.

No saccharin.
No bitter after-taste!

- Unlike other sugar substitutes, SUGAR FREE is formulated from two amino acids. It is therefore metabolized by the body in the same way as any natural protein. No carcinogenic side-effects.
- No bitter after-taste like saccharin and other controversial artificial sweeteners. It tastes just like sugar.
- Cut the calories! Two tabs of SUGAR FREE (equal to 2 teaspoons of sugar) contain just 0.8 calories as against 40 calories in sugar. Ideal for weightwatchers, calorie counters and diabetics.

SUGAR FREE is India's first non-saccharin sugar substitute. SUGAR FREE type sweeteners are approved in over 69 countries and are used in thousands of food products including Diet Pepsi and Diet Coke.

Now SUGAR FREE is available to you for the first time with the Cadila stamp of international quality.

Only SUGAR FREE has the natural taste of sugar without its calories.

Cadila CHEMICALS PVT. LTD.

India's 3rd largest pharma group.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Presenting a track record of higher productivity.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Hindustan D6H Crawler-Tractor. Elevated sprocket design, powershift transmission, sealed and lubricated tracks and redesigned push arms help it move material faster, better.

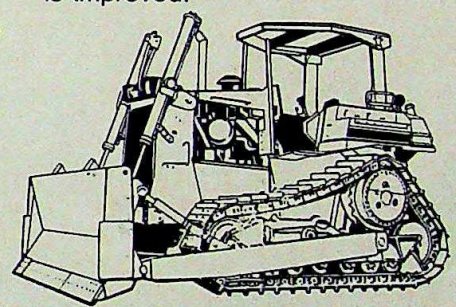
Better ground contact

The D6H has an elevated sprocket design. Among the many benefits: more track is on the ground at any moment improving flotation; the roller-frame mounting location has been shifted to optimise balance and centre of gravity is pushed forward, at a correct height. What's more, ground clearance is better, so the D6H Crawler-Tractor can work on terrain that would defeat any other.

38% more pryout force

Redesigned 'L' shaped push arms hold the blade closer to the body. This, in combination with the forward centre of gravity improves penetration. Pryout force is increased by making the lift cylinders nearly vertical. Control too, is superior because of very limited sideways blade movement.

Digging and moving out material can be done much more efficiently. Finishing too, is improved.



Electronic monitoring for safety

Vital functions of the D6H are monitored constantly. Three warning levels alert the operator well in time to take corrective action to prevent damage to the machine.

Frugal on fuel, low on maintenance

A direct fuel injection system with 'scroll type' metering enhances fuel efficiency. A high torque rise of 25% increases lugging power and speeds response to changing loads.

Maintenance gains by the modular design of the powertrain. Each major assembly can be removed independently of the others. Components can be assembled and tested before installation. ***Downtime is therefore reduced, significantly.***

Of course, Hindustan supports customers with better parts availability, service, tooling and training.

A range of equipment

The Hindustan range of earthmoving equipment comprises dumpers, loaders and crawler-tractors. It's a blend of Hindustan Motors' experience and Caterpillar technology.

The sum : productivity

Hindustan Motors stretches your investment to its fullest. It provides the best in technology. And offers a range of hard-working, reliable machines to choose from, whose performance has been proven in the toughest spots world-wide.

Get Hindustan. Get productive.

For more information, contact:

HINDUSTAN

Moving into now technology

Hindustan Motors Limited
Earthmoving Equipment Division
P.O. Melnallathur 602 004
Tiruvallur, Tamilnadu.

Marketed & Serviced by :

GMM CO General Marketing & Manufacturing Co. Ltd.
Madras • Bombay • Calcutta • Hyderabad • Nagpur • Goa • Baroda • Bilaspur • Ranchi • Singrauli

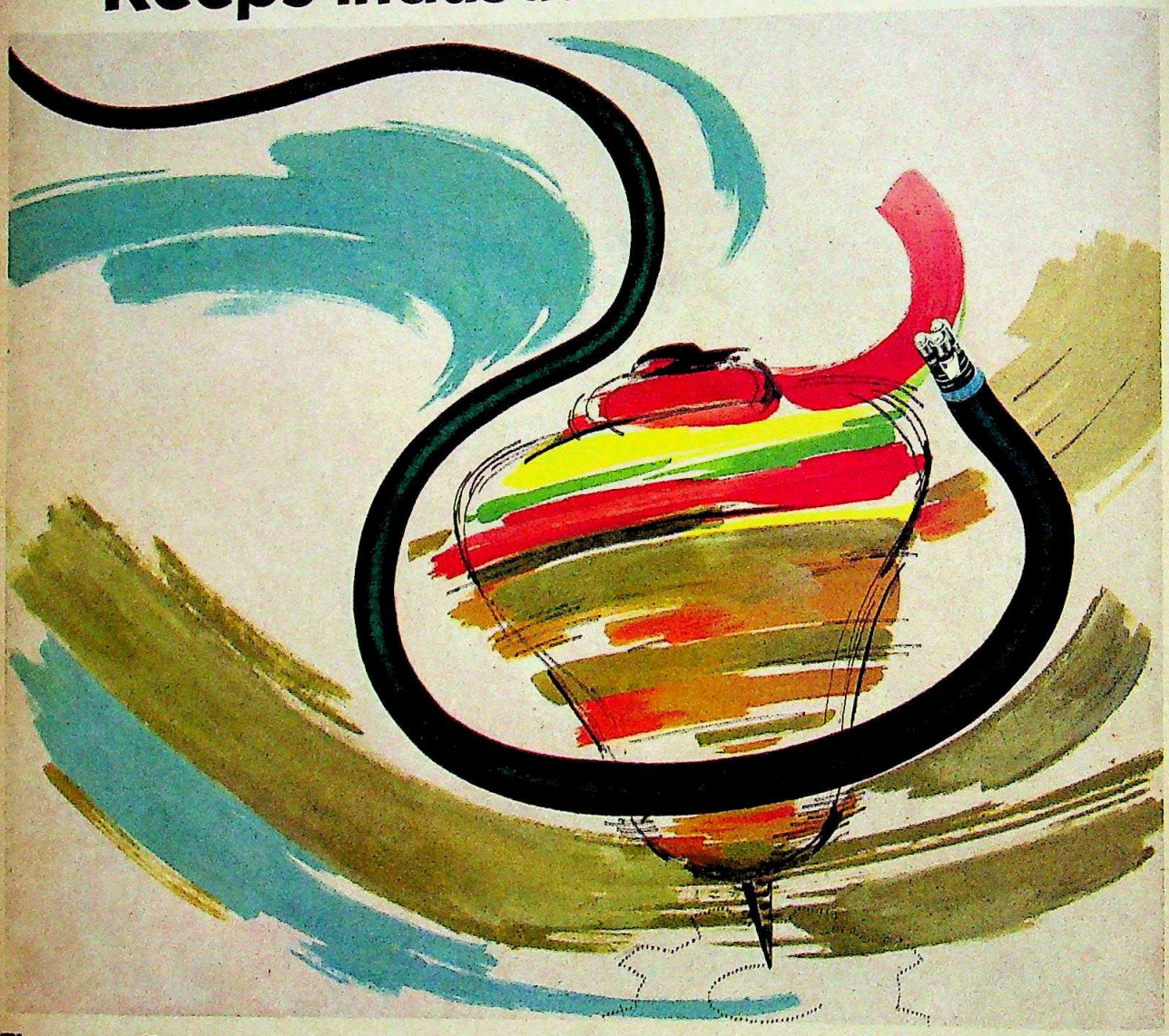
TIL TIL Limited
Calcutta • New Delhi • Dhanbad • Asansol • Lucknow • Jaipur • Chandigarh

Caterpillar, Cat and CAT are Trademarks of Caterpillar Inc, USA.

Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UNISTAR.
Keeps industries on the move.



The versatile cable. UNISTAR

• PEX Power Cable LT/HT/EHT • Flamuni Cable FRLS/FS/HF. • PILC Cable MIND/ Draining. • PVC Power and Control Cables • Elevator Cable PVC/Rubber • Railway Signalling and Loco Cables • Aircraft Wiring/Air Field Lighting Cables • Mining Cables Fixed and Trailing • High Temp. Cable Silicone/Fluoroplastic • Oil Exploration Cables (Rig and Data-Logging) • Welding Cables GP & HR • Ship Wiring Cable • Nuclear Radiation Resistant Cable • DC HV Cable Precipitator/X-Ray • High Frequency Cables Audio/Video/RF/Cable TV, Microwave • Multi Pair Screened Instrumentation/Data Cable.

AMA-UC-355 X

UNISTAR® CABLES AND CAPACITORS

The all pervading element in industries.

UNIVERSAL CABLES LIMITED P.O. Birla Vikas, Satna-485 005 (M.P.) Tel. 2762, 2763 & 2708 Telex No.: 0766-202 UCL IN.

BOMBAY: Industry House, 159, Churchgate Reclamation, Bombay 400 020. Tel. 202 6340, 202 3170 Telex: 011-3652 BRLA IN. Telefax: (022) 202 7854

CALCUTTA: 27-B Camac Street, Calcutta 700 016. Tel. 444351, 446198 Telex: 021-7653 RMCO IN.

NEW DELHI: UCO Bank Bldg. Parliament Street, New Delhi 110 001. Tel. 384351, 382750 Telex: 031-62646, 031-62598.

BANGALORE: 5, Palace Cross Road, Bangalore-560 020. Tel. 362674, 368179. Telex: 0845-2653

MADRAS: 20 Greams Road, 1st floor, P.B. No.737, Madras 600 006. Tel. 472427, 477551 Telex: 041-428.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GAMMON INDIA

A Messy Battle

The management-Chhabria duel escalates

IT has the makings of a celebrated corporate battle. In a replay of their Shaw Wallace caper, Dubai-based raider Manohar Chhabria and brother Kishore have run head on into a tough, 63-year-old professional managing director who swears he'll keep them out of his company.

At Shaw Wallace, the Chhabrias faced S.P. Acharya. At the cash and property-rich Gammon India Ltd, they face T.N. Subba Rao, an engineer who rose through the ranks of the Rs 103-crore construction company and was responsible for turning it around after he got the top job in the mid-'70s.

Led by Rao—who holds 2.4 per cent of the equity, but is believed to control 10 per cent or more of the shares through other directors, relatives and friends—the company's seven-member board has vowed to fight the Chhabrias to the bitter end (INDIA TODAY, October 15). Said an independent board member: "We are not inclined to give in. Gammon India is an engineering company and we know that they are not interested in engineering." The board's suspicion is that the Chhabrias will strip the company of its assets, after having acquired Gammon India shares (face value: Rs 10) at an average of about Rs 100 per share. "At this price, how else will the Chhabrias get a return on their investment?" asks a company spokesman. Kishore Chhabria's reply: "Have we stripped assets at Shaw Wallace? We've added assets."

The story began over three months ago, when the Chhabrias met Rao for lunch at a five-star hotel in Bombay and informed him of their interest in the company. Rao apparently tried to dissuade the brothers from moving in. With a battle on their hands, the duo started buying shares from the stock-market. Rao is said to have approached a Union minister for help, but this may not be true.

After weeks of shadow boxing, the level of hostilities has suddenly escalated. Late last fortnight, the Chhabrias were readying to go to court—and the Company Law Board—against the Bombay-based company's management and Rao on several counts. Among them: misappropriation of shareholders' funds, and matters linked with violations of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA). One result: the Gammon India annual shareholders' meeting on January 3 may not be held on schedule.

In a separate development last fortnight, Gammon India Company Secretary P.L.N. Vijaynagar, was quizzed by the police, arrested and released on bail after a Chhabria executive filed a complaint that Vijaynagar had manhandled and confined him in a Gammon India room. Clearly, the take-over bid is turning into a messy, no-holds-barred war.

The immediate ground for the Chhabrias' legal action, however, is that the management is sitting tight on a shareholder's application for a list of Gammon India shareholders. Without the list, the Chhabrias cannot solicit proxy votes from shareholders—and have slim chances of gaining control of the company.

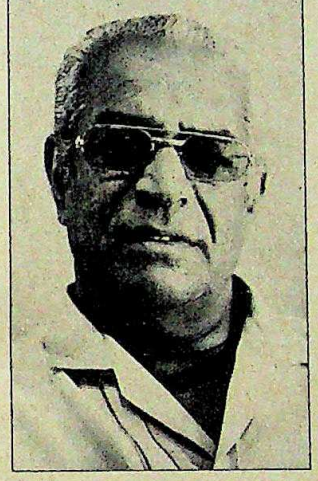
The Chhabrias have acquired about 28 per cent of the company's equity. Over 15 per cent of this was picked up from the stock-markets. In mid-November, Manohar Chhabria's Hong Kong-based Elcano Investments Ltd bought an additional 12.8 per cent from Andrew Gammon, a member of the UK-based Gammon family that founded the company, paying a price of £14,39,947 (nearly Rs 4 crore), or Rs 137 per share.

But 28 per cent is not enough to bag the company—and there's very little stock for sale in the market now. The financial institutions have a 6 per cent stake, the management controls over 10 per cent, while Peter Gammon, who represents the other branch of the Gammon family and supports the management, holds 12 per cent of the equity. If the financial institutions back the management—which they did last year—it would be able to muster at least 28 per cent support—without even soliciting proxies from 14,000 shareholders who together now own about 44 per cent of the stock.

According to a member of the board, the management believes it can rustle up 34 per cent equity support, if the financial institutions back it. Claimed the board member: "I understand that the Government has told the institutions to support the management." But the chairman of a financial institution said that the institutions would be meeting later in the fortnight to decide on their course of action.

Quite clearly, the Chhabrias desperately need that shareholders' list. Rao says that the board is "actively considering the request," and that it does not have a up-to-date list of shareholders since 5,000 of them had recently sold their shares. Nevertheless, the management is plainly determined not to part with the list. It's even ready to pay the Government a fine of Rs 50 a day for not

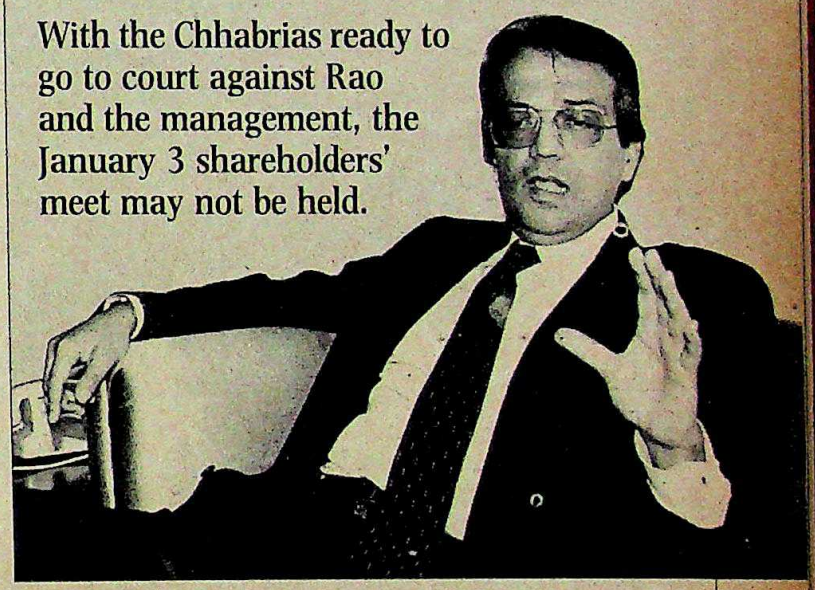
NAMAS BHOJANI



Subba Rao; and Manohar Chhabria (right): stiff fight

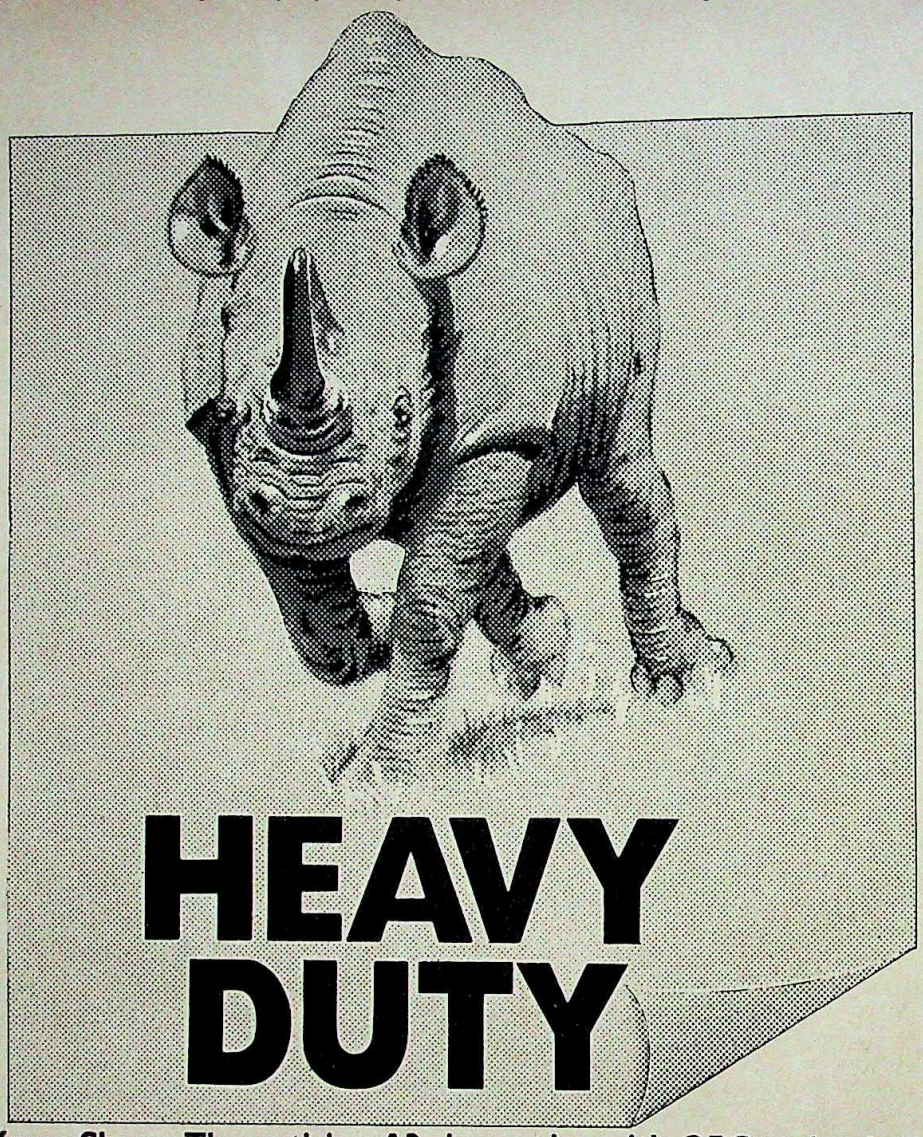
BHAWAN SINGH

With the Chhabrias ready to go to court against Rao and the management, the January 3 shareholders' meet may not be held.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



HEAVY DUTY

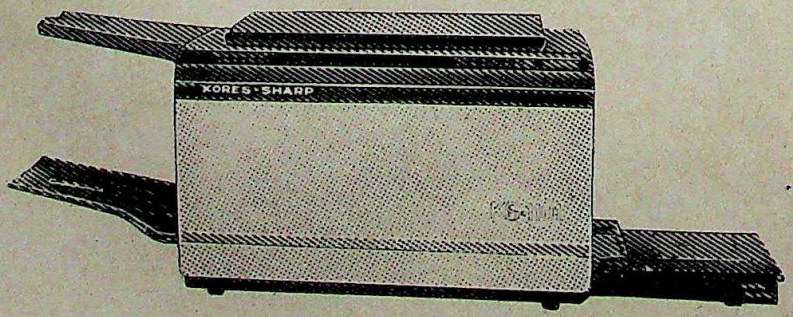
Kores-Sharp. The untiring A3 size copier with OPC technology

Kores-Sharp's OPC technology is the latest in the world of Photo Receptors. The Organic Photo Conductor is resistant to high atmospheric temperatures, scratch-resistant to normal dust. Gives excellent reproduction from coloured and half-tone originals. All this at a very economical price... so your copy cost is kept low. Plus many other unique features.

And of course, Kores all-India network of offices, and service centres for speedy response. Ensuring that your copier stays in top condition.

For further details contact your nearest Kores office. Today.

kores® KORES (INDIA) LTD. Business Machines & Systems Dvn., Worli, Bombay 400 018. Tel: 4921948/ 4920696 Branches all over India



The copier with the difference

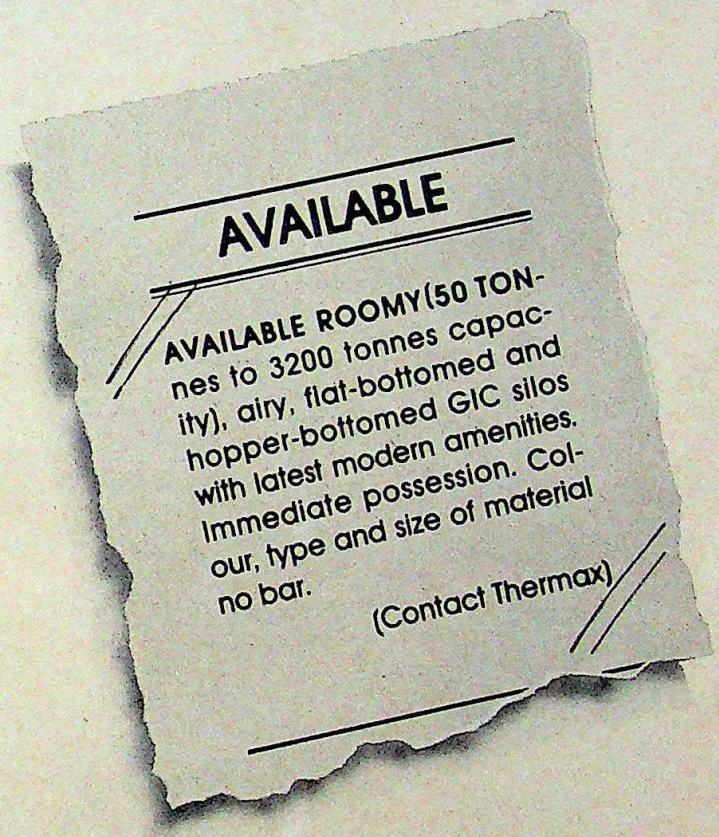
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

AKA/400-A

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

[redacted]

ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE.



Mass storage problems now have a modern solution.

GIC Silos from Thermax. Made in collaboration with Superior of USA. Thermax GIC Silos tower above traditional storage methods like godowns and RCC structures, because of their definite advantages. They cut storage losses to less than 0.5% by being pilfer-proof. And they effectively safeguard stored material against rain, rodents, insects and fungi. Thermax GIC Silos are custom-designed to meet your particular storage needs. With a complete range of accessories that aid materials handling, simultaneously. They also require 50% less erection time, occupy less space on the ground ... and because of superior construction and load capacity, offer a secure investment for a minimum period of 20 years!

Come and tell us what kind of product you'd like to store. Our GIC Silos will do more than house it ... they'll make it feel at home.

GIC Silos are yet another value-added product from Thermax.

The company with a keen sense of professional commitment towards product innovation and development. Each of our products bearing this out ... in its design, functionality and total reliability. Right from quality-assured manufacturing, to after-sales service.

That's what makes every Thermax product an invaluable asset. For years to come.

FOR BUSINESS ENQUIRIES, CONTACT:
THERMAX PRIVATE LIMITED,
POST-HARVEST EQUIPMENT DIVISION,
4, BOMBAY-PUNE ROAD,
PUNE 411 005.
TEL: 51123
TLX: 0145 545 TMXS IN
0145 449 TMKS IN

THERMAX

KA/400-A

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Rediffusion/T/7083

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

meeting the legal requirement of providing it within 10 days to any shareholder who pays a fee for it.

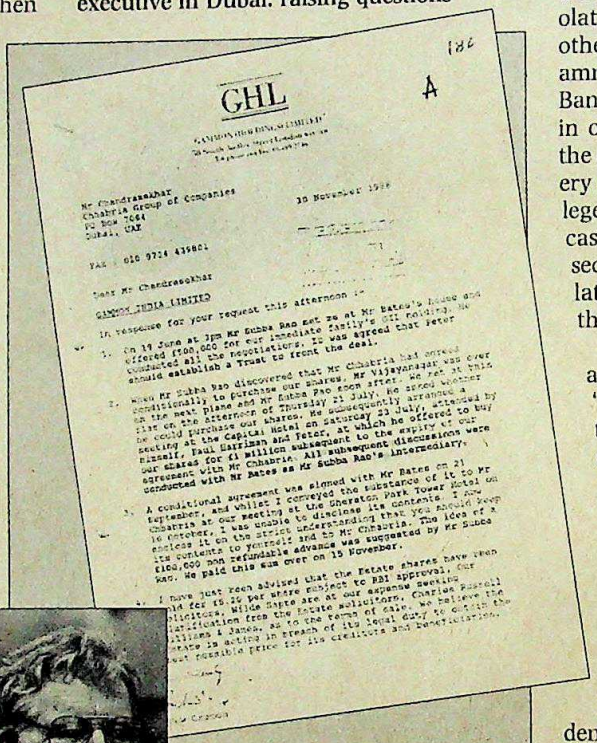
The management has another gambit up its sleeves. It proposes to move a resolution at the shareholders' meeting to freeze the strength of the seven-member board. This is meant to stop any Chhabria bid to expand the board to accommodate their nominees. The only option left to the Chhabrias would then be to try and replace the entire board at the shareholders' meeting.

Quick to realise this, the Chhabrias served notice last fortnight of their intention to nominate seven directors to the board. That's when trouble began. A Chhabria representative handed over a letter to the company's share department giving notice of the Chhabrias' move to nominate a director, and obtained a receipt. Later, another Chhabria representative met Company Secretary Vijaynagar and sought receipts for additional notices.

What happened next is not clear, but Vijaynagar either refused to sign the receipts and cancelled the earlier receipt on the ground that the representative was not a shareholder (the management's version), or signed and later recalled the Chhabria man and confined him to the room till he handed over the receipts (the Chhabria version). The management denies that he was confined, but he filed a complaint to the police charging that he had been manhandled. Vijaynagar was then arrested and released on bail.

India equity stake. On July 21, Rao allegedly doubled the offer to £1 million (Rs 2.65 crore) after learning that Manohar Chhabria had agreed to buy the shares. On September 21, a deal was struck: if Chhabria didn't buy the shares by a specified date (November 15), the shares would be offered to Gammon

Andrew Gammon's letter to a Chhabria executive in Dubai: raising questions



GHL

A

Mr Chandrasekhar
Chhabria Group of Companies
PO Box 7664
Dubai, UAE

30 November 1988

Fax : 010 9714 439801

Dear Mr Chandrasekhar

GAMMON INDIA LIMITED

In response for your request this afternoon to

1. On 19 June at 3pm Mr Subba Rao met us at Mr Bates's house and offered £500,000 for our immediate stake. He concluded all the negotiations. It was agreed that Peter should establish a Trust to front the deal.

2. When Mr Subba Rao discovered that Mr Chhabria had entered confidentially to purchase our shares, Mr Vijayanagar was over flew on the next plane and Mr Subba Rao soon after. We met at this time on the afternoon of Thursday 21 July. He agreed another he could purchase our shares. He subsequently arranged a meeting at the Capital Hotel on Saturday 23 July, attended by Pissarit, Paul Harrison and Peter, at which he offered to buy our shares for £1 million subsequent to the agreement discussions were conducted with Mr Bates as Mr Subba Rao's intermediary.

3. A conditional agreement was signed with Mr Bates on 21 September, and whilst I conveyed the substance of it to Mr Chhabria at our meeting at the Sheraton Park Tower Hotel on 5 October, I was unable to disclose its contents. I now enclose it on the strict understanding that you should keep the contents to yourself and to Mr Chhabria. The idea of a £100,000 non refundable advance was suggested by Mr Subba Rao. He paid this sum over on 15 November.

4. I have just been advised that the Estate shares have been sold for £5 per share subject to RBI approval. Our solicitors, Wilde Sapte are at our expense seeking clarification from the terms of sale. We believe the Williams & James, as to the legal duty to obtain the highest possible price for its creditors and beneficiaries.

James Bates

Denying he made an offer for Andrew's shares, Rao says it was Peter who did so with Bates as trustee.

MEANWHILE, a Calcutta-based individual (who may or may not represent Chhabria interests) last month lodged a complaint against Rao with the Enforcement Directorate, the investigative arm of the Finance Ministry, along with documents. Among the charges:

► That Rao exercises *benami* control over five UK-based companies, all incorporated in 1983 with a share capital of £100 (Rs 2,650), and that these companies hold shares in Gammon India. Among the shareholders of the UK companies: Rao's brother T.N. Seshagiri.

► That on June 19, 1988 Rao offered Andrew Gammon £500,000 (Rs 1.32 crore) for his 12.8 per cent Gammon India Chairman James Bates as a trustee for Peter Gammon. Andrew Gammon's letter to a Dubai-based senior Chhabria executive is cited in this connection.

These bits and pieces are cobbled together to raise a question: how could Rao raise £1 million, unless he'd money stashed abroad and had so violated FERA? The complaint goes on to state that the Government had issued six show cause notices to Gammon India, and two to Rao. (These were for unauthorised overseas payments by the company to a foreign collaborator in Belgium after 1972.)

The allegations have provided ammunition to the Chhabrias. They say they'll go to court claiming that shareholders' money has been misappropriated. The Chhabrias also say they'll approach the Company Law Board asking it to unmask the true identity of the five overseas concerns—a delicious irony considering that the Shaw Wallace management adopted the same legal device when the Chhabrias were laying siege to it.

Rao, however, replies that Gammon India had successfully contested two of the Government's eight FERA violation show cause notices. The others were covered by an official amnesty scheme. The Reserve Bank had granted amnesty to Rao in one case, and was reviewing the others. Says Rao: "Today every important businessman is alleged to have violated FERA. My case was open. There is nothing secret about it." (The company's latest balance sheet mentions the cases.)

On the five companies, Rao again says that this is not new: "We submitted a report on them to the Government. So Chhabria is not saying anything new. He's just trying to create a situation where we sound like having done hanky panky."

As for the Andrew Gammon deal, Rao says that he has relatives abroad who could have bought the Andrew Gammon shares, but denies that he made a formal offer. Yes, he met Andrew. Peter Gammon then sent an offer through a lawyer to buy the shares. "Andrew's main idea was to put pressure on the Chhabrias to get a better price for his shares and get the money even before the Reserve Bank cleared the deal. Andrew got the money before the bank's clearance."

Rao perhaps implies that Chhabria's offshore deal is illegal, but Grindlays Bank's manager for north India Naina Lal argued for the Chhabrias in a letter to the Reserve Bank on December 17 that the shares were transferred "from non-resident aliens to a non-resident Indian—a movement on which the pronounced and consistent government policies have always expressed preference."

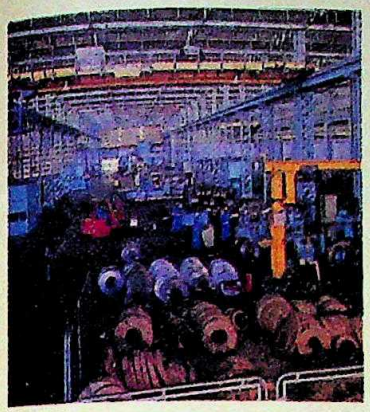
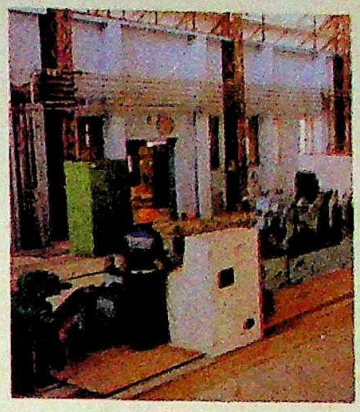
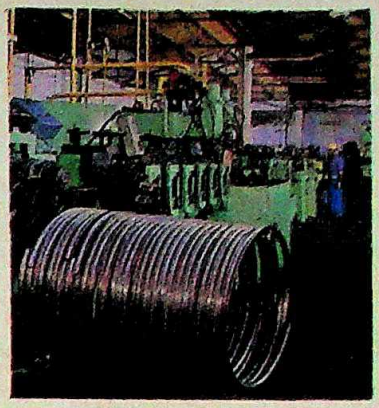
Whether the Reserve Bank can stall the deal on technical grounds is unclear. What's clear is that only the first salvos have been fired in what promises to be a long and bloody war.

—PALAKUNNATHU G. MATHAI and SURAJEET DAS GUPTA in Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What makes Avon the best...

... We manufacture steel strips to tubes to the complete bicycle at our own plant.

Today, at the most sophisticated plant in the country. **Avon** manufactures a wide range of cycles produced by fully automatic processes. **Avon** is the only company which emphasises strict adherence to international grade quality for the raw material. **The cold rolled strip plant which Avon commissioned is unique in the country. It has the first Spiral Pickling Plant Hydraulic 4-Hi & 2-Hi Mill with Automatic Gauge Control. Thickness of strips is controlled within 008 mm. A new tube plant based on Kusakabe (Japan) design has just been commissioned. This mill enables Avon to control the outside dia, length, surface to very close tolerances.** This mill is rated as the best in the country installed so far, **Avon** maintains the same standards for inhouse manufacture of rims, chains and freewheels. Yes, **Avon** is the ultimate cycle.Yet another first — **Avon** was the first company to be awarded the ISI standardisation. Every cycle that rolls out of our plant is a masterpiece manufactured to perfection. At every stage of production each and every component is subjected to the most stringent quality control tests ensuring a perfect **Avon,** undoubtedly the best cycle in India. This philosophy is expressed through over 35 years of constant innovation, making **Avon** India's premier cycle, unmatched by any other.

AVON GROUP OF COMPANIES

AVERY CYCLE INDUSTRIES LTD.
AVERY FREEWHEEL PVT. LTD., CHANDIGARH
PAHWA CHAINS PVT. LTD., CHANDIGARH
PAHWA STEEL & TUBE MILLS, LUDHIANA

Enquiries for Steel Strips & Tubes are also welcome

AVON Cycles Ltd.,
G.T. Road, Dhandari Kalan, Ludhiana
Phones : Office : 23694, 23845, 37348, Res. : 25835, 38460
Telex : 0386-206 AVON, 0386-363 AVNX
Cables : 'AVON' Fax Ludhiana (0161) 32902

Setting higher standards of quality.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dressing up Delhi-ites: from the Sola Topee to the Baggy Shirt

Remember the Sola Topee?

It will take you back to the days under the Crown, when tailcoats, flowing Victorian gowns and attractive bonnets held sway. Revered khadi and pleated turn-ups expressed the mood of progressive Indians.

From that distant past to the present, it's been a history of changing fashions. Go back in time, and discover how Delhi-ites dressed in yesteryear.

Fashions under the Crown

For the Englishman, style was part of his imperial performance.

Whether it was in his loose cylindrical trousers – turns-ups – and short collared shirts. Or even when it came to lounging around in handsomely ventilated British shorts. Madras cottons were in vogue and light shades were preferred.

Will I be noticed by the Viceroy? Snowhite says "yes"

For the fat Colonel, the flirtatious Memsahib and the 'privileged' Indian, the Viceregal Banquet was an opportunity to invite the admiring looks of others.

The Englishman presented himself in his spotless frilled white shirt and jet black trousers with razor sharp creases. Elegantly cut waistcoats accentuated his style. While the respectable Indians in their bandh-galas made a silent statement of their presence.

And into this evening went the concern of the Memsahib and the Maalkin – how to present their spouses immaculately. Will the dhobhi wash and iron well or not? For the few who knew of Snowhite Drycleaners it was an evening of peace of mind.

Snowhite Memsahib!

The tinkle of fine china and feminine laughter punctuated "Afternoon Tea" (a tradition as cherished as the Crown Jewels), where the Memsahibs got together to find ways of tackling their husbands' clothing concerns – short-lived creases, white shirts with discoloured streaks, and stains that had left their outlines.

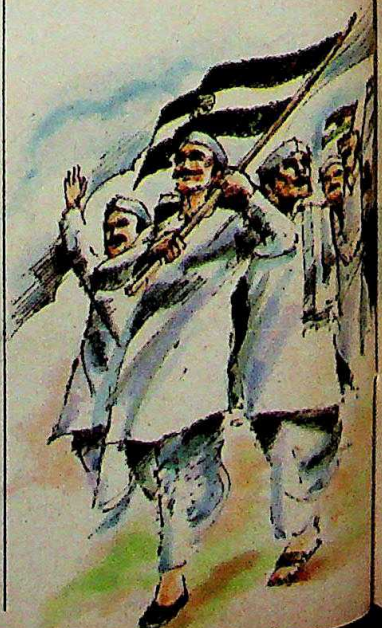
All minor irritants, perhaps, but important to the Sahib. And to Snowhite Drycleaners.

Snowhite Drycleaners was set up in 1928 in the then main bazar of Delhi – Chandni Chowk. Right from the start, Snowhite had a sophisticated plant with an aim to dress up Delhi-ites in an immaculate fashion. Putting customers first, that's what Snowhite knew best.

Snowhite and the freedom at midnight

With the hoisting of the tricolour came the freedom to experiment for Snowhite Drycleaners. New machines were bought and commitment to excellence reinforced.

All the while, the short collar was exhibiting signs of fatigue and trousers were steadily narrowing. But suspenders still held steadfast as Delhi saw the influx of more people, arriving in large numbers to what they could for the first time call their capital city!



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

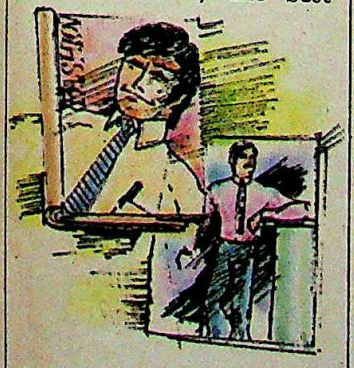
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Snowhite in the heart of Delhi

Snowhite Drycleaners moved into Connaught Place in 1930. And for another three decades Connaught Place remained the principal shopping centre and the showcase of fashion. The 1950s did not show any drastic swings in fashion. But Snowhite saw horse-driven buggies give way to Morris Minors and Ford T cars in front of the showroom.

Dressing up Delhi Snowhite bright

In 1958, Delhi's first outlet selling white and pastel coloured shirts appeared : Snowhite Readymades. For the first time Indians could buy the best



long-collared bush shirts at Rs 5.50. You can still get the best white and pastel coloured bush shirts at Snowhite, though not at the same price!

Connaught Place ceased to be the centre. Snowhite grew

Towards the end of the 1950s Delhi-ites were questioning two things–the existing fashions of the day and the pride of place Connaught Place enjoyed as a shopping centre.

With Delhi's growth, Snowhite Drycleaners grew and so did the influence of the 'hippie culture'. Soon Delhi-ites were sporting long collars, with rounded ends, and the "bell" of the trousers reached unusual proportions.

While the 'drain-pipes' decade was slowly coming to an end, Snowhite Drycleaners grew into a Delhi-wide network.

Snowhite battles dirt for the army

Delhi-ites can't imagine Delhi without the Republic Day Parade. And Snowhite can't think of turning out the bobbing scarlet Mounted Guards, or the dashing green Sappers in anything but the best.

Defence establishments and hospitals use laundry and drycleaning machinery supplied by Snowhite Engineers, a division set up in 1960.

Delhi ready for Snowhite Readymades

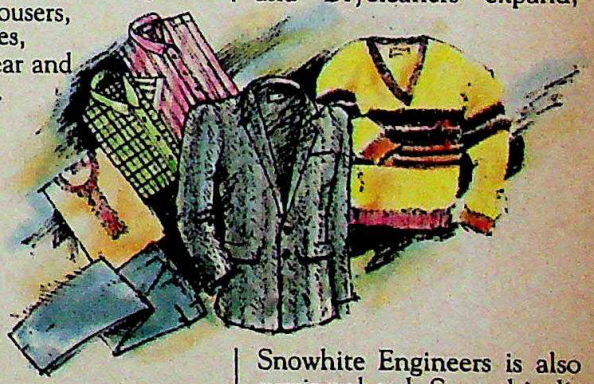
As long collars grew short, bell bottoms became parallels Snowhite Readymades grew into a chain of full-fledged readymade outlets, in the early 1960s. Men, women and children of Delhi could go to their nearest Snowhite Shop and choose from a range of shirts, trousers, accessories, winterwear and kidswear.

Snowhite Readymades has a network of showrooms located at Karol Bagh, Nehru Place, Chandni Chowk, South Extension, Connaught Place and in Shimla, stocking the finest shirts – formal and informal, trousers to walk tall in, and stylish winterwear for the whole family.

Snowhite tomorrow

Snowhite Drycleaners and Readymades will soon enter all metros and mini metros of India. To aid this expansion a modern factory with a state-of-the-art fabrication unit to make all kinds of readymades is under construction.

While the Readymades and Drycleaners expand,



Snowhite Engineers is also surging ahead. Soon this division of Snowhite will be manufacturing washing machines and other domestic appliances. On the anvil are plans to manufacture soaps and detergents too.

Snowhite in 1988

Snowhite Drycleaners today has a chain of showrooms and enjoys the reputation of offering drycleaning of international standards – just as it has done from 1928 onwards.

Snowhite today is looking ahead to a brighter future. A future committed to excellence and expansion.

60 YEARS OF

snowhite

HIGH STYLE • GREAT VALUE

Snowhite Readymades • Snowhite Drycleaners • Snowhite Engineers • Snowhite Overseas Corp. • Snowton Fashions

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

gitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A closer look at your 4 o'clock cup of tea.

To stay in good shape, you probably stay off french fries and other high-calorie foods.

But without realising it, you could be spoiling it all. With the sugar in your tea and coffee.

If you drink five to six cups of tea or coffee a day, each with 2 teaspoons of sugar*, you're consuming about 2200 calories a week on sugar alone.

The equivalent of half a kilo of deep-fried potato chips.

Or nearly half a kilo of rich chocolate cake.

Or seven helpings of heavy fried rice.

To work off these calories, you'd have to jog for nearly 45 minutes every day.

And if you lead the sedentary life most people do, you may soon find yourself out of shape..

Sweetex: The short and sweet way out.

Cut out sugar from your tea and coffee. Use Sweetex instead.

Sweetex pellets give you all the sweetness you want — without the calories of sugar.

And, of course, it's convenient. It comes in a smart pocket-sized dispenser you can use just about anywhere. In the office. At home. While travelling.

Make Sweetex a part of your keep-fit programme.

It's a sweeter life without sugar!

**(One rounded teaspoon of sugar = 32 calories)*

DIRECTIONS ON PACK

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TAX BILL

Causing Alarm

Arbitrary powers for taxmen

ALMOST a year ago, the Government rushed through Parliament a bill to effect sweeping changes in the income, wealth and gift tax laws. It beat a hasty retreat when politicians and professionals raised a rumpus over some of its controversial provisions. The then finance minister N.D. Tiwari promised to set matters right. Last month, the Government introduced a bill which sought to take the sting out of the earlier criticism—which should have pleased most people.

Surprise, surprise. Several accountants charge the bureaucracy with trying to retain discretionary powers. Says K.G. Somani, president of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of India (ICAI): "By a backdoor method, the Government has increased the discretionary powers of officials. This will increase the scope for corruption." Others say that rather than simplifying the tax laws, it's only complicating them further. Says Amal Ganguli, a partner at Price Waterhouse, the firm of auditors: "Basic issues have not been resolved. The Government is tinkering with the frills."

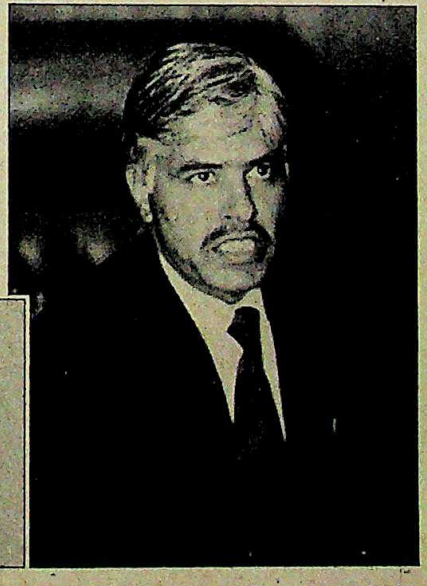
Salaried employees have expressed alarm about the bill's provisions to tax conveyance and city compensatory allowances (CCA). Indeed, the bill provides for taxing CCA retrospectively from 1962. Complains a tax lawyer: "Today it has become quite senseless to litigate because the Government can amend any law retrospectively."

> **"The Government has increased the discretionary powers of officials. This will increase corruption."**
> K.G. SOMANI
> *president, Institute of Chartered Accountants of India*

Yet much of the alarm is misplaced. Taxmen are seeking to circumvent a 1983 Calcutta High Court ruling that CCA was not income, and so couldn't be taxed. About two lakh taxpayers sought tax deductions after the Calcutta ruling. But other high courts have ruled that CCA is taxable, and the Supreme Court has ordered a stay on the Calcutta court's ruling. "Only a few cases will be reopened," says a Central Board of Direct Taxes (CBDT) official. "There's no need to apprehend that past cases will be reopened arbitrarily and that assessees will be harassed." As for other allowances, there's an escape hatch: so long as they're meant for the performance of job-related duties, they will continue to be exempt from tax.

The latest amendment to the law also changes the earlier bill's clauses on partnership firms, charitable trusts, re-

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



opening past tax assessments and the additional tax penalty (INDIA TODAY, January 31, 1988). In the case of partnership firms, for instance, the 1987 amendment discriminated against small firms in favour of the big. And the additional tax penalty would have meant that income tax men could slap a 30-per cent penalty on the difference between the taxpayer's income in his return and the income assessed by the taxman.

Now, however, the Government has softened the penalty to 20 per cent of the difference in tax. "The Government has gracefully retreated from its earlier position," says a chartered accountant.

"The response to the bill has been very good, except from the bigger partnership firms," says G.N. Gupta, CBDT chairman. "If the earlier provision had remained, they'd have paid more tax. So they'll crib—you can't please everybody." The CBDT chairman also refutes the criticism that the latest legal changes will only complicate the tax system further. "We've tried to have a law where 97 per cent of tax returns won't even be scrutinised. Isn't this a simplification of the system?" Gupta adds that the penal provision has been retained to ensure that taxpayers file their returns correctly. They've had several cases where people claim tax deductions on things like dearness allowances and also marriage expenses.

> **"We've tried to have a law where 97 per cent of tax returns won't even be scrutinised."**
> G.N. GUPTA
> *chairman, Central Board of Direct Taxes*

Still, criticism that the bill leaves plenty of arbitrary powers with the taxman cannot be dismissed either. To take one example, the 1987 bill tightened official monitoring of charitable trusts. Some of them ran business enterprises—and earned tax-free income by virtue of their trust status. Seeking to plug the loophole, the bill specified that 75 per cent of the expenditure of trusts would have to be on the objectives for which they were set up; the remaining 25 per cent would have to be invested in government-specified securities (the latest bill tightens this provision further). Clearly, the aim was to see that charitable trusts functioned according to their stated objectives.

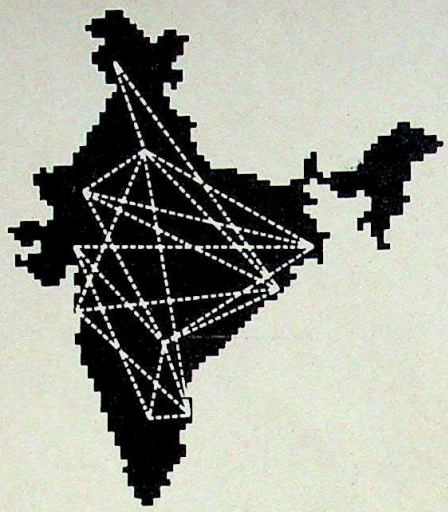
Even so, this can lead to arbitrary exercise of the taxman's powers. As a Ranbaxy Laboratories executive points out, if a trust publishes and sells a magazine—even at non-commercial prices—the taxman has the power to rule that it's running a business. Price Waterhouse's Ganguli too makes the same point in a different context.

If there's a moral in all this, it's that although the Government seems willing to trust the taxpayer, the taxpayer still distrusts the Government.

—PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Private Telecom Network– Make Distant Offices Seem Like The Cabin Next Door.

Tata Telecom has ushered in Digital Electronic PABX Systems that have revolutionised communication in commerce.

Digital Electronic PABX Systems with Stored Program Control.

Systems that can help you get in touch with the outside world by merely lifting a finger.

Networking For A Closer Business World.

Tata Telecom has set up Private Telecom Networks that link far-flung offices within an organisation with EPABX Systems that can now operate as a single, integrated network.

Systems that not only transmit voice but data and images as well.

Result: Instant and complete communication between wide-spread offices. Be they offices within the city as required by Tata Electric Companies. Or offices all over the country as required by State Bank of India.

Technology From Oki Of Japan.

Tata Telecom is working with technical assistance from Oki Electric of Japan.

Oki is a world leader in the field of telecommunication.

Oki's technology is state-of-the-art, which makes it relevant to today's needs – and to those of the future.

Rs. 12 Crore Worth Of Back-Up For Quality And Service.

Besides the hardware, Tata Telecom has built a comprehensive infrastructure for quality service to customers.

The company has invested Rs. 12 crore in this project, in sophisticated computerised test equipment – so that every component can be checked for 100% performance. And that diagnosis is immediate and rectification rapid.

The Tata Commitment.

Tata Telecom is here to stay – with an automated assembly and testing facilities at Gandhinagar, Gujarat.

Key personnel have been intensively trained in Japan.

Tata Telecom has done all this to meet the challenge of the future. To bring you EPABX Systems that will change your life. For the better.

For further information on

TATA TELECOM DIGITAL EPABX SYSTEMS

Contact

SALES OFFICES:

1209, Raheja Centre,
Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021.
Tel: 2873128, 2873129. Tlx: 011-5329.

Devika Tower, 2nd Floor,
6, Nehru Place, New Delhi 110 019.
Tel: 6434067. Tlx: 031-71407.

5E Park Plaza, 71, Park Street,
Calcutta 700 016.
Tel: 294978, 292055. Tlx: 021-7733.

1D-Apex Plaza,
No.3, Nungambakkam High Road,
Madras 600 034.
Tel: 476266. Tlx: 041-8171.

TATA
TELECOM

TECHNOLOGY FOR THE FUTURE WORLD.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Karishma/TT/47/24

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHREE VINDHYA PAPER MILLS LIMITED

Administrative Office: Indian Mercantile Chambers, 3rd Floor, 14, R. Kamani Marg, Ballard Estate, Bombay - 400 038.
Registered Office: G.D. Somani Marg, Panchak, Nashik Road - 422 101.

INVITES/ACCEPTS FIXED DEPOSITS AND PAYS INTEREST IN ADVANCE

MAIN TERMS AND CONDITIONS:

1. SCHEME:

PERIOD	INTEREST RATE PER ANNUM	PAYABLE
1 Year	13½%	QUARTERLY IN ADVANCE
2 Years	14%	
3 Years	14%	

e) Board of directors:

Name	Address	Occupation
Shri N.N. Pai	2A, Clover Apartment, 29, Cuffe Parade, Bombay 400 005.	Chartered Accountant
Shri M.P. Taparia	Giri Kunj, 71, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay 400 020.	Business
Shri S.J. Parekh	Bharatiya Bhavan, 72, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay 400 020.	Business
Shri B.N. Mathur	90, Sunder Nagar, New Delhi 110 003.	Business
Shri V.C. Patel	Sumangal, Near Bhaktinagar Society, Old Padra Road, Baroda 390 007.	Company director and financial consultant
Shri K.C. Sodhia	114, Savita Vihar, Delhi 110 092.	Company director
Smt. Rita Vasan (ICICI Nominee)	The ICICI Limited 163, Backbay Reclamation, Bombay 400 020.	Service
Shri Rajendra Somani	Shreeniketan, 5th Floor, 86-A, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay 400 020.	Industrialist
Shri K.K. Somani (Vice-chairman & managing director)	Kapur Mahal, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay 400 020.	Industrialist
Shri N.K. Somani (Chairman)	Kapur Mahal, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay 400 020.	Management & public affairs

WITH A CREDIT RATING OF FA + FROM CRISIL!

(f) & (g) Profits & dividends: (Rupees in lacs)

Accounting year ended 30th April	Profit before depreciation	Profit before tax	Profit after tax	Dividend on equity shares
1985-86* (30.4.86)	368.40	145.30	145.30	24%
1986-87	262.17	79.41	71.59	18%
1987-88	249.34	67.87	61.53	18%**

* (Year of 16 months)
** Proposed

MANAGERS TO THE FIXED DEPOSIT SCHEME:
DSP FINANCIAL CONSULTANTS LTD.
114, Dalamal Tower, 1st Floor, 211 Backbay Reclamation, Nariman Point, Bombay-400 021. Tel. No. 223846/243143.

Collection Centres of Managers to the Issue:

BOMBAY: East & West Building, 1st Floor, 55, Bombay Samachar Marg, Fort, Bombay 400 023. Tel. No. 2861856 2860096.
MADRAS: 42, Mount Road, Gee Gee Complex, 3rd Floor, Madras 600 002. Tel. No. 848 627.
NEW DELHI: M-4 Balarama, Opp: Mizan Cinema, Karampura, New Delhi. Tel. No. 729195.
PUNE: C o. Yogesh J. Shah, Indira Chambers, 1st Floor, 1549-B Sadashiv Peth, Tilak Road, Pune 411 030. Tel. No. 421 595.
AHMEDABAD: C o. Chimanlal Lalbhai, 2286, Manek Chowk, Ahmedabad 380 001. Tel. No. 347373 348760.
BARODA: C o. Subhash B Dalal, Near Bank of India, M.G. Road, Baroda 390 001. Tel. 551122.
CALCUTTA: C o. Mackertich Consultancy Services Pvt. Ltd., Fortune Chambers, Ground Floor, Room No. 39, 6 Lyons Range, Calcutta 700 001. Tel. No. 203951 208231.

Deposit Centres of the Company:

Bombay: Indian Mercantile Chambers, 3rd Floor, 14, Nicol Road, (R. Kamani Marg), Ballard Estate, Bombay-400 038.
Telephone: 26 24 49, 26 92 11, 26 25 57
Calcutta: Hydari Building, 3rd Floor, 36, Ganesh Chandra Avenue, Calcutta 700 013. Telephone: 260960. Telex: 021-2278 SREE IN.
Delhi: 115, Hans Bhawan, 1st Floor, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi 110 002. Telephone: 3310210.
Telex: 031-66191 SVPM IN.
Madras: 19, Mankeswari Road, Kilpauk, Madras 600 010.
Telephone: 662083 Telex: 041-6994 ARS IN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What makes BERGER PAINTS come out with flying colours?

Strong Brands

Strong brands are the surest proof of a Company's ability to feel the pulse of the marketplace,the best assurance of long-term growth.

With 60 years of experience in Indian paints, Berger has a whole array of strong brands spanning all application areas.

Its decorative paints include everything from distemper to acrylic emulsions. And they feature trend-setting products that have merited competition's sincerest compliment – swift imitation. Like Luxol Silk, the premium acrylic emulsion. Vinyl, the first economy wall-finish. Tartaruga, the first textured exterior-wall coating. And now Rangoli, the first acrylic emulsion with an ethnic identity.

Berger's industrial paints carry the pedigree of the finest technologies worldwide. From Herberts, Stolllack and Vianova of the international Hoechst group; from Valspar Corporation of the USA, and Teodur NV of Holland. Adding up to a huge bank of valuable know-how and ready advice on which Berger R&D can draw to develop its constantly upgraded, updated range of products, including the most specialised protective coatings.

Berger's brands have enabled it to take its place among the high performers of the UB Group, one of the fastest growing in the country. And at a time when the rest of the paint industry has been going through a pretty colourless phase, Berger has emerged with flying colours – registering the highest growth in profitability!

BERGER PAINTS INDIA LTD
32 Chowringhee Road, Calcutta 700 071
A member of the UB Group

PRESSMAN

No one can ... *like* BERGER can.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MARKETS

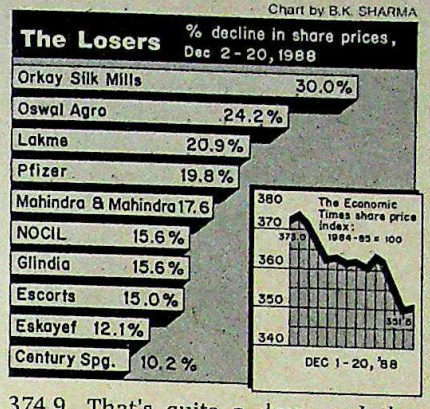
Shares Slide

Reaction to stiff margins

AFTER the surge, the plunge. As the stock exchange authorities mounted a fresh offensive to cool what they regard as an overheated market, share prices dropped dramatically last fortnight. The price drop was sweeping and covered nearly all major scrips. Shares like that of Associated Cement and Baroda Rayon tumbled by 37.5 per cent and 35 per cent respectively. The price of Orkay Silk Mills equity fell by a hefty 30 per cent, that of Oswal Agro by 24.2 per cent, while Lakme shares crashed by almost 21 per cent.

Predictably, share price indices nosedived too. By December 19, the 30-scrip Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE) index fell by 10 points, from 668.12 to 657.42. *The Economic Times* index slumped by almost 6 points, from 356.3 to 350.4 in just three days, before recovering marginally on December 20 to 351.5. To put that into perspective, the index has dropped by over 23 points from the 1988 high of

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



374.9. That's quite a drop, and the Government must have achieved its avowed objective of putting the lid on share prices—and limiting the volume of trading on India's premier stock exchange.

In early December, the BSE governing board slapped margins of up to 30 per cent on share purchases. Quite simply, this meant that share buyers would have to put down up to 30 per cent of the price immediately. The move is unusual because payments for shares are normally made much later. So the decision would have the effect of curbing purchases and so leashing demand.

Last fortnight, the market crashed in response to these measures. The BSE board then reduced the margins for daily buying of stock to 10 per cent, after trimming the rate to 20 per cent a week before. On December 21, the authorities lifted an array of other restrictions. But by then, the damage had been done.

In all fairness, the stock-market's governing board alone cannot be blamed for the crash. The official steps came at a time when Tata Steel and the state-owned Unit Trust of India had drawn up plans to offer shareholders rights issues. What's more, a host of big share and debenture issues are scheduled to hit the markets in the next few weeks. There's a bit of evidence that punters keen on subscribing to the new issues (which come at less than market prices) and making a killing have started unloading shares to rustle up cash. The selling wave may have helped push prices down further.

Right now, the latest bid by the authorities to dampen the market may or may not affect the prospects of the new share issues. But if the authorities continue on their present course, the danger of things getting out of hand is very real. No one wants a stock-market crash, especially when the economy is booming and corporate profits are to take off. Over to the stock exchange authorities.

ACTIVE STOCKS

	1988 HIGH	1988 LOW	1988 CLOSE 20.12.88	Change in Fortnight	
Ashok Leyland	71.00	30.25	66.00	2.50	–
Associated Cement	425.00	128.50	370.00	37.50	–*
Atlas Copco	66.00	33.50	50.00	2.00	–
Asian Paints	232.50	128.75	205.00	12.50	–
Bajaj Auto	620.00	187.50	410.00	2.50	+
Baroda Rayon	385.00	140.00	320.00	35.00	–
Bata India	89.00	50.50	80.50	5.50	–
Bharat Forge	205.00	101.00	201.25	2.50	–
Birla Jute	58.50	32.25	50.00	6.50	–
Blow Plast	125.00	28.00	50.00	2.50	–
Bombay Dyeing	159.50	94.00	123.00	10.50	–
Brooke Bond	122.00	75.00	103.00	9.00	–
Britannia Ind.	121.00	75.00	111.00	6.00	–
Century Spinning	1535.00	617.50	1315.00	85.00	–
Chloride India	83.00	59.00	74.00	1.00	–
Colgate	335.00	160.00	300.00	7.50	–
Cyanamid	72.50	33.00	60.00	5.00	–**
DCM	55.00	28.00	32.00	3.50	–
Dunlop	107.00	66.00	85.00	16.75	–
E.I. Hotels	65.00	38.00	55.00	2.50	–
Escorts	82.50	37.00	68.00	9.00	–
Finolex Cables	435.00	237.50	365.00	1.25	–
Food Specialities	178.75	93.50	164.00	6.00	–
Garware Nylon	56.00	20.00	45.00	3.00	–
G.E. Shipping	46.25	20.50	41.50	1.25	–
Gujarat St Fertillsers	173.75	75.00	150.00	10.00	–
Grasim Ind.	118.00	74.00	78.00	5.00	–
Hind. Ciba	691.00	332.50	610.00	30.00	–
Hind. Cocoa	215.00	67.50	105.00	11.25	–
Hindustan Lever	92.00	59.50	73.00	5.00	–
Hindustan Motors	34.00	15.80	20.10	3.15	–
Hind. Aluminium	157.50	73.00	150.00	4.00	+
IEL	59.50	31.00	47.00	8.50	–
Indian Organic	61.00	15.00	41.50	3.50	–
Indian Rayon	93.00	46.00	80.50	6.50	–
Indrol	291.25	133.75	245.00	5.00	–
Ingersoll-Rand	370.00	205.00	315.00	20.00	–
ITC	64.00	30.00	52.00	nil	
J.K. Synthetics	94.00	45.50	83.00	5.50	–
Kinetic Engineering	410.00	161.25	355.00	17.50	–
Kirloskar Cummins	100.00	48.00	85.00	nil	
KSB Pumps	425.00	215.00	320.00	5.00	–
Larsen & Toubro	148.50	75.50	127.50	0.50	–
Lipton	84.00	52.00	71.00	6.00	–
LML Ltd.	20.00	9.00	13.00	2.50	–
Madura Coats	95.00	59.00	93.00	0.50	–
Mahindra & Mahindra	124.00	48.50	98.00	18.00	–
Milk Food	290.00	72.50	215.00	30.00	–
Motor Industries	700.00	447.50	590.00	20.00	–
Mukand Iron	139.00	72.50	94.00	39.00	–***
National Organic	990.00	390.00	785.00	110.00	–
Nirlon	16.00	5.00	14.00	1.00	–
Orkay Silk Mills	51.00	17.00	28.00	7.00	–
Peico Electronics	40.00	24.50	26.25	7.25	–
Pfizer	90.00	50.00	65.00	12.00	–
Premier Auto	58.00	23.00	49.00	4.25	–
Ranbaxy	120.00	68.00	82.50	nil	
Raymond	96.00	41.50	67.00	2.00	–
Reliance Industries	231.00	69.00	158.50	3.50	–
Shaw Wallace	132.00	50.50	93.00	1.00	+
Shriram Fibres	70.50	32.50	65.00	1.00	–
SKF Bearings	2420.00	1058.00	1980.00	200.00	–
Siemens India	116.00	56.00	95.00	3.00	–
SPIC	68.00	23.50	56.00	4.00	–
Tata Steel	1097.50	568.75	1045.00	26.25	–
Telco	785.00	340.00	720.00	20.00	–
Voltas	580.00	225.00	470.00	40.00	–**
Wimco	30.75	11.00	24.50	4.50	–
Vam Organic	143.00	75.00	126.00	4.00	–
Videocon Int.	75.00	18.00	61.25	8.75	–**

*Spot delivery **Ex-dividend ***Ex-bonus

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

COUNTRY	CURRENCY	UNIT	TT Selling Rates Rs	TT Buying Rates Rs
Australia	Dollar	1	12.9399	12.7983
Austria	Schilling	100	1.2257	1.2089
Bahrain	Dinar	1	39.5730	39.3619
Bangladesh	Taka	100	47.4128	47.3620
Canada	Dollar	1	12.6495	12.5260
Denmark	Kroner	1	2.2233	2.1991
Egypt	Pound	1	6.9236	6.8528
France	Franc	1	2.5510	2.4876
Hong Kong	Dollar	1	1.9422	1.9230
Indonesia	Rupiah	100	0.0800	0.0700
Iran	Rial	100	21.9522	21.9026
Italy	Lira	100	1.1000	1.0500
Japan	Yen	100	12.3609	12.0482
Kenya	Shilling	1	0.8209	0.7912
Kuwait	Dinar	1	52.9822	52.5620
Malaysia	Dollar	1	5.6169	5.5600
Mauritius	Rupee	1	1.1000	1.0500
Nepal	Rupee	1	0.6200	0.6000
Netherlands	Guilder	1	7.6234	7.5414
Pakistan	Rupee	1	0.7726	0.7228
Singapore	Dollar	1	7.7971	7.7186
Spain	Peseta	1	0.1325	0.1220
Sri Lanka	Rupee	1	0.4500	0.4300
Sweden	Kroner	1	2.4824	2.4524
Switzerland	Franc	1	10.1847	10.0785
Tanzania	Shilling	1	0.1200	0.1000
Thailand	Baht	100	58.2922	58.2060
UK	Pound	1	27.4801	27.3373
USA	Dollar	1	15.1630	15.0150
UAE	Dirham	1	4.0000	3.9000
USSR	Rouble	1	18.9232	18.6025
W. Germany	Deutschmark	1	8.7108	8.4962

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo Limited, New Delhi and quoted between the banks on 20.12.88.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Two suitcases.
Both the same length.
Both the same breadth.
Both in the same price range.
There's only one difference.
The height.
So one suitcase packs more.
More shirts. More trousers.
More sarees. More everything.
A good 30% more.
Guess which?

Aristocrat

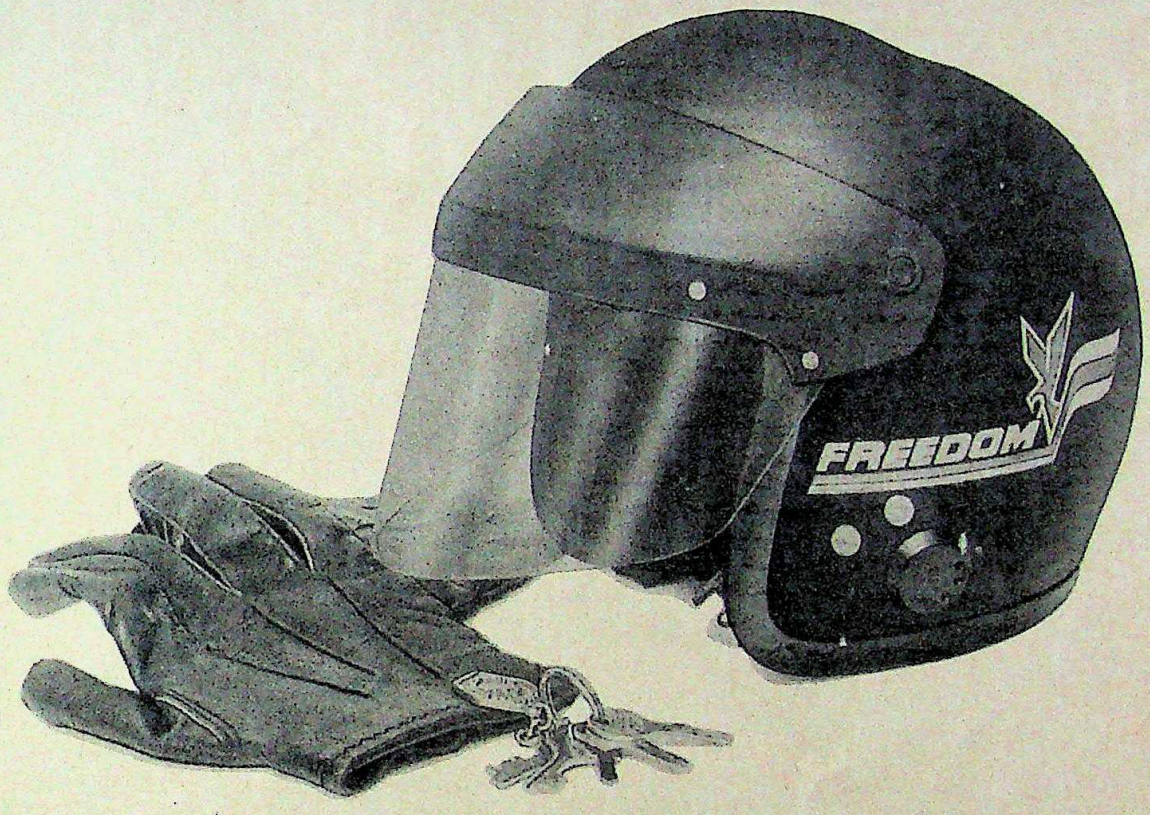
SPACE CASE

30% EXTRA PACKING SPACE.

Trikaya Grey AML 4 88

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When your customers are cool hep cats



Surprise them with a real slick package

Nichrome offers you modern, innovative packaging solutions.

The only thing we are rigid about is the quality of package. In terms of reliability, innovation and attractiveness.

In order to achieve it our team of professionals helps you right from the beginning. Bringing about the optimum utilisation of raw materials. So with us you achieve both quality and economy in packaging.

Our systems offer you maximum efficiency and ease of operation. With advanced features like pneumatic and digital controls, auto-diagnostic process controls, choice of filling heads for different products.

Nichrome's widest range of solid and liquid packaging systems has given an invaluable confidence to the Indian manufacturer. For the simple reason that Nichrome packaging solutions work! Undauntedly. For years together. Moreover, you have our widest network of sales offices at your service.

Now go ahead and create a daring product. We'll lure your customer into it. Because for us innovation is a way of life.

NICHROME METAL WORKS
46, Dr. Ambedkar Road,
Near Sangam Bridge,
Pune 411 001.
Phone : 667310, 662137
Grams : NICHROME
Telex : 0145-451 NMW IN

Branches at –
• Bombay • Ahmedabad
• Delhi • Madras • Calcutta • Lucknow
• Jamshedpur • Bhopal • Cochin
• Secunderabad • Bangalore

nichrome
Packaging solutions that work

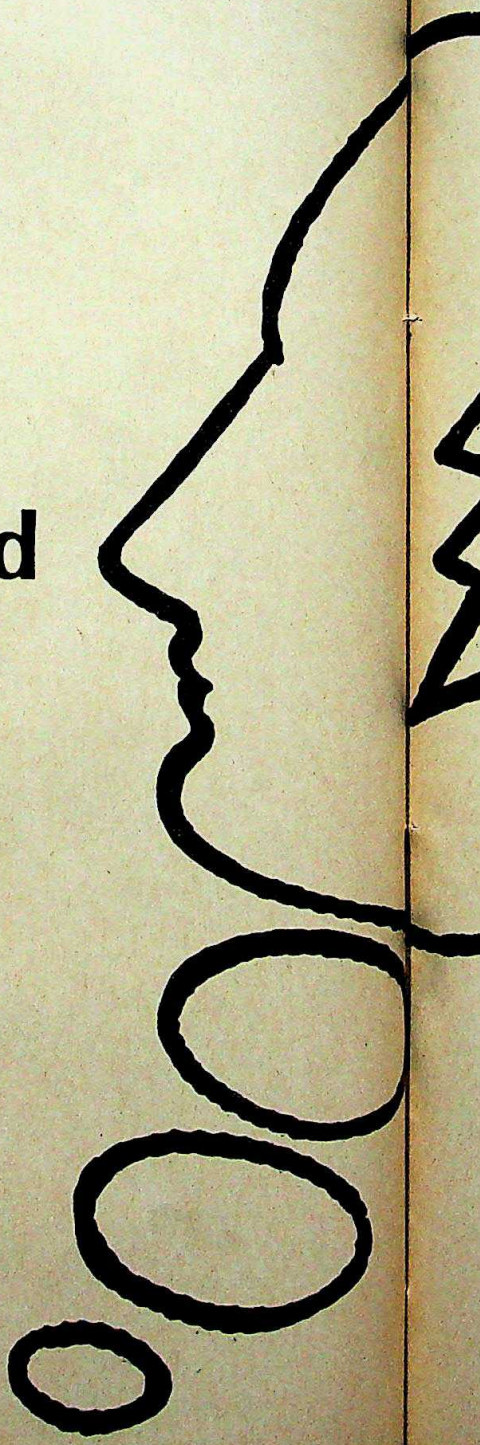
SJAS 88166

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PERIWAL GROUP

How the country's premier cable company electrified the industry with its thinking.



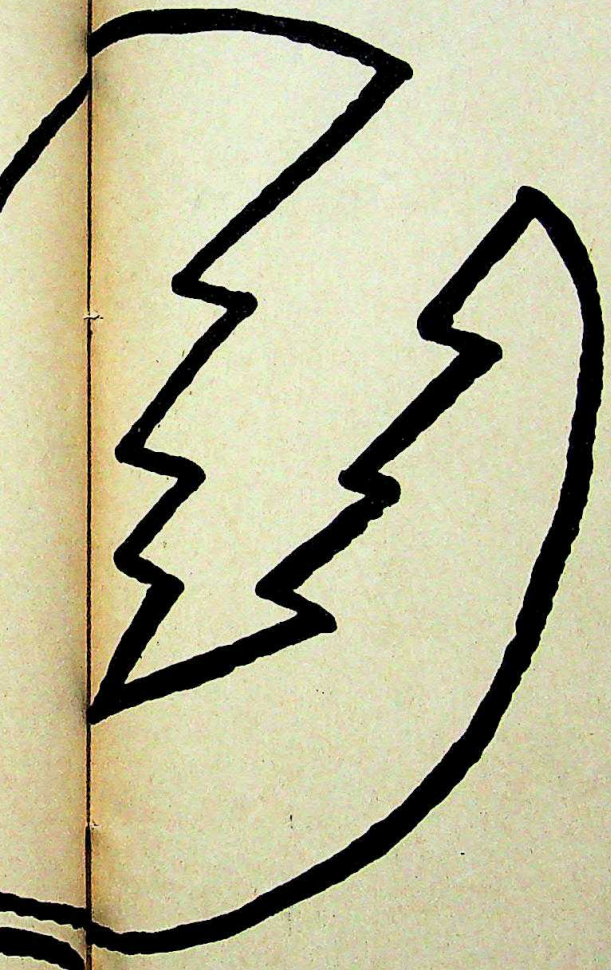
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To bring you innovative new products.

Premier Cables : thinking ahead of our times

For over 25 years, Premier Cables has been the innovator in cables.



It was the first with the high-technology Cross Linked Polyethylene (XLPE) cables using the superior Completely Dry Cooling and Curing (CDCC) process. First with Fire Retardant Low Smoke (FRLS) cables. First with Remote Temperature Detection (RTD) cables. Aerial Bunched Cables (ABC) are the latest innovation at Premier Cables.

These breakthroughs were possible because of Premier Cables' enduring commitment to research and development.

And in acquiring and assimilating the latest technology from reputed cable manufacturers around the world.

For instance, Premier Cables has the technology of Nokia, Finland, to manufacture XLPE cables.

What these innovations mean to you

XLPE cables, available for HV and EHV applications, have several inherent advantages.

Homogenous insulation that prevents breakdowns. Better electrical properties. Longer cable life. Low transmission losses. And virtually maintenance-free service.

FRLS cables are manufactured with special compounds and smoke suppressants – the outer jacket resists even intense heat and helps contain the fire from spreading.

RTD cables are capable of measuring temperature remotely through resistance comparison bridge, enhancing safety.

ABC cables are the ideal solution for rural electrification projects in India offering several advantages like higher reliability, lower transmission losses and lower installation costs.

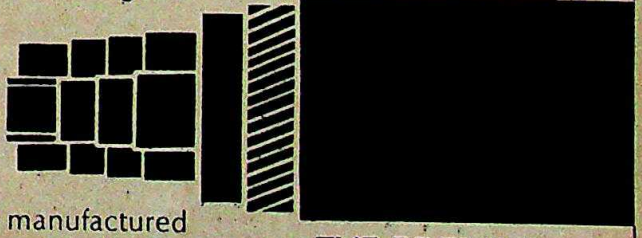
Significantly, both these products are the result of Premier Cables' in-house R&D expertise.

It is this innovative approach to cable-making that has made Premier Cables what it is today : the country's most trusted high-technology cable manufacturer.

And now, turnkey projects

Premier Cables now offers you its cable-laying expertise through its Contracts Division. The services include pre-installation advice to selection of switchgear and transformers, on-site cable laying and jointing.

Making Premier Cables not only your prime source for cables but also for cable-laying expertise.



THE PREMIER CABLE COMPANY LTD.

(A member of the Periwal Group)
Premier Cable House
M G Road Ernakulam
Cochin 682 016

Cables that make all the difference.

HTA 8917

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

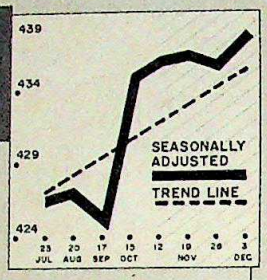
THE devaluation of the rupee continued last fortnight making our imports more expensive and our exports more competitively priced. The longer term trend in imports and exports show a positive balance of trade with exports growing fairly rapidly this year. Both the share market and bullion markets indicated bearish trends last fortnight, but while shares have proved an excellent investment this year, the shine seems to have worn off the market for gold.

All data are seasonally adjusted. Current trends are computed on the basis of six months' (weekly data) or two years' (monthly data) figures.

Wholesale Price Index

1970–71 = 100

Current Trend
2.9% p.a.

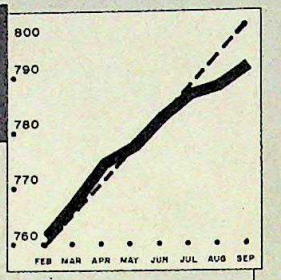


Wholesale prices continued to increase steadily during the last fortnight. Further inflation can be expected.

Consumer Price Index

1980–81 = 100

Current Trend
8.7% p.a.

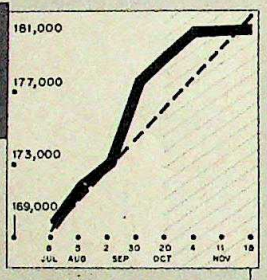


Consumer prices went up by an annual rate of 5.5 per cent in the last fortnight, indicating a slow down.

Money Supply

Rs Crore

Current Trend
18.1% p.a.

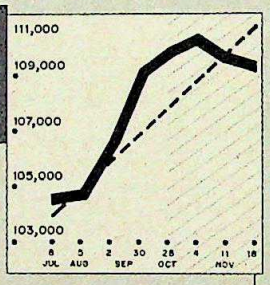


Money supply shows signs of stabilising. The long-term trend is, however, still 1.5 per cent over target.

Commercial Bank Credit

Rs Crore

Current Trend
17.6% p.a.

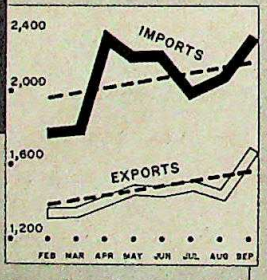


Brakes were applied on credit over the last fortnight which saw a drop of 1 per cent in availability.

Foreign Trade

Rs Crore

Current Trend
21.1% p.a.
EXPORTS
15.5% p.a.
IMPORTS

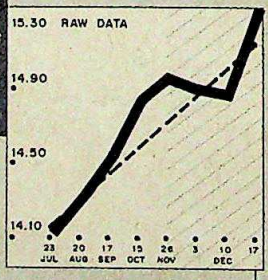


Although imports rose faster than exports last month, the long-term growth rates remain healthy.

Foreign Exchange Rate

Rs/$

Current Trend
18.4% p.a.

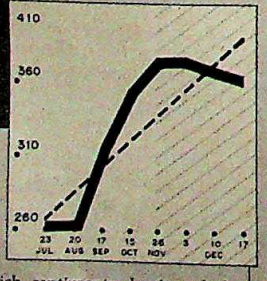


The rupee was devalued sharply against the dollar last fortnight, a drop of almost 3 per cent.

Share Price Index

1984–85 = 100

Current Trend
104.2% p.a.

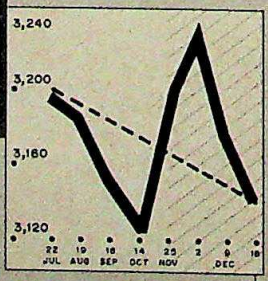


Although bearish sentiments dominated the share market last fortnight, the trend rate indicates a doubling in prices every 12 months.

Closing Gold Prices

Rs per 10 gm

Current Trend
4.7% p.a.



Gold prices came down sharply in the last fortnight. So far gold has been a poor investment this year.

WHOLESALE PRICES

Growth of items in the 2nd fortnight of November 1988

	% Growth
Mining Machinery	92.40
Sewing Machine	33.11
Rails	20.37
Utensils	14.00
Onions	12.11
Silk Raw	9.84
Bars & Rods	7.94
Bananas	6.87
Jowar	5.92
Bajra	4.50
Eggs	4.36
Plates & Sheets	3.95
Milk	3.42
Mustard Oilcake	2.66
Gingelly Seed	2.20
Ragi	1.89
Maize	1.70
Barley	1.22
Groundnut Seeds	0.91
Ghee	0.76
Masoor	0.71
Cashew-Nut	0.46
Rape & Mustard Seeds	0.37
Cotton Cloth	0.24
Tea	0.21
Gingelly Oil	0.03
Tin Containers	0.00
Zinc	0.00
Whisky	0.00
Woollen Cloth & Woollen Khadi	0.00
Watches & Clocks	0.00
Vanaspati	0.00
Tyres	0.00
Tubes	0.00
Tobacco & Other Tobacco Products	0.00
Trucks	0.00
Transformers	0.00
Tractors	0.00
Tobacco Raw	0.00
Jute Textile Machinery	0.00
Ceramic Tiles	0.00
Sugarcane	0.00
Synthetic Fibres	0.00
Solvent Extracted Oil	0.00
Semis Billets	0.00
Soda Ash	0.00
Silk & Artificial Fabrics	0.00

Of the 138 series considered 27 of them with a total weight of 20.393 had a positive growth and 27 of them with a total weight of 28.19 had a negative growth.

SELECTED INDICATORS

	1988	1987
Coal		
Thousand Tonnes, November	15950	1709
Saleable Steel		
Thousand Tonnes, November	803.3	679.0
Cement		
Thousand Tonnes, November	3724	3238
Petroleum Crude		
Thousand Tonnes, November	2637	2387
Petroleum Refinery Products		
Thousand Tonnes, November	3750	4009

Compiled by THE POLICY GROUP

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

The G-30 video recorder from Crown. State-of-the art video technology of the future. Brought to you in the present.

The Crown G-30 incorporates features like the Digital Scanner, which makes recording future programmes easier than ever before. Auto operation, so you don't even have to touch the play switch. And special slow motion without any picture distortion.

Other features like the OTR & HQ picture system, multi-function display and infrared remote make the Crown G-30 what it is. A technological miracle.

The Crown G-30. Get a glimpse of the future. Today.

CROWN VCR G30

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INTERNATIONAL POWER

BIHAR SPONGE IRON LIMITED

Sponge Iron — a better alternative to costly, scarce, imported scrap for production of steel.

Sobhagya/291/88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A prestigious Indo-German joint venture: with the privilege of first-ever equity participation in any international project by Lurgi — and the distinction of largest-ever German equity participation in any Indo-German project.

THE SPONGE IRON PROJECT WITH STERLING FEATURES

Bihar Sponge Iron Ltd. (BSIL). A Rs. 112 crore, hi-tech, import substitution project for the manufacture of 1,50,000 tons per annum of SPONGE IRON, the ideal raw material for steel production. Fast nearing completion, BSIL is all set to become a major landmark in India's steel industry.

AN INDO-GERMAN VENTURE

German collaboration companies in India have excellent track records. Soon joining the galaxy is BSIL, which has the distinction of the highest ever German equity in any Indo-German project.

HIGH POWER PROMOTERS

MODIS : India's fastest growing industrial house, reputed for harnessing the world's best technologies : Xerox, Continental, Olivetti, Lurgi, Phillip Morris, Rohm & Haas, Blue Circle, Champion...
BSIDC : the apex industrial development corporation of Bihar.

LURGI : of West Germany, the world's largest process engineering company; pioneer and world leader in sponge iron technology.
DEG : the prime German developmental institution.

Equity participation also by **International Finance Corporation (Washington), an arm of The World Bank.**

FOREIGN EQUITY PARTICIPATION

Aggregating 25.4% by Lurgi, DEG and IFC(W). First-ever equity participation in any international project by Lurgi which has scores of technical collaborations worldwide.

WORLD'S BEST TECHNOLOGY

Lurgi's unmatched SL/RN technology used for production of over 85% of the world's coal-based sponge iron. BSIL project implementation on turnkey basis by Lurgi, with process and plant performance backed by their financial guarantees.

PROVEN PRODUCT, ASSURED MARKET

Sponge iron, a better alternative to scrap, for steel production. Ever widening demand-supply gap coupled with increasing costs and declining availability of imported ferrous scrap ensures a ready market.

IDEAL LOCATION

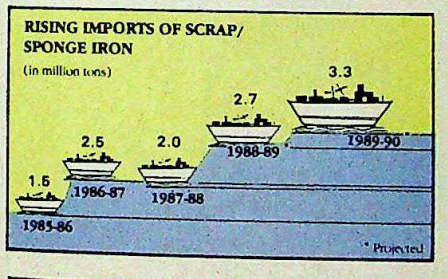
Chandil, near Jamshedpur; in the heart of India's mineral-rich belt; close to major consuming centres. Project endowed with abundant water resources, 100% standby power and private railway siding.

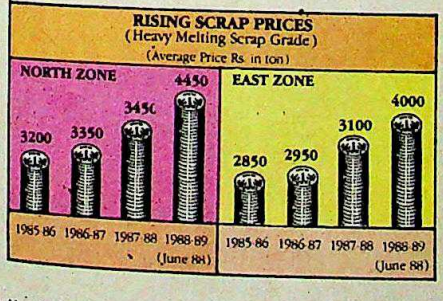
NO GESTATION

Project completion in record time. Commercial production within first quarter of 1989.

EASY LIQUIDITY, INVESTORS' BENEFITS

Listing at Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras and Patna Stock Exchanges. 80 CC, 80L and Wealth Tax benefits.





Public Issue of 1,66,50,000 Equity Shares of Rs. 10/- each for cash at par.

Lead Managers to the Issue

CANBANK FINANCIAL SERVICES LTD.
Industrial Finance Corporation of India
Merchant Banking Division
Bank of Baroda Building,
16, Barakhal Marg,
New Delhi 110 001
The Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India Limited
Merchant Banking Division
Tower II Level 6, Jeevan Bharti,
124 Connaught Place,
New Delhi 110 001
SBI Capital Markets Limited
SBI CAPITAL MARKETS LTD.
202 Maker Towers 'E'
20th Floor, Cuffe Parade
Bombay 400 005

Managers to the Issue

ALLAHABAD BANK
Merchant Banking Division
BANK OF INDIA
Merchant Banking Division
UNION BANK OF INDIA
Merchant Banking Division
Andhra Bank
Merchant Banking Division

Advisors to the Issue

MEFCOM MEHTA FINANCIAL CONSULTANTS & MANAGEMENT SERVICES PVT. LTD.
mackertich consultancy services pvt. ltd

EQUITY ISSUE OPENS
NRIs : 28th Jan., 1989
Indian Public : 30th Jan., 1989

BIHAR SPONGE IRON LIMITED

Head Office : 1400 Hemkunt Tower, 98 Nehru Place, New Delhi-110 019
Regd. Office & Plant : Chandil (near Jamshedpur), Distt. Singhbhum, Bihar-832 401

The Lurgi assurance

Jointly promoted by : • MODIS • BSIDC • LURGI (West Germany) • DEG (West Germany)

Equity participation also by IFC, Washington

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JINDAL

Steel invites

It invites housewives to take a shine to it. It excites the transport industry on to the fast track. And what's more. It makes a material difference to almost any industry you name.

Stainless Steel

Today this exciting metal is 'steeling' a march over conventional materials in a diverse range of applications. Stainless Steel is corrosion resistant & rust proof with excellent formability and ductility. It is lightweight y strong. It is abrasion resistant, autoclavable an hygienic. Never before ha something that looks so good made such good se

Jindal: Helping India prov its mettle

And helping pioneer this r world of steel is the Jindal Organization. A dynamic company fast moving upwards. A company that has made India's aspiratio its own, dedicated not onl

A range to suit all applications

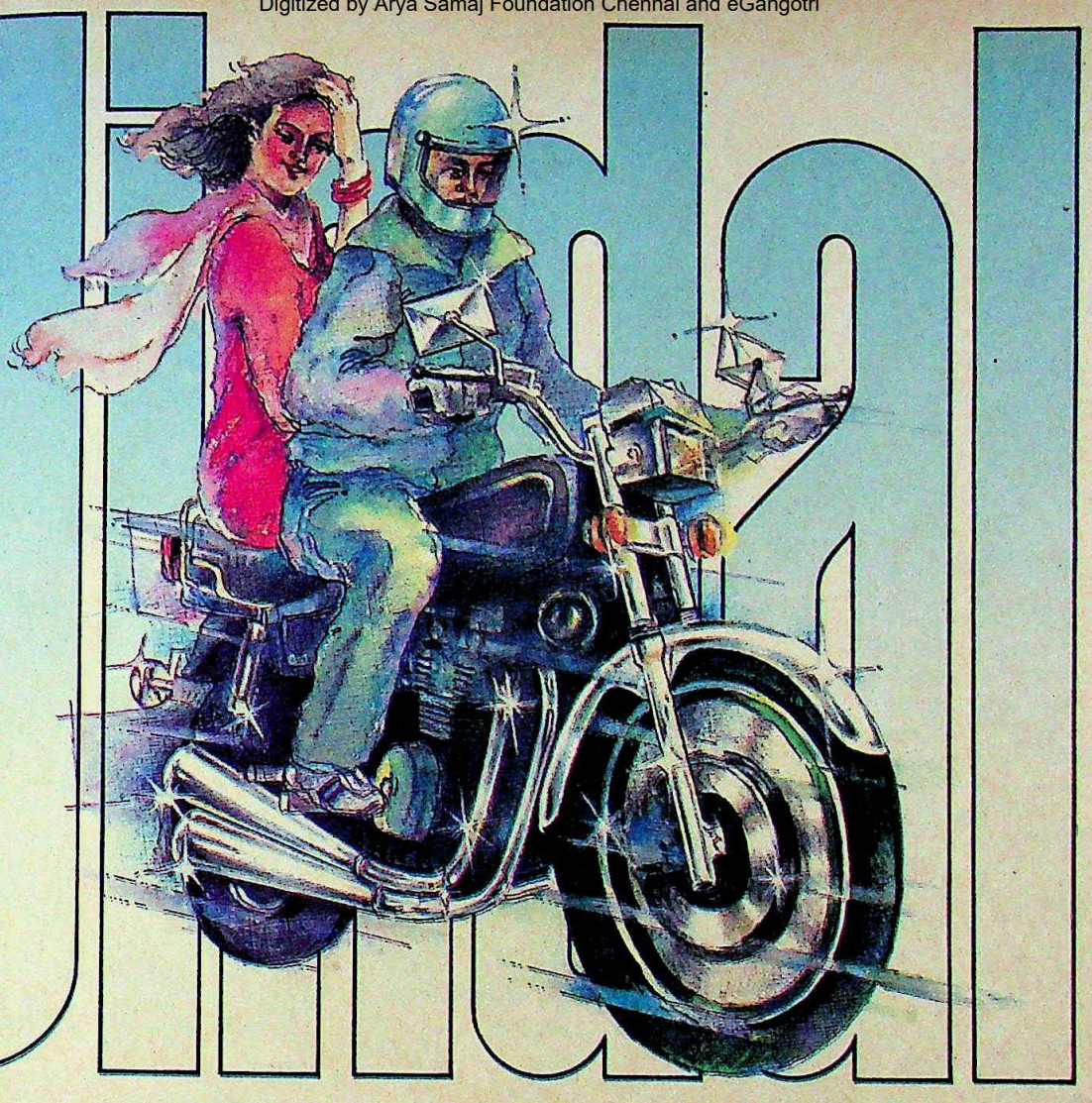
JINDAL STAINLESS PRODUCTS

Available in Grades of AISI-201, 202, 304,.304L, 316, 316L, 321, 430, 410 and as per customer specifications:

	Thickness	Width	Length
PLATES	4.0-50mm	1000 mm	upto 10 mtrs
HOT ROLLED STRIPS	2.5-4.0mm	450 mm	in Coil Form or Flats
COLD ROLLED SHEETS	0.20-3.0mm	450 mm	in Coil Form
STAINLESS TUBES	Outer Dia Wall thickness Length		: 19-75mm : 0.70-3.0mm : 5-6 mtrs
COLD ROLLED MILD STEEL SHEETS	Thickness Width		: 0.20-2.0mm : 1200mm in Coil Form
	Full Hard, Annealed, DD, EDD Quality		

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Steel excites

aking the country self-
ufficient in Stainless Steel
ut setting standards for the
orld of steel to follow.
indal manufactures
tainless Steel right from
w material to the final
nished product. There's a
eel revolution brewing and

Jindal is proud to pioneer it.

Stainless Steel Advisory Centre

For free technical advise on the selection of the right grade of Stainless Steel for your specific application just fill and mail the following coupon.

I want free technical advise on Stainless Steel for the following application: _____

Name : _____

Designation : _____

Company : _____

Address : _____

Telephone : _____

Mail this coupon to:

Mr. A.N. Singh,
Stainless Steel Advisory Centre,
Jindal Strips Ltd.,
28, Najafgarh Road, New Delhi-110 015.

JINDAL

• STRIPS LIMITED •

Pioneering the world of steel

LINTAS DELHI JSL/3/37.24

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

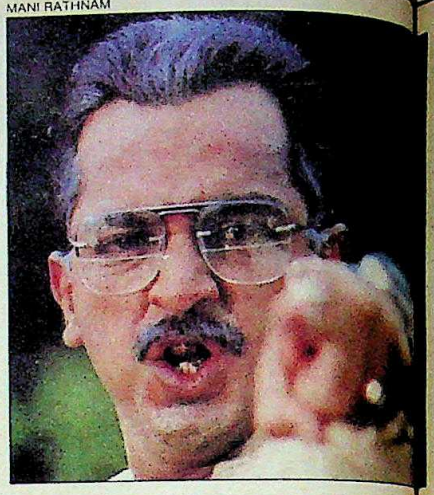
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FILM FESTIVAL

Eclipse of the Parallel Form

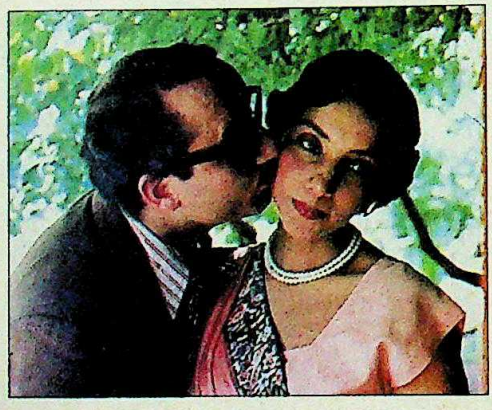
Commercial films dominate Indian Panorama

MANI RATHNAM



Kamalahasan in *Nayakan*

THE 12th International film festival which opens in the capital this fortnight offers a sumptuous smorgasbord of films. But the Indian confections, alas, look stale—warmed up leftovers. And, there is literally too much *masala*. The Indian Panorama has been hijacked by commercial film makers. Worse, the master chefs of the past are missing.



Anupam Kher and Shabana in *Pestonjee*

Sarita in *Vedham Puthitu*

Despite all this, it promises to be a film-watchers' festival with a varied bag of goodies—a surfeit of American box-office hits, a series of post-*glasnost* Soviet films, samples of the much-acclaimed new cinema of China, and a John Schlesinger retrospective, with the director himself here. His film *Madame Sousatska* starring Shirley Maclaine, Shabana Azmi and NRI teenager, Navin Chowdhury (nephew of Rajpal Chowdhury, the nebulous wandering editor of *Delhi Recorder* and *Kohinoor*) opens the two-week-long festival.

The Indian Panorama, however, will be disappointing. And this is especially saddening because over the years it has grown to become one of the most eagerly-awaited sections of the festival. For parallel cinema, which would otherwise have remained confined to the cans the Panorama was a display window. This time, though, most of the 16 films selected have either done the rounds of international festivals or, worse, have already been screened in cinema halls throughout the country. Creativity appears to have wilted, and the harvest is lean, much of the crop blighted.

The old warhorses—Satyajit Ray, Mrinal Sen, Shyam Benegal, Adoor Gopalakrishnan, Aravindan, Ketan Mehta, Mani Kaul, Aparna Sen, Kumar Shahani, Saeed Mirza—have abandoned the battlefield this time. Something strange is happening in the world of Indian cinema. Parallel (for want of a better word) and mainstream cinema appear to be feeding off each other. And at present the symbiotic relationship between the two seems to be working in favour of commercial cinema. The Panorama provides ample evidence. More than half a dozen films are by commercial film makers, mostly from the south.

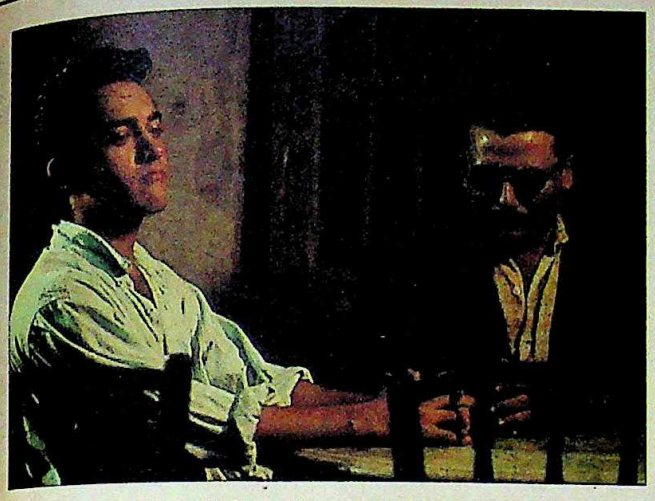
Kamalahasan and Amla in *Pushpak Vimana*

Significantly, last year proved almost fatal for the ailing mainstream cinema which is now all set to take the other cinema down with it, without the latter putting up even the semblance of a fight. The absence of the giants from the scene might, however, augur well for the first-time entrants to the Panorama. Perhaps this dismal interlude might result in a much-needed turning over of the old soil so that a new kind of cinema can grow. However haltingly.

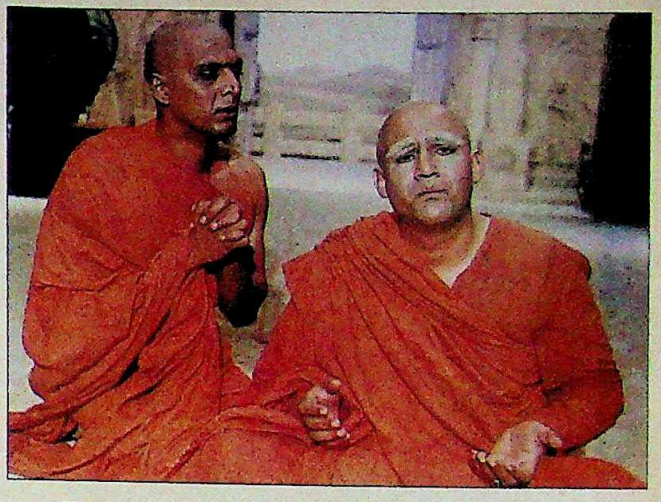
All is not gloomy though. There are two interesting directorial debuts this time. Veteran novelist and screen writer Nabendu Ghosh (60 films including

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

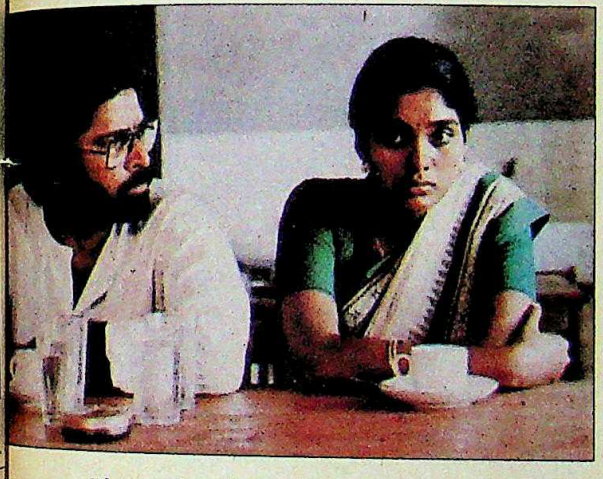
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Aamir Khan (left) and Pankaj Kapoor in *Raakh*



Nana Patekar and Alok Nath (right) in *Trishagni*



Bhanu Chander and Archana in *Veedu*

Sujata, Bandini, Aar-Par, Teesri Kasam) has directed *Trishagni* (The English title is *Sand Storm.*) Set in the first century BC somewhere in the desert region of Central Asia (Jaisalmer provides the primal backdrop) this unusual film is about a Buddhist priest (poignantly played by Nana Patekar) and his struggle to conquer desire. Based on Gautam Buddha's sermon, *Agni-Updesh*, the film is about a priest torn between flesh and spirit—he is attracted by the nubile charms of his ward after he accidentally sees her bathing. An interesting theme, but there are overtones from commercial Hindi films. Pallavi Joshi is charming and spontaneous but blow-dried hair and chic ethnic outfits take away from the intensity and universality of the subject. The songs do not quite fit in; nor does Nitish Bhardwaj as the young lover also caught between the temporal and the spiritual. Alok Nath as the elder priest is not too convincing. Although thematically strong, the film's technical weaknesses prevent it from becoming good cinema.

Almost the converse could be said of the other debutant, Aditya Bhattacharya. His film *Raakh*, with mainstream cinema's new idol and teenage heart-throb Aamir Khan as the killer-protagonist, is visually stunning and technically impressive. Thematically, however, there are shortcomings. The story of the descent into darkness of a young, well-heeled man after his former girl friend is raped by a powerful Bombay don may seem to many to be the revenge theme revisited. But Bhattacharya has strung the film together along emotional lines and the music keeps it going. In a novel manner the film depicts today's youth painfully caught in the increasingly brutal world of the big city. Though violence abounds, it is essentially an essay against it, a plea for love. There are poetic moments and Bombay by night is beautifully captured. Bhattacharya at 24 is a name to be watched.

Four of the five Hindi films have been extensively reviewed, some even telecast. *Tamas*, Govind Nihalani's powerful account of Partition triggered a political controversy last year. Mira Nair's *Salaam Bombay* hit the jackpot at Cannes and elsewhere. Vijaya Mehta's *Pestonjee*, based on B.K. Karanjia's short story about the Parsis was appreciated, as was Gautam Ghose's *Antarjali Yatra*.

What has completely changed the complexion of the Panorama this time, and generated a lot of disquiet is the invasion by commercial cinema of the south. Well-crafted and beautifully shot but unabashedly commercial Tamil films dominate this time, edging out Malayalam cinema which in the past has come to the rescue of the Panorama.

Mani Rathnam's *Nayakan*, based on Bombay don Vardarajan Mudaliar's life, is the Indian version of *The Godfather*. It fits the genre of the American gangster film currently in vogue in mainstream Hindi cinema, and has done well at the box-office. But the intensity of Kamalahasan's performance and the accurate period re-creations of the Bombay slum world ensure the film a permanent place in the Indian cinema pantheon. Illayaraaja's innovative music balances the film's obvious excesses.

Kamalahasan figures elsewhere in the Panorama too. He puts his funny—and in this case, Chaplinesque—face forward effectively in the silent film, *Pushpak Vimana*, by S. Srinivasa Rao. The enormously popular film has earned almost Rs 1 crore. Inventively funny, it manages to incorporate the sobering theme of contemporary urban greed in its vaudeville momentum. The hero who lives in a seedy lodge called Anand Bhavan (lovely irony)—with both Rambo and Karl Marx on his room walls—abducts a millionaire and takes his place in Room No. 3039 of Hotel Pushpak. From there on it is the story of the modern Indian male Cinderella. But with a different end—and moral: Money is not everything though pursuing it is entertaining. The coachmen of this Cinderella turn back into rats and Cinderella "himself" is back to square one, but with a little more hope. This silent film is high on scatology and the humour is black and cruel. But the laughter it provokes is far from silent. And cleansing.

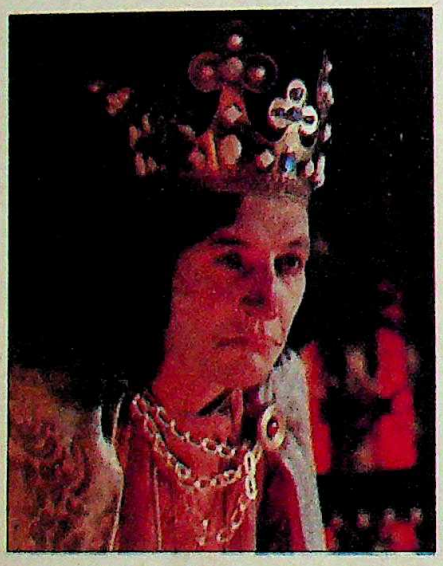
Another Panorama entry which is a box-office draw is P. Bharati Raja's *Vedham Puthitu* (The New Vedas). It has all the requisite ingredients: love among the flowers, sexual fantasy, star-crossed lovers, nasty priests and the kind of dia-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hibiscus Town: new cinema from China

Chowdhury and Shirley Maclaine in *Madame Sousatska*



Chytilovala's *The Jester and the Queen*

logue which MGR would applaud (the film is in fact dedicated to him.) Though the film tackles serious issues—atheism vs theism and the conflict between Brahmin and non-Brahmin—its melodramatic treatment and use of role reversals has obviously touched a chord in viewers' hearts. There are moments of lyrical sensuality; Bharati Raja is a romantic at heart. But he does stretch belief at times in his pursuit of the permissibly erotic.

Veedu, Balu Mahendru's film which won the national award for the best Tamil film and got Archana the best actress award is a simple, well-made commercial film. On the surface the film deals with the travails of a young woman trying to build a house. But what it really does is to expose in a low-key and very convincing manner the failure of the democratic system to ensure basic rights. A young couple have a typical middle class desire—to own a home of their own. Corruption dogs their efforts to give shape to the desire. Eventually the house gets built, but to their horror the two learn that the house was promised to the metropolitan water authority. Ultimately, it is not just the house they built which is lost, but their innocence too.

I.V. Sasi, the film maker from Kerala known for his block-buster, *Her Nights*, is another commercial director to cross the threshold of the other cinema. *Nineteen Twenty One*, a story about the Muslim uprising against the British—principally in a couple of north Kerala districts—during the Khilafat Movement, is Sasi's answer to Attenborough's *Gandhi*. And melodramatic as it is with highly emotional dialogue and an exciting scene of a clothes bonfire, the Malayalam film has proved a crowd puller.

The Telugu film, *Swarna Kamalam*, by K. Vishwanath is unadulteratedly commercial. And other films from Kerala are evidently far from the best of what was made. The exclusion from the Panorama of K. Ravindran's *Ore Thooval Pakshigal* and K.G. George's *Yathrayude Anthiyam* has been strongly criticised by film makers and created quite a controversy about the commercial bias in the selection of Panorama entries.

THERE is nothing surprising about this; controversy has always been a constant companion of Indian festivals. This time, in fact, there may even be a little less of it. The competition section has been dropped. Over the years it had steadily deteriorated and the organisers have wisely decided against persisting with it. So this year there will be no juries, no horse-trading in smoke-filled rooms until late at night.

Also missing will be the dominating presence of the Kapoor clan led by Raj Kapoor. But the stars will still be there in force. Dimple Kapadia will light the lamp to signify the opening of the festival and veteran producer L.V. Prasad will be the chief guest of honour. Kabir Bedi will compere the hi-tech do with an audio-visual presentation of seven decades of Indian cinema.

There will be good films to see too: laureates at other festivals like Chris Menges' *A World Apart*, Peter Greenway's *Drowning By Numbers*, Vasily Pichul's *Little Vera*, Ousmane Sembane's *Camp De Thiaroye*, Pedro Almodovar's *Woman on the Verge of a Nervous Breakdown* and Oscar winners like Norman Jewison's *Moonstruck* which won actress Cher an Oscar.

Eagerly awaited too are Charles Crichton's *A Fish Called Wanda*, a runaway success this year, Attenborough's *Cry Freedom*, Paul Schrader's *Patty Hearst* and Paul Mazursky's *Moon Over Parador*. Delhi finally gets Federico Fellini's *Ginger and Fred*, and if lucky perhaps his award-winning latest film, *Interview*. The Italians are also sending Ermanno Olmi's *The Legend of the Holy Drinker*. The French are sending a large package in the year of their festival; a new Chabrol and the delightful *Babette's Feast*. Hungary is there with the masterful Istavan Szabo's *Hanussen*. A first this year is a film which is partially produced by South Africa: Oliver Schmitz's *Mapuntsula*, a film against apartheid made by the UK, Australia and South Africa.

There are also several retrospectives—of John Schlesinger, Czech actress Vera Chytilovala, and Italian director Lina Wertmuller (*Night Porter, Beyond Good and Evil*). Raj Kapoor's films will figure in another retrospective.

All in all, while the 12th International Festival, showing mostly old movies, may not herald any Fellinis, Satyajit Rays or Fassbinders in the making, it is not going to be a disappointment either. As New Year gifts go, it could be described as middling. —MADHU JAIN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WIPRO CORPORATION

CHAIRMAN'S SUMMARY

About the Corporation

Wipro is organised into four Business Units with the corporate office at Bombay and shares listed on the Bombay Stock Exchange. Wipro Consumer Products manufactures, markets and exports consumer products. Wipro Fluid Power develops, manufactures and markets hydraulic cylinders and systems. Wipro Information Technology Limited (subsidiary of Wipro Limited) develops, manufactures and markets a range of sophisticated computers. Wipro Systems Limited (subsidiary of Wipro Limited) develops and markets software for the export and domestic markets.

Each of the business units are headed by presidents/chief executives with corporate direction and support in the areas of personnel, finance, planning and corporate affairs.

Consolidated Financial Highlights

Corporation financial highlights for the year ended June 30, 1988, are :

	(Rs. million)		
	1987-88	1986-87	1977-78
Sales and other income	**2,041**	1,500	349
Profit after tax	**47**	24	4
Revenue and capital expenditure on R & D	**39**	32	—
Shareholders' funds	**236**	193	25
Return on average shareholders' funds	**22**	13	15

Over the last ten years, sales have grown at an average annual rate of 19% and net worth at 25% entirely through retained earnings. (The profit after tax and return on average shareholders' funds for 1986-87 are not strictly comparable due to charge in that year of additional depreciation and 100% write-off of capital expenditure on research and development).

Wipro Consumer Products

Wipro consumer products generated sales and other income of Rs.1,387 million in 1987-88 and contributed significantly to Corporation profit, making consumer products one of Wipro's core businesses.

'Sunflower', our flagship brand, has become a household name in cooking fats. It enjoys a steady and loyal consumer franchise, reinforced by consistently strong marketing effort including packaging innovations – like flexi pouches. 'Camel', a market leader in its segment, services the unique mechanised professional needs of commercial users like bakers, biscuit manufacturers and hotels. Utilising state-of-the-art technology, our manufacturing facilities are equipped to process a wide variety of base oils. Our third plant at Tumkur (near Bangalore) commenced commercial production during the year.

We have further consolidated our market position in toilet soaps. 'Santoor', our sandal + turmeric soap, continues to gain market share. 'Wipro Shikakai', our hair care soap, has achieved leadership position in the segment. In the course of the year we launched 'Ralak', positioned as an aggressively priced tulsi-based family soap. We also test launched 'Wipro Jasmine'. Increasing market share for our soaps has encouraged us to build a second toilet soap plant at Tumkur.

The fatty acid plant at Amalner (in Maharashtra), which went into commercial production in 1987-88, achieved capacity utilisation in a very short period and helped in reducing the cost of manufacture of our toilet soaps in addition to improving quality. We are setting up a second fatty acid plant in Tumkur.

With the aim of generating a net foreign exchange surplus, Wipro began exporting value added leather products in 1984. We manufacture in our factory in Madras, high-fashion shoe uppers, shoes and garments for quality conscious markets of USA, UK, West Germany and Japan. Our exports generated revenues of Rs. 71 million earning an Export House recognition from the government.

Wipro's consistent success and rapid growth in consumer products is the result of keen understanding of consumer needs and extensive distribution network and promotion, supported by a strong manufacturing base. Our national marketing network ensures consumers ready access to our products. It consists of 23 warehouses and over 900 stockists covering all towns with over 20,000 population in relevant markets. A dedicated field force services 180,000 retail outlets at least once a fortnight. Satellite markets are covered by van operations.

Wipro Fluid Power

We had severe order constraint during the beginning of the year due to virtual collapse of the hydraulic cranes market. The position improved by the second half of the year and because of our development of new market segments we were able to achieve cumulative order booking target.

Due to difficult order situation our production was below plan. However, we are meeting our objectives from Quarter 4 of 1987-88.

Development of tipping systems is satisfactory and we received good response from OEMs.

Wipro Information Technology Limited

Sales and other income for 1987-88 at Rs. 577 million were up by 44% over 1986-87 and established Wipro as the No. 2 computer company in India in terms of sales. An independent Users' Survey commissioned by Computers & Communications magazine ranks Wipro as No.1 in the users' perception. The magazine sums up to say that 'users have begun to show an appreciation for a good clean image which Wipro has carefully nurtured over the years'. The Wipro PC series won recognition for its quality by being the only PC to be awarded the Department of Electronics' Certificate for Quality.

We formed a Technical Systems Division to focus the Company's solution selling in the Computer Aided Design and Computer Integrated Manufacturing market segments. We have concluded a strategic partnership with SUN Microsystems Incorporated, USA, world leaders in engineering workstations, to manufacture and market their engineering workstations.

We retained our leadership of the printer market and enlarged our product offerings with the announcement of two new products : EX1000, a superior state-of-art printer for addressing the high speed, premium quality segment and the LX86, an 80 column dot matrix printer, which has established itself as the de facto standard for use in certain applications. Our relationship with our collaborator, Seiko Epson Corporation, continues to be excellent.

Wipro actively contributed in the successful launch of ISRO's satellite, the IRS-1A, through the tracking systems designed and built by the Systems Engineering Division. The Division, jointly with the National Aeronautics Laboratory, was also responsible for the development of a parallel processing platform, the first of its kind in the country.

We continue to invest in R&D which is the keystone of our success. Our R&D team of over 100 specialists have developed and designed innovative computer products which have enabled us to be on the leading edge of technology. We will launch in the near future leading edge products which will further strengthen our position in both the Mini and PC market segments.

We also formed a separate Exports Division for increased thrust in exports. We booked export orders of Rs. 35 million during the year.

We have significantly invested in engineering, manufacturing, testing and automation at our factory in Mysore. We have implemented a semi-automatic production line for PCs. With the addition of a second automatic testing equipment and machines for incorporating surface mount technology, the facility would rank amongst the most modern in the country.

Wipro Systems Limited

We did not achieve our profit objectives for the year.

In the product software category, we continued to maintain our leadership postion. However, largely as a result of ineffective measures to control piracy, the total growth of the legal software market was lower than expected.

The year also saw the successful launch of our Desk Top Publishing product under the brand name Dextra. Within the first few months of the launch, Dextra has established itself among the top three brands in the country.

Performance of our Instaplan product launched in the USA last year continues to be very encouraging and over 10,000 copies were sold in the USA. The product was ranked in the top five project management packages in the USA and was listed among the top ten new products launched in the USA in 1987.

Discussions were initiated with Ashton-Tate Incorporated, USA, and we have recently concluded an agreement to distribute their products in India. This will be followed by a financial joint venture with them for manufacture and development.

Wipro-Beckman Joint Venture

Wipro is entering into a financial joint venture with Beckman Instruments Incorporated, USA, to address the analytical instruments market. Beckman is a subsidiary of Smith-Kline and Beckman and ranks among the top four Analytical Instruments Companies in the world with sales of over $ 800 million. The new company will market and support the entire range of Beckman's Bioanalytical Systems Group products, selectively manufacture some instruments for the domestic market, and develop export opportunities in hardware and software. The venture will have its operations centre near Delhi with an all India marketing and service set up. Its commercial activities are planned to start in December 1988.

Research and Development

Continued leadership in business is possible in the long run only through R&D efforts in all areas of operations. Our R&D expenditure during the year was Rs. 39 million (including Rs. 13 million on capital account) and will significantly increase in the current year. Our R&D centres are recognised by Department of Science and Technology, Government of India.

More Efficient and Competitive

While we are investing for the future, we are determined to make Wipro leaner, more competitive and more intensely focussed in the businesses we are in. We will contain growth in costs and expenses and further delegate decision making. In 1988-89 the people of Wipro will be called upon to work harder, faster and smarter than ever before in their careers.

Outlook

We continue to invest for the long term and we remain confident about the future of our industries and Wipro. Our five year goals remain:

- ★ Be industry leaders in all our product businesses – excel in value, customer service, technology and quality.
- ★ Achieve sales growth and profits significantly above industry averages.
- ★ Develop exports to be a net foreign exchange earner.
- ★ Be the most efficient and effective in everything we do – manufacturing, selling, servicing and administering.

Our prospect to achieve these goals must take into account our exceptional financial strength, our technology base and most of all our people. Our people are remarkable for their talents, their energies and their commitment to the enduring values and beliefs that have made Wipro successful.

Azim Hasham Premji
November 22, 1988

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Responsibility of the Press

QUITE apart from the other ramifications of how *The Times of India* featured the Ram Jethmalani charge seeking to link Sonia Gandhi and Satish Sharma to Svenska and Bofors, the newspaper itself later raised an important point. The charge has been refuted by Sharma, but the shock waves created by the treatment of the original report, as the lead story, are still reverberating in the world of politics and newspapers.

Simply put, the question boils down to the ethical responsibility of the press. Since revelations are now the stock in trade of an increasingly competitive Indian press, how can a newspaper safeguard its circulation figures while being responsible as a newspaper?

This is not an exclusive Indian problem, but looms large for the Indian press for two reasons. First, there is the country's peculiar political culture in an era of transition. Making charges—the more extravagant the better—has become a method of playing politics. Lawyers are evidently at an advantage in this brand of politics because they can make insinuations while remaining within the strict confines of law. And Jethmalani used his famed capacity for hogging the headlines by throwing a seemingly tasty morsel to the press even while protesting that he was not entirely certain about the veracity of the charges.

Second, our clogged legal system makes a mockery of justice in civil suits. An injured party in India, unlike in the West, does not have the assurance of seeking prompt redress for an injustice caused by a newspaper. It is not a question of the kind of laws on the statute book, but of the inability of the system to deliver justice in such cases within a reasonable time frame.

The issue assumes importance because it lends credence to the Government's constant complaints about the irresponsibility of the press, particularly in besmirching reputations without verifying charges. The more the press seems irresponsible, the greater will be the Government's success in convincing public opinion that it needs to be disciplined. In other words, the next time the Government brings forward a hold-all anti-defamation bill restricting freedom of the press, it will not evoke the kind of protests the last attempt did.

There are, of course, differences among newspapers. Similar treatment of the story in the *Indian Express* would not have attracted much attention. (Actually, the Express was far more restrained in featuring the report.) If a newspaper seeks to present itself as objective in its treatment of news reports, a slip-up of the dimension of the Jethmalani report is a grave infraction.

THE TIMES OF INDIA

Sonia, Satish linked to Svenska official

Jethmalani springs documents

Pak PM on Thursday

Splinter Babri panel forms action group

File returned to AP governor

The more the press seems irresponsible, the greater will be the Government's success in convincing public opinion that it needs to be disciplined.

However, *The Times of India* must be complimented for turning the light inward in posing the question of reconciling competitiveness with responsibility in the hoodlum age of Indian politics. Surely the fault lies with the press itself and relates to a whole complex of circumstances which apply, in varying degrees, to all newspapers in the country. In essence, the problem springs from our inability to exercise the rigorous control over what goes into a newspaper that is the hallmark of a quality publication.

Contrast the treatment of the Jethmalani story with the use *The Hindu* made of the Bofors documents it published in several of its issues. Each crop of documents was carefully analysed in accompanying reports and the charges made were confined to what the documents, read with the explanations, merited. The assumptions were explained in detail.

Let us take the Jethmalani charge and see how a responsible newspaper in the West would have dealt with it. Even on the basis of the statement made by Jethmalani, conditional as it was, it would have merited no more than a few paragraphs on an inside page. And the charge would have been accompanied by a staff report pointing out the obvious flaws in it. There would have been no question of using photocopies of the documents released by Jethmalani.

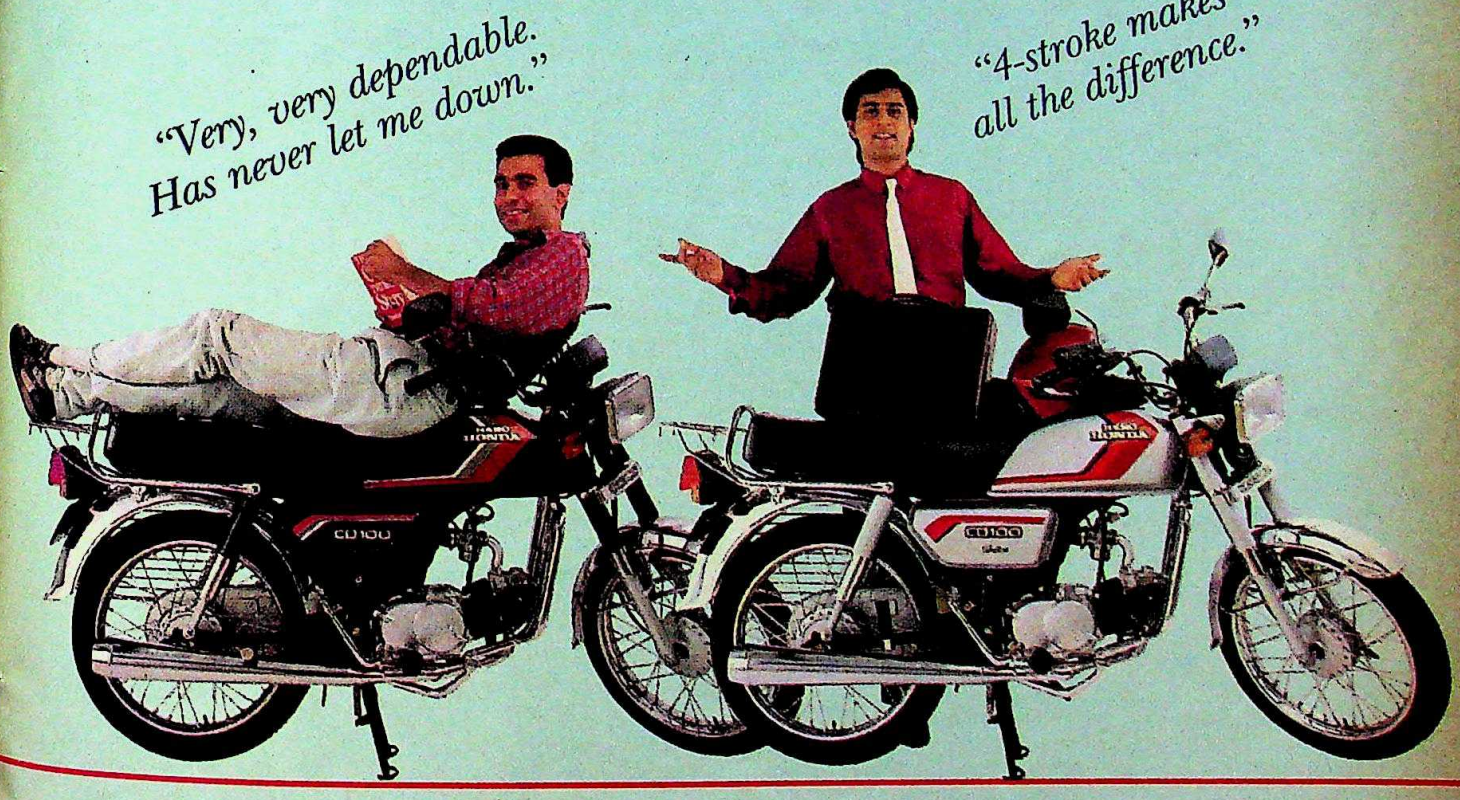
It is standard practice in the West that the chief of bureau, the man who heads the team of political correspondents, known in India by the appellation special, is alerted about any important news item, particularly one disseminated by a non-staff source. It enables him to judge whether an immediate follow-up is necessary and he can knock down a suspicious story. The editor is brought into the picture by the chief of bureau or the news editor if either thinks that a story merits the editor's attention. Thus several levels of control filter suspicious or planted stories and place others in perspective.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

You can't stop a man on a Hero Honda.

From talking.



When we launched the Hero Honda CD 100 in 1985, we knew it was a good thing. A fact confirmed by the owners.

Some are moved by the economy (80 km/litre*). Some by the easy maintenance. Others by the name of Honda. And all exult in the riding pleasure of India's only 4-stroke 100 cc bike. Honda engineering—Hero's choice.

In all, 200,000 happy owners, each with his own reason for feeling good. To all of you, we can say one thing. You've got a good thing going.

All said and done...

You've got a Good thing Going!

HERO HONDA

** At 40 kmph/130 kg*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

HTA 6171

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

With the introduction of new speciality fibres

GRASIM

once again revolutionises the Indian Textile Industry

GRASIRIB FIBRE

GRASIBOW FIBRE

GRASINEP FIBRE

Sobhagya-B/GI/88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

One of the world leaders in staple fibre production and technology, GRASIM, after relentless research has developed many speciality fibres. These are now revolutionising the textile scene in India.

Speciality fibres when blended even in small quantities of 5 to 20%, help spin versatile fancy yarns. These in turn, enable weavers to weave fascinating, trendy fabrics at an economic cost.

These fabrics are ideal for Indian climatic conditions and have a wonderful feel and captivating sheen. And they need no dyeing or finishing! Because of their inherent consumer appeal, these fabrics are helping rebuild the economic viability of the Indian Textile Industry.

GRASIM INDUSTRIES LTD.
Birlagram, Nagda-456 331 (M.P.)

GRASIM – Providing a big new thrust to Indian Textile Industry

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Love at first sight.

In an instant, you're enraptured. By a presence that's a perfect blend of body, mind and soul. And you want it, for the rest of your life. That's what Optonica does to you. The only TV that shows you everything in **Tru-Life Vision.**

Tru-Life Vision. A recreation of reality. Pictures made sharper by a **High Sensitivity Electronic Tuner.** Vibrant reproduction of natural colours ensured by a **Colour Decoder Circuit.** Accurate projection of natural shapes with **Auto Linearity Control.** Automatic contrast readjustment with **Optimatic Picture Control.**

All this, and more. More delightful, more dependable than other TV sets. The promise of a lifetime of viewing.

So look for the colour TV with **Tru-Life Vision.** Optonica. And remember, one look is all it takes.

OPTONICA

TRU-LIFE VISION...FOR THE REST OF YOUR LIFE!

Manufactured in India by KALYANI SHARP INDIA LTD.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Mudra:B:BF:5170

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AYODHYA

A Myth Exploded

Key loopholes in traditional Hindu claims

BIG plans are being chalked out by militant Hindu organisations to start erection of a grand temple at the controversial Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi site. They will launch the programme in January during the Mahakumbh festival in Allahabad. The two million pilgrims expected to visit the site will be asked to bring back a brick each to Ayodhya. "It is going to be the biggest mobilisation of the Hindu masses ever," boasted a leader of the Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Yagna Samiti from its south Delhi office.

But only a few kilometres away from the samiti office lies evidence which knocks the bottom out of the claims that the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi site is actually the birth place of mythical Ram. In a damp, dimly lit room in the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) office in the precincts of Purana Qila, former ASI director, B.B. Lal, sits sifting thousands of tell-tale antiques from Ayodhya.

The preliminary conclusion: there is little probability of Ram having been born in Kaushalya's palace—the present controversial site of the Babri Masjid. An 11-metre trench dug right behind the existing building *(see photograph)* does not suggest ruins of any palatial structure. There were only pieces of earthenware dating from the 2nd to the 7th century B.C.

Militant Hindu ideologues insist that Ram was born in Kaushalya's palace in *treta yug* at the same spot where Babar's lieutenant Mir Baqi built a mosque.

The excavation results have now questioned that claim. Babri Masjid Action Committee convenor, Syed Shahabuddin, has already written to the Government to expedite the report's publication. But the Government, in a no-win situation, is keeping the ASI findings under wraps.

Said Ashok Singhal, a leader of the samiti: "The report is concocted. Its publication will be in bad taste." The final report meanwhile is still being drafted.

Under its project 'Archaeology of the Ramayan Sites', the ASI experts worked for 13 years in five cities mentioned in Valmiki's *Ramayan*. They were Ayodhya, Nandigrama, Sringaverapura, Bhardwaja Ashram and Chitrakoot. The gist of the research questions the traditional Hindu claims on two key points:

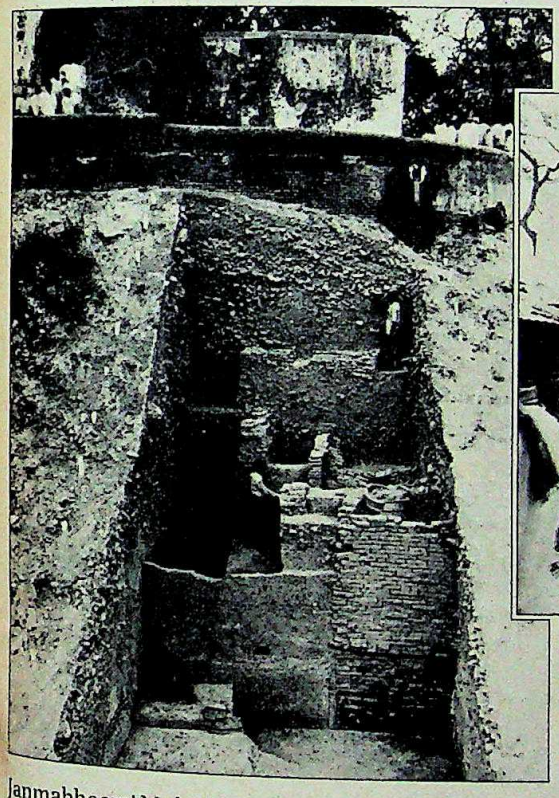
► According to mythology the Ramayan dates back to before the time of Mahabharat. And Mahabharat events, historians say, took place somewhere between 900 and 3201 B.C. Lal's earlier research and carbon dating tests established the occurrence of Mahabharat somewhere in the 9th century B.C. But the earliest human settlement in Ayodhya was traced only to 7th century B.C.

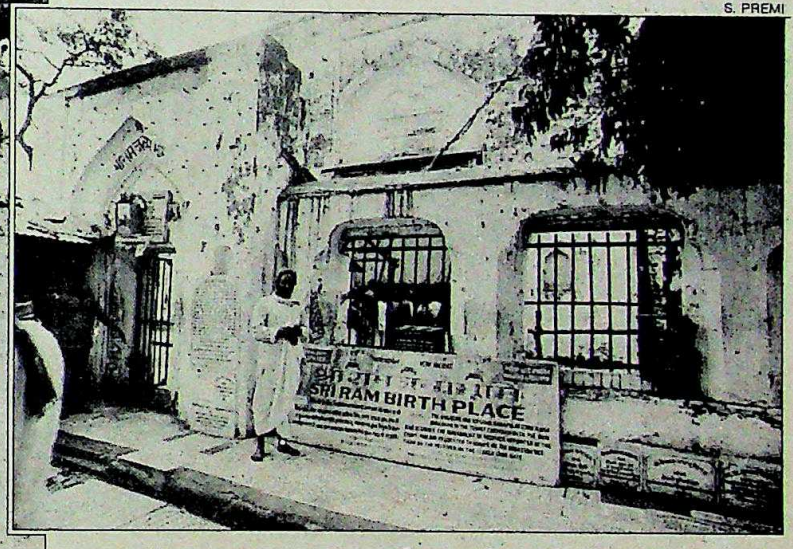
► Hindus claim that the temple was built by Vikramaditya who ruled during the Gupta period. But in the 14 sites excavated in Ayodhya no figurines of Ram were found.

Singhal also argued that the actual Ayodhya ruled by Ram was washed away in the Saryu floods. But archaeologists have ruled out such a possibility.

Lal, in a recent research paper for the Indian Council for Historical Research, has established that the cities mentioned in Mahabharat came into existence before those named in Ramayan. The literary evidence relied upon by the devout—and propagated by the television serials—therefore suffers from basic inaccuracies. On this issue Lal also came into confrontation with the Ayodhya priests. Said he: "I flatly told them that either they agree to accept that there were no *pushpak vimaan* or multi-wheeled carriages at that time, or leave the matter to the excavation results." But scientific evidence is hardly likely to deter the enthusiasts behind the Ram Janmabhoomi Mukti Yagna Samiti. The myth is so strong, it threatens to overtake reality.

—PANKAJ PACHAURI





S. PREMI

Excavations at Ayodhya; and the shrine: disputed site

New excavations show that there is little probability of Ram's birth in Kaushalya's palace, the present controversial site of the Babri Masjid.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT

The Russian Invasion

The 120-seat Yak 42 being bought by Vayudoot: a fuel guzzler but cheap

THE year is 1995 and a strange, new scenario unfolds on the civil aviation front. A small, two-engined An 28 turbo-prop Vayudoot plane disgorges 17 passengers at Silchar Airport after a flight from Aizawl. The passengers then transfer to a three-engined Yak 42 jet aircraft sporting Vayudoot's blue and white stripe for the two-hour flight from Silchar to Calcutta.

On the tarmac at Calcutta airport, a modern Tu 204 twin-jet carrying Indian Airlines' distinctive orange logo slowly fills up with 214 passengers for the flight to Delhi. A few hours after landing in Delhi some of the passengers who left Aizawl earlier in the day, board a large wide-bodied, four-engine Il 96 aircraft for a non-stop Air-India flight to Europe.

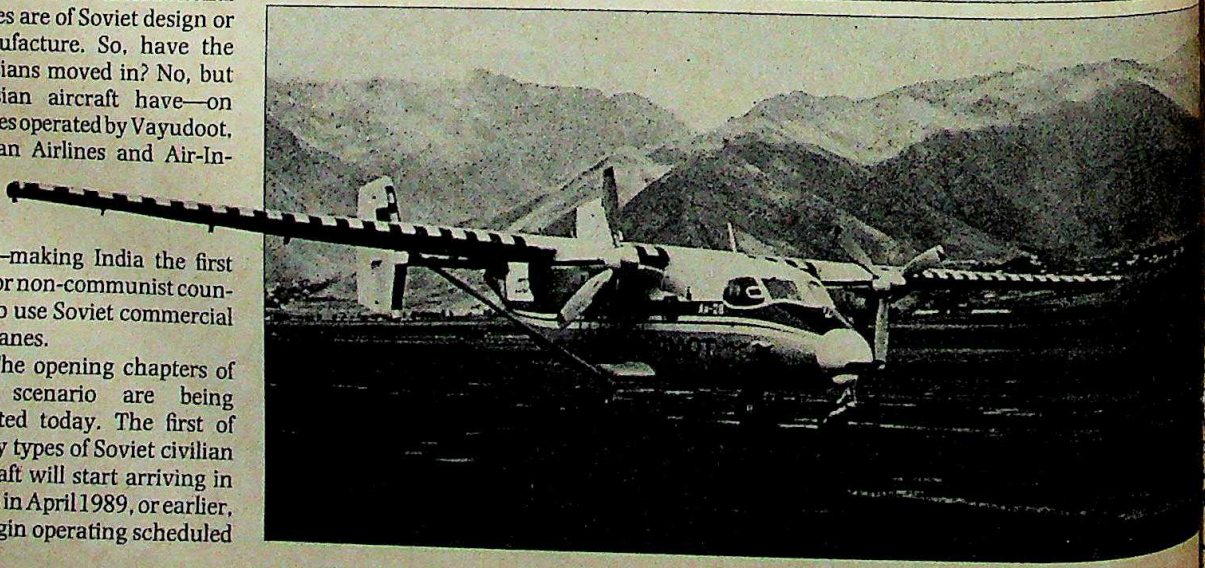
There is nothing unusual about these flights, except the aircraft: all four types of aeroplanes used on commuter, domestic trunk and international routes are of Soviet design or manufacture. So, have the Russians moved in? No, but Russian aircraft have—on routes operated by Vayudoot, Indian Airlines and Air-India—making India the first major non-communist country to use Soviet commercial airplanes.

The opening chapters of this scenario are being scripted today. The first of many types of Soviet civilian aircraft will start arriving in India in April 1989, or earlier, to begin operating scheduled airline services. Vayudoot has signed a purchase agreement for two Yak 42 aircraft, and taken an option on two more. It is now studying the An 28 as a replacement for the Dornier which, it feels, is priced too high. (The small An 28 feeder liner has been designed by the Soviets and is being manufactured under licence in Poland.) Not to be outdone, Indian Airlines is evaluating the futuristic Tu 204 aircraft for its domestic network. And Air-India is looking hopefully towards the Il 96 which it has found suitable for its long-range, medium-capacity routes.

As news of the unfolding Soviet aviation coup breaks out, Boeing and Airbus, which have dominated the commercial airliner market in India as in the rest of the non-communist world, may well go around shouting: "The Russians are coming, the Russians are coming." They definitely are. S.K. Misra, the normally reticent secretary of Tourism and Civil Aviation sketched for INDIA TODAY the outlines of the Soviet aircraft package India, Misra said, had agreed "in principle" to:

- buy 10 Tu 204s for Indian Airlines subject to price negotiations;
- lease immediately two or three Tu 154s to overcome Indian Airlines' capacity shortage;

The An 28: possibly the new workhorse of the Vayudoot network



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

▶ consider, for a start, acquiring two Il 96 aircraft which Air-India finds suitable for its long-range medium capacity routes;

▶ co-produce the small An 28 turboprop in India subject to the condition that the Soviet Union accepts responsibility for marketing aircraft left over after meeting India's requirements;

▶ consider acquiring about 10 Mi 17 helicopters (22-seaters) for use in the hilly regions of Kashmir, the North-east and Himachal Pradesh where the performance of the Westland W 30 had been found wanting.

The only hitch is that the Mi 17 helicopter is not certified for civilian operation. But that problem can be got around. Misra said he had asked the director-general of civil aviation to examine whether the chopper could be certified for civilian use. "We are not sold on Soviet aircraft. We want good planes wherever available and the Russian aircraft are available on rupee payment on long-term credit with a low rate of interest."

Both India and the Soviet Union stand to benefit from the deal. For India, the most important consideration apart from the fact that payment can be made in rupees is that the Soviet aircraft cost a fraction of what similar western aircraft would cost. The 120-seater Yak 42, for instance, is in the same class as the Boeing 737, the workhorse of the Indian Airlines fleet. The Yak 42 will cost Vayudoot Rs 15.5 crore compared to Rs 26 crore for the Boeing 737. Its three engines guzzle more fuel than the two-engine Boeing, Vayudoot officials say. The fuel cost works out to be Rs 4,000 more per hour. But when the lower capital cost of the Yak 42, long-term credit facility and low interest and depreciation charges are taken into account, the advantage shifts in favour of the Yak 42. The overall operating cost works out to Rs 45,000 an hour against Rs 49,000 an hour for the Boeing 737. Similarly, the capital cost of the An 28 is only about Rs 1.7 crore compared with over Rs 6 crore for the Dornier.

If all the planned acquisitions go through, Indian skies will become a show window for the Soviet commercial aircraft industry which has so far sold only to East Europe, Cuba and some African nations. Apart from the showcase factor, the Soviet Union is not underestimating the importance of the growing Indian market for all types of passenger aircraft. For example, if Vayudoot opts for the An 28, it will buy a hundred of these small planes in the next five years, including 30 in the first three years, says Vayudoot Managing Director Harsh Vardhan. "The market is ready for a large induction of aircraft," says Vardhan alluding to the Civil Aviation Ministry's policy decision to set up air links between all district headquarters and state capitals within five years. Vayudoot will then be expected to connect 400 cities in five years. The only aircraft which is a competitor to the An 28 is the Czechoslovakian L-410 which is also available on rupee payment at Rs 2.2 crore per plane. But the Russians have an edge as they have offered to extend the fuselage of the An 28 to meet India's requirement of a 27 seater.

The purchase of the Tu 204 by Indian Airlines will open up a huge market for the Soviet aviation industry's most sophisticated commercial jet.

The 214-seat Tu 204 being considered by Indian Airlines: a competitor for A-320

Vayudoot won't be the only airline that will be investing heavily in aircraft. In the next five years Air-India needs at least 12 aircraft of the Il 96 class. And the way domestic traffic is growing—at a rate of 12 per cent annually—Indian Airlines' likely order of 10 Tu 204s could prove to be just the beginning of a large series of orders. Misra says the Tu 204s will be in addition to the 19 Airbus A-320s that Indian Airlines expects to start receiving by mid-1989 and the 12 more that it wants to purchase. But since the Planning Commission is holding back permission for the 12 additional A-320s, it is likely that the rupee-bought Soviet Tu 204s will take their place. That will open up a huge new market for what is being touted as the Soviet aviation industry's most sophisticated commercial jet. There is also a huge market for helicopters of the Mi 17 type that can be used at high altitudes. Misra says his ministry has decided not to build airstrips in the hilly areas for fixed wing aircraft. Instead these areas will be airlinked quickly by helicopters.

This is not the first time that Soviet aircraft have been considered for purchase and lease by India. What has made the difference this time is the fancy package of incentives offered by the Russians to offset some of the drawbacks of their aircraft, such as heavy fuel consumption. Soviet civilian aircraft, which have traditionally been derived from planes designed for military use, are sturdy but notorious gas guzzlers. This factor alone knocked Soviet planes out of the competition after the steep fuel price hikes of the mid-'70s.

After fuel prices stabilised, the inflation-linked capital cost of western aircraft rose steeply. Taking advantage of this situation, the Soviets are edging back into the reckoning by using a two-pronged strategy. They have quoted low prices for their planes and in some cases have offered to supply fuel at their own rates. For example, for the Tu 154s which Indian Airlines plans to lease, the Soviets have offered to supply fuel at their own domestic rates, which are about half those in India. The leased aircraft should be in operation in India by February 1989, says Misra. Similarly there is a buy-back clause

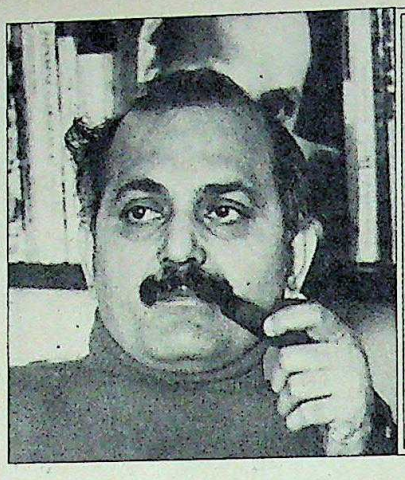
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in the purchase agreement signed by Vayudoot for the Yak 42s. The Soviets have agreed to buy the aircraft back after three years in case Vayudoot decides not to keep them.

Though flown by Vayudoot crew, the Yak 42s will be maintained by a team of Soviet technicians to be stationed in India for 18 months. "We are examining the feasibility of operating these jets in the North-east—on the Calcutta-Agartala, Guwahati-Agartala, Guwahati-Silchar and Calcutta-Dimapur-Imphal routes, besides on the Calcutta-Bombay, Delhi-Bombay and Calcutta-Port Blair routes," Vardhan revealed. On all these routes, the plane's operations would break even at load factors ranging between 69 and 75 per cent.

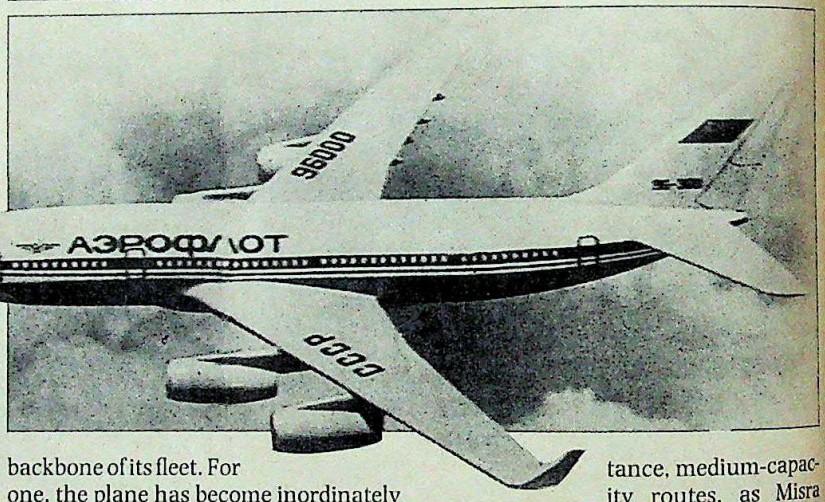
By taking the initiative in arranging negotiations with Soviet manufacturers, the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation appears to have decided to play a more active role in the functioning of its three public sector airlines. This is the result of criticism that the ministry sat back and did nothing as Indian Airlines floundered in a sea of mismanagement and Air-India remained stalemated in a confrontation between the management and the unions. The ministry's respect for the airlines' autonomy appears to have been interpreted as a sign of weakness so the ministry is now intervening. "This is the Government's initiative to augment capacity," Misra asserted.



"We are not sold on Soviet aircraft. We want good planes wherever available and the Russian aircraft are available on rupee payment on long-term credit at low interest."

S.K. MISRA
secretary, Tourism and Civil Aviation Ministry

The 250-seat Il 96: the answer for Air-India's long-distance routes?



THE Government's new interest in Soviet civil aviation equipment will come as very distressing news for western manufacturers, who have traditionally supplied the bulk of India's passenger aircraft. An Indian Airlines' purchase of 10 Tu 204s, on the heels of 19 Airbus A-320s, will sound the death-knell for the Boeing company whose 737s presently form the backbone of the Indian Airlines fleet. This would mean that for the foreseeable future Boeing will be cut out of the domestic aviation market in India as Indian Airlines progressively phases out the old 737s. The Tu purchase will also hit Airbus Industrie which is still hoping for government approval for the Indian Airlines proposal to acquire another 12 A-320s.

And if Vayudoot signs a large order for the An 28 or an agreement to produce the plane in India, it could mark the beginning of the end of the Dornier manufacturing programme in India. Vayudoot has in the past two years made no bones about its grievance against the plane which was supposed to form the backbone of its fleet. For one, the plane has become inordinately expensive. The first Dorniers bought in fly-away condition from West Germany, cost Vayudoot only Rs 2.57 crore a piece. But with the sharp appreciation of the deutschmark, the cost of imported components went up, as also financing charges. After adding sales tax and excise duty the cost of a HAL-manufactured Dornier now comes to well over Rs 6 crore. That apart, the manufacturers of the Dornier engine were involved in an unseemly squabble with Vayudoot over the latter's maintenance practices. All these factors contributed to Vayudoot's disillusionment with the Dornier. The arrival of the An 28s would be the kiss of death for the 19-seater German commuter plane.

For Air-India too, the offer of rupee payment for the long-distance Il 96 may be too good to resist. Soviet aircraft are no strangers to Air-India. It has been operating a wet-leased Il 62 (flown by Russian crew) on the India-Moscow sector for almost a year. And if the airline certifies that the new Il 96 is suitable and economically viable for the long-distance, medium-capacity routes, as Misra says it has, then there is no problem. But problems could arise if Air-India is forced by a political decision into buying an aircraft which does not really meet its requirements. This was what happened three years ago when Air-India bought two-engine planes to fly, among others, the Bombay-Nairobi, Bombay-Mauritius and Delhi-Moscow routes, only to discover that the plane was not really suited for such operations.

But the Soviets too have begun to design their planes with international sales in mind. The Indian experience with the Yak 42, the leased Tu 154s and the Tu 204s and Air-India's Il 96s, will show whether these planes can actually withstand open competition with western rivals. If they do succeed then Soviet civilian aircraft would have won the acceptability in the international aircraft market that the Soviets are looking for. That would make the deal equally profitable for both sides. And the Russians would have arrived on the international civil aviation scene.

—RAMINDAR SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Racold

WATER HEATERS

Brighten your life with a splash of colour

Fresh and exciting, warm and inviting — beautiful shades that give your bathrooms that extra elegance.
PLUS THE ABSOLUTE SAFETY THAT ONLY RACOLD CAN GIVE.
Available in a wide range of sizes to suit your exact needs.

Racold
APPLIANCES LTD.

Dattaram/RAL/18-88

★ Bombay-Pune Road, Pimpri, PUNE-411 018 ★ 17, 1st Pasta Lane, Colaba, BOMBAY-400 005 ★ 'Vandhna' II Floor, 11, Tolstoy Marg, NEW DELHI - 110 001.

● AHMEDABAD — 20158 ● AMRITSAR — 41059 ● BANGALORE — 258905 ● BHOPAL — 61484 ● BOMBAY — 224742 ● CALCUTTA — 268376
● CHANDIGARH — 45861 ● COIMBATORE — 31804 ● DEHRADUN — 25588 ● ERNAKULAM — 362904 ● GOA — 22591 ● HYDERABAD — 46282
● INDORE — 34179 ● JAIPUR — 77216 ● JAMSHEDPUR — 28979 ● KANPUR — 210427 ● KATHMANDU — 220429 ● MADRAS — 581077
● NAGPUR — 24310 ● NASIK — 72211 ● NEW DELHI — 3312377 ● PUNE — 82944/45 ● RANCHI — 20471 ● SHIMLA — 3462 ● SRINAGAR — 71030

IS:2082 Racold WATER HEATERS - The trusted name in home appliances

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INTRODUCING A RED ALERT TODAY SO GAS

Today, air pollution is more than a fashionable concern. It's an offence punishable by law in a few states already. And soon, it will be so in several more states, too.

Because clean air is vanishing fast in your city today. And every badly maintained fuel driven vehicle spewing toxic matter is hastening its sad exit. And our lack of concern does not lighten our burden of guilt.

So care for your vehicle a little more. Control it toxic emission level. Starting today. Because we do nee clean air. As much as we don't need gas masks to breath through, tomorrow.

To help you and clean air, MICO is organising Emission Checks in the following cities. For you

everest/S88/205

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GASMASKS NEEDN'T BE INTRODUCED TOMORROW.

...icle. Free. Look up your local newspaper for dates ...venues. And drive in. To help bring back clean air. FREE EMISSION CHECKS at Ahmedabad, ...baneshwar, Calcutta, Chandigarh, Coimbatore, ...hi, Ernakulam, Indore, Jaipur, Kanpur, Lucknow, ...durai, Nagpur, Patna, Pune and Secunderabad.

...ring Back Clean Air

MICO

LICENCE BOSCH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The transport industry's most inexpensive business insurance.

Transport vehicles are hard workers. Heavy loads over long hauls are part of their daily lives. Over-heating and excessive wear are the major hazards they face.

That's why the lubricant in a heavy duty transport vehicle often spells the difference between up-time and down-time, between long life and early death.

Your vehicle is your investment. Protect it with the most advanced lubricant available – VEEDOL. From Tide Water. You can't afford anything less.

TIDE WATER OIL CO. (INDIA) LTD.
(A member of the Andrew Yule Group)
CALCUTTA ■ BOMBAY ■ DELHI ■ MADRAS

Performance Oils. Nothing less.

ARMS-TW-V-46

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ASLV

Damning Findings

Review committees raise troubling questions

As the pencil-thin rocket blasted off from the Thumba launchpad near Trivandrum in November to mark the silver jubilee of India's space programme, only a mild cheer broke out from the scientists assembled there. The mood was in a way reflective of the sagging morale of the once blue-eyed Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO).

It was not just the second failure of the Augmented Satellite Launch Vehicle (ASLV) in July that was the cause of much of the gloom. More important were reports of the stunning evidence that two review committees going into the rocket's failure were coming up with. Among the damning facts emerging was that space scientists in charge of the programme did not seem to know enough about rocket flight management or about the aerodynamic pressures acting on the rocket.

The four-stage ASLV, which was to place a satellite in low orbit, had lifted off perfectly from Sriharikota in Andhra Pradesh. But 54 seconds later it broke up and plunged into the Bay of Bengal leaving only a trail of tell-tale smoke. Soon after that two review teams were set up. One called the Failure Analysis Committee, headed by Dr S.C. Gupta, director of the Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre, the ISRO rocket manufacturing division at Trivandrum, was to find out what went wrong and suggest rectifications for the technical snags. And the other, the Experts Review Panel, headed by Professor R. Narasimha, director of the National Aeronautical Research Laboratory, Bangalore was to make recommendations on the development of launch vehicle technology.

Though the final reports of both committees are yet to be made public, enquiries by INDIA TODAY reveal that several key technologies seemed to have failed. Among the most crucial is the Closed Loop Guidance System, an on-board computer which acts like an auto-pilot and corrects deviations from the charted flight path.

There seemed to be several indications that the guidance system was not functioning well. The review committees found that there was poor control of the launch vehicle at the critical transition stage when the two strap-on boosters (which provide the powerful thrust required at lift-off) are ejected and the next stage rocket is ignited.

That control is crucial because during this period the load on the rocket is maximum due to air pressure as well as the thrust exerted on the rocket when the strap-on boosters are being jettisoned. Loss of control at this stage makes the rocket veer to one side and break up.

That this was happening was confirmed by several other findings by the committee. Photographs and flight data analysis showed that the rocket tilted to one side about 39 seconds after lift-off and continued to move that way until 50.5 seconds when it broke up below the equipment bay. The heat shield and the satellite too sheared off.

Worse, the committee found that there was a total absence of control between 48.6 and 49.1 seconds after lift-off. This half a second is part of the critical phase when the rocket is subjected to what is called the maximum dynamic pressure or load. And though the next stage rocket did ignite as planned, with the control force being absent the rocket failed.

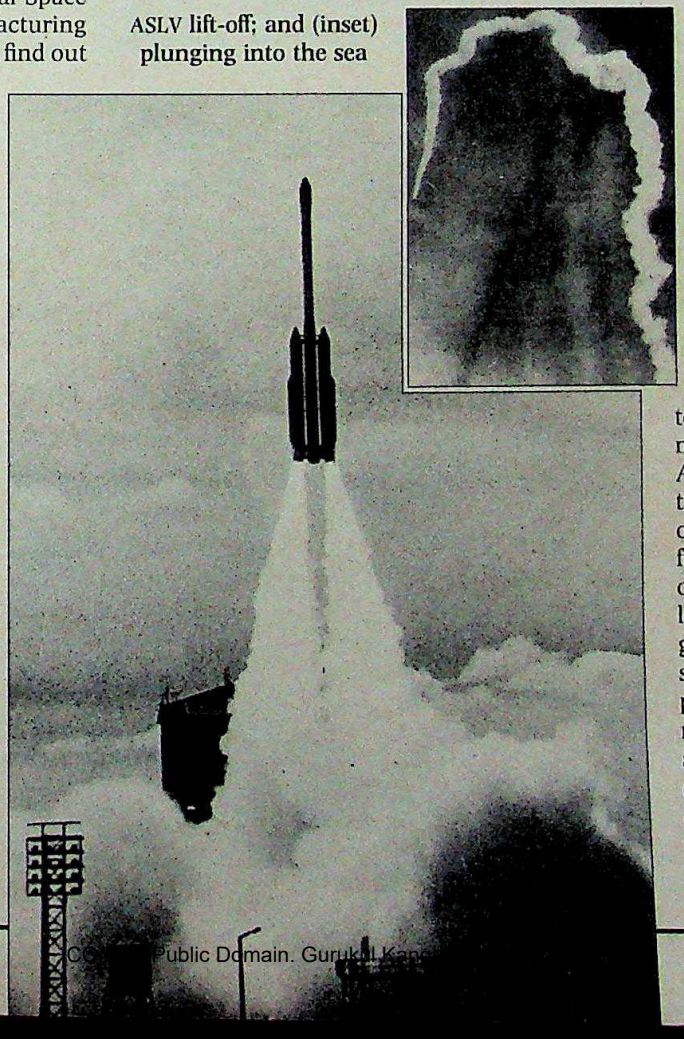
As troubling was the fact that some of the problems could have been caused by a dramatic change in wind direction from east to west at a height of 11 kms 38 seconds after lift-off. This may have disturbed the spacecraft. Strangely, despite building such a sophisticated rocket no attempt was made to check the wind forces operating just before lift-off.

What these findings also show is that preparations for the launch were woefully inadequate. A senior launch vehicle specialist revealed: "All this did not show up in the pre-flight simulations due to insufficient computer modelling and data." He adds that the first flight last year did not show similar errors due to less severe conditions and longer burning of the strap-on motors. (In the first flight in March 1987, the failure was pinpointed to faulty ignition systems in the first stage).

Some improvements were made after the lessons learnt from the first flight. Nevertheless, several ISRO scientists admit that the ISRO knew about other weaknesses but ignored them in its eagerness to launch the vehicle. So shaken are the scientists that they now want a national commission of experts independent of the space programme to review ISRO's launch vehicle programme and come out with radical solutions.

With these damning findings two things became clear: ISRO is yet to perfect the guidance system that would dominate its next generation of rockets. And it hasn't fully mastered the strap-on booster technology, another feature vital to future launch vehicle development. And these are hard lessons for a space programme hamstrung for resources and time. While preparations for a third launch now scheduled for April 1990 are on, ISRO's rocket-building capabilities are seriously under question.

—AMARNATH K. MENON
in Bangalore and Trivandrum



ASLV lift-off; and (inset) plunging into the sea

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kan

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BOMBAY

Utsav Time

Readying for festivals

CHAMPAGNE *and pau bhaji*...together the two faces of Bombay will be on public display as the metropolitan tries to go down both the high and the low roads.

The high road is hi-tech and leads to pastures French: the Festival of France in India opens with a big electronic bang on Chowpatty Beach on February 4.

But first the other road, down ethnic paths. It is utsav time again. In 1986 the multi-crore Apna Utsav raged through Delhi and then subsided under a torrent of criticism and some backlash of praise. Now the Indian troupe comprising 3,500 people is on the road to Bombay for the 17-day festival which Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will inaugurate on January 7. (He'll probably return to pull down the shutters as well.)

The question is where. In Bombay, it has been difficult to get an inaugural site. The city's priorities are clear: cricket comes first. Thus, neither the Oval Maidan nor the more upmarket Wankhede Stadium was available. Nor has the Shiv Sena-run municipal corporation extended a helping hand.

The caravan will move through 49 towns of Maharashtra and its avowed purpose is to awaken the dormant cultural roots. But the haste with which the utsav has been sprung on Maharashtra is disconcerting—the festival office was set up as late as October.

But miracles are expected for the second coming of Apna Utsav. Alladin's lamp is sorely needed to house close to 5,000 people for over a fortnight. A plywood-and-cloth city spread over 80 acres in the middle of the vast Aarey Milk Colony in Bombay suburbs is being midwifed. The Bombaywallah does not want to repeat the mistakes of Delhi where many artistes had to battle with the northern winter in tents. Hence the jute mat flooring and Sulabh toilets. Proximity to the film city and the vast complex of studios also helps to plan the setting on an epic scale.

Hardly would the dust have settled down after the utsav bandwagons roll out of the metropolis than the French and their laser machines will move in. The Napoleon-in-the-French seems to be peeping out. There are grand designs behind the cultural invasion which will occupy every possible surface, including the sky and the sea. The encounter, as the inaugural is called, will cover the entire Marine Drive with laser machines mounted atop Air-India building.

Footprints will stamp the sky, in addition to other heavenly games. Video clocks will descend into a wall of water (constructed with computer-controlled fountains on Chowpatty Beach). Computer graphics will do their writing on this wall of water. Lasers will make gigantic designs on the skyscrapers of Nariman Point while seven groups of barges, anchored in the Arabian Sea, are to be the launching pads for mortar-fired fireworks. Six giant screens have been erected on the beach for simultaneous transmission. The Indian Navy has offered to store the crackers and their helicopters will also be used to plonk those laser machines on top of Air-India building. And watching Marine Drive metamorphose under the wand of French state-of-the-art technology will be French President Francois Mitterand and Rajiv.

The bag of French goodies is rather mixed, culture and science being present in almost equally large measures. But it is obvious that the French want to make it a big bang. Hence the electronic fantasy on the opening night and a French mela. They are trying to out-mela the Indians: there will be a fete and an assortment of folklore. They also have a centenary to offer to an India which is in the middle of a centenary binge: the bicentenary of the French Revolution conveniently dovetails into the birth centenary of Jawaharlal Nehru.

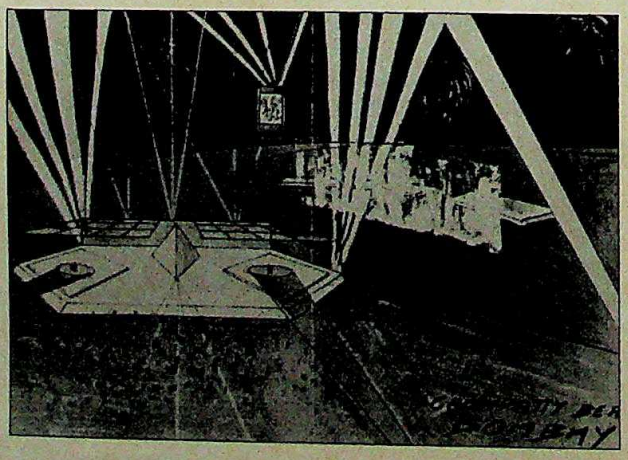
'Modern' appears to be the keyword of the festival, which later winds its way to other cities. Coming to India is the top rock group Indo-Chine and several jazz groups, an exhibition on the history of fashion, as well as science exhibitions and a display of contemporary architecture. The French are also sending a large exhibition of modern French art, entitled "Birth and Life of Modernity."

The exhibition of about 90 paintings and a handful of sculpture begins with the impressionists and representing fauvism, cubism, surrealism and dadaism ends with the period just after the war. No *Mona Lisa* (alas, she's Italian) but there will be several Picassos, Monets, Renoirs and Matisses. The *piece de resistance* will be the world premiere of Peter Brook's five-and-a-half-hour film, *Mahabharat*. The nine-hour play on the same theme, staged all over the West, is finally making its passage to India, even if in another form.

—MADHU JAIN in Bombay

Utsav performance; (bottom) artist's vision of the laser fantasy in Bombay

The cultural caravan will move through 49 towns of Maharashtra with the avowed purpose of awakening dormant cultural roots.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Videorama

Videorama – India's first projection Television — comes to you from Central Electronics Ltd, in technical association with ITT, West Germany.

Let us face it, there is no better way to bring a picture alive than Videorama. Advantages of this high-technology are totally beyond compare-big screen image, great quality, versatility-and make Videorama a natural for many fronts :

Entertainment Front

On Videorama, you can watch Doordarshan telecasts as also live performances on closed circuit and programmes from VCR/VCP. It is a delectably different experience, with a rich 30 watt audio complementing the big screen image.

Corporate Front

Videorama is reckoned by opinion leaders as the simplest answer to the complicated communication problems of the corporate world. Be it a training session, a company presentation or a sales meet, Videorama can nail home the point with the ease of a professional performer. Videorama is the most versatile Corporate Communication equipment there is!

Media Front

Videorama is exceptional as a mass communication media. With vital rural development programmes in force now — such as adult education, birth control, mass immunisation, cleanliness drive, teaching of latest agricultural techniques — the indispensibility of Videorama becomes apparent.

Please send me more details/your representative at the following address:

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Tel. (Res.) ..... *(Off.)* .....

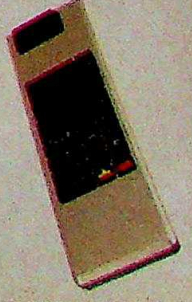
It's got your kind of action!

CEL PROJECTION TV

Regional Sales Office : 781 D.B. Gupta Road, Karol Bagh, New Delhi-110005 Ph : 526836 Telex : CEL IN 031-66945

Distributor :

Central Sales Corporation 173, Defence Colony, Flyover Market, New Delhi-110024 Ph : 615814, 698364,



For further details Please Contact :
Marketing Division (Systems)

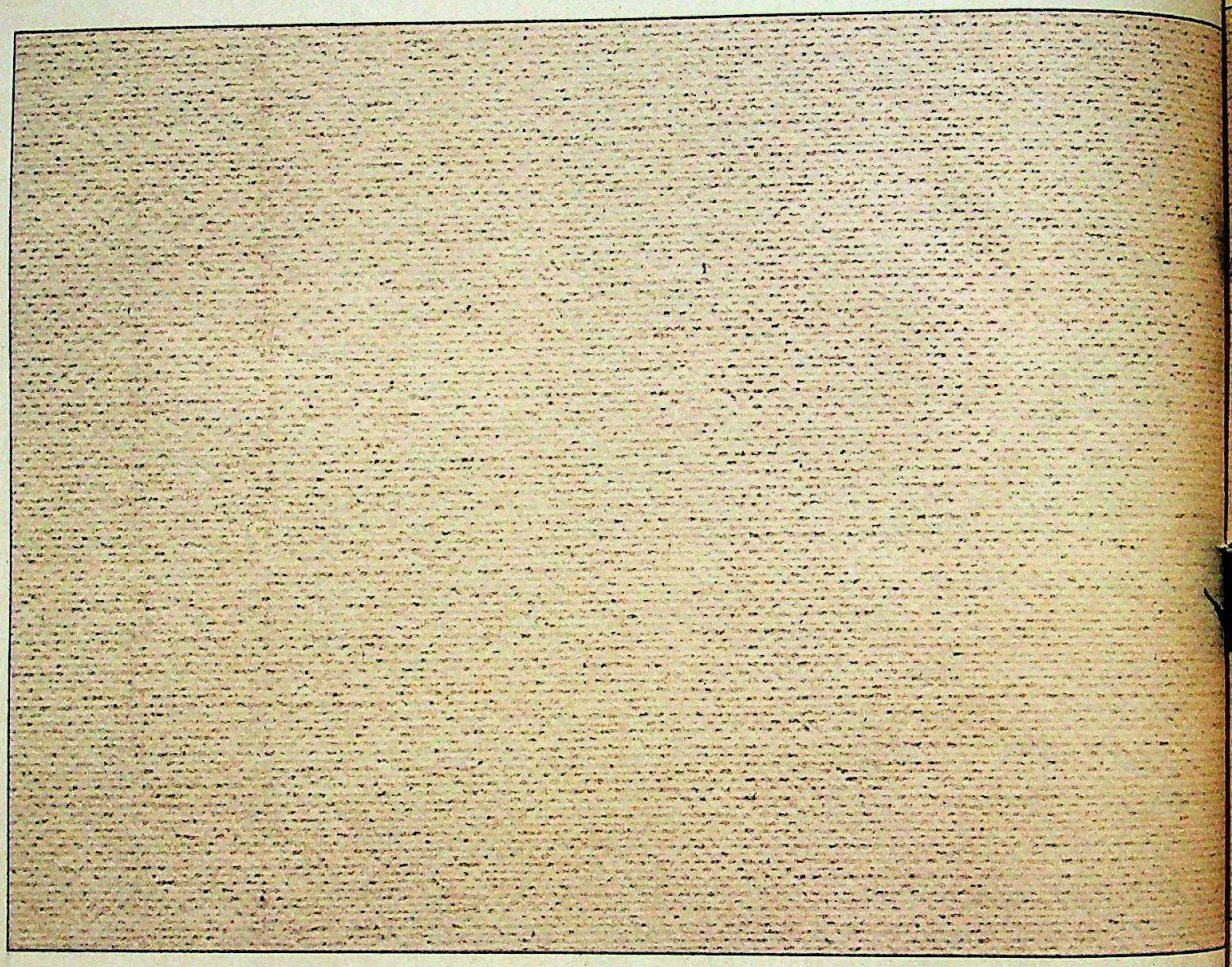
CENTRAL ELECTRONICS LIMITED

A Govt. of India (DSIR) Enterprise
4-Industrial Area, Sahibabad (U.P.) 201 010
Telex : CEL IN 0592-203 Ph : 869320

INTERADS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"A change of art.

That's what you'll discover at Air-India now.

Because I've made changes that fulfil your changing needs as an air traveller.

For instance, I've pulled out the stops on most routes.

To give you more nonstops than any other airline.

To London. To Frankfurt, the business gateway to Europe. To Rome. To Amsterdam. To Paris. To Tokyo. And to the Gulf.

For business travellers I've introduced the Snoozers.

Special flights with convenient night departu and early morning arrivals.

So that you arrive rested and ready for busi

And the daily New York Whizzer.

The fastest flight out of India, with just one s at London.

I've also stretched my upper decks and I'm adding to my fleet.

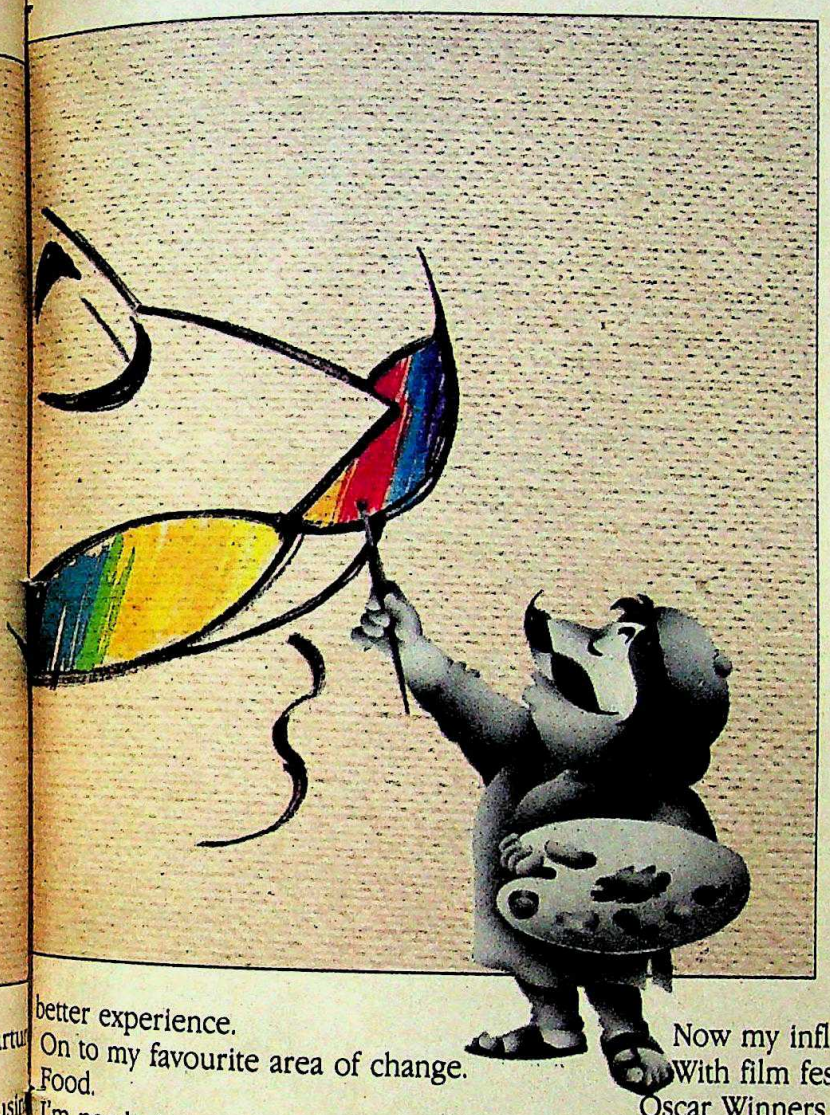
Which means more business class seats with an emphasis on comfort.

My Maharajah and Executive lounges in mos cities have also been refurbished to make relax

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Look now, I'm changing!"



better experience.
On to my favourite area of change.
Food.
I'm pandering to your many discerning tastes.
For Bacchus, I bring the best from the cellars of Frankhof Kellerai.
For the gourmet, a choice of menus.
Light Continental – specially created in consultation with Steigenberger – internationally renowned restaurateurs.
And for the ethnic epicure, wondrous and hearty Indian delights.

Now my inflight entertainment is also nonstop.
With film festivals that feature The Great Classics. Oscar Winners. Best of Broadway. Best of Hollywood and Indian directors.

Audio channels boast a repertoire of pop, Western and Indian classical, ghazals, jazz and a very special programme for kids.

There are lucky seat surprises, and inflight shopping for nonstop shoppers.

Now come aboard Air-India.
You'll love the new picture."

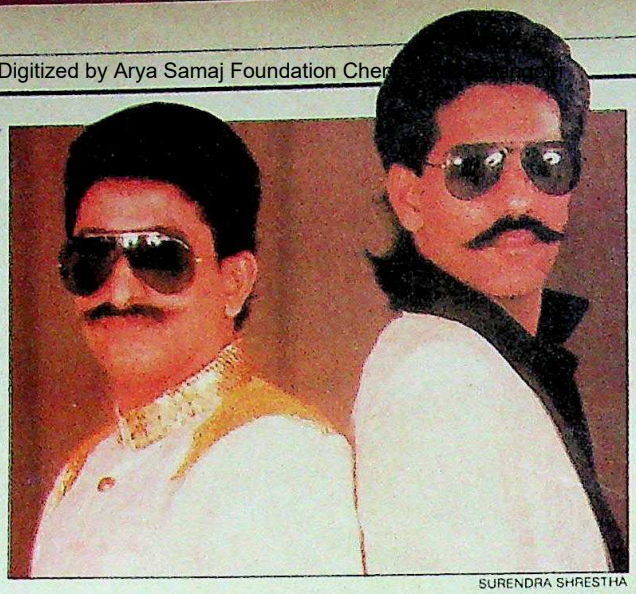
AIR-INDIA

HTA 2322 R

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chen

◆ They've struck a patriotic pitch. **Joe Alvares** and **Kenneth D'Souza** of the Bombay music group, India, did the country proud when two numbers from their album, *Allegiance*, were nominated for the prestigious US Dove Award, rated as the Grammy of gospel music. Alvares has also been invited to sing at the week-long gospel music festival before the awards ceremony early this year. "Just imagine playing in Nashville with 2.5 million people watching you on TV!" gushed the 35-year-old businessman. His message is catching. Air-India has included his patriotic number, *Our India*, in its in-flight entertainment repertoire.



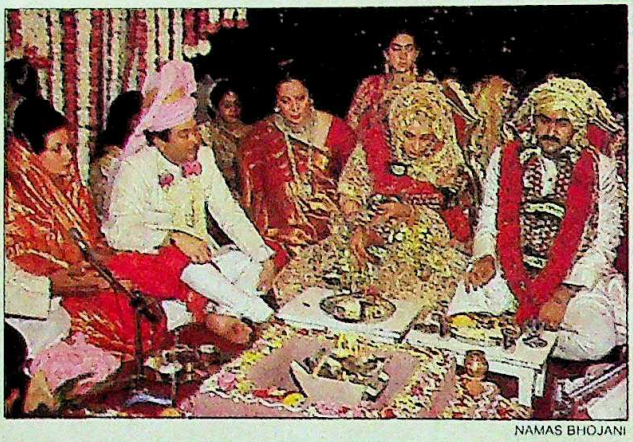
SURENDRA SHRESTHA

Alvares and D'Souza: gospel glitter

◆ In most Indians he brings out the spleen, yet they proudly claim him their own. **V.S. Naipaul**, widely rated the greatest living writer in English, may be adding to his already sizeable oeuvre. In Bombay last week, Naipaul, with typical writer's instinct for material, made a date to attend a prostitutes' rally in notorious Kamathipura. The prostitutes did not know what hit them; nor did Naipaul. Reporters and photographers stormed the rally, forcing him to flee. But not before being garlanded by Rukminibai Bansode, the prostitutes leader. Protested Naipaul: "I came to observe. I am not part of the story, I am not part of this adventure."

DURGA PRASAD

Naipaul: professional hazards



NAMAS BHOJANI

Reema and Manoj: tears and joy

BHAWAN SINGH

Rostropovich and Pavri: magic music

◆ One legend paid homage to another last fortnight. **Mstilav Rostropovich**, 61—celebrated cellist, pianist, and conductor—visited the Taj Mahal, and lost his heart to it. "It's a thing of beauty you people have created for the world," he enthused. The evening before, it was his chance to captivate. Delhi's Kamani Auditorium came alive to the strains of the Russian-born cellist's magic music. Accompanying Rostropovich was Bombay-born pianist, **Fali Pavri**, 29, renowned in London's music circles. The two struck up an instant rapport. "He's my friend," said Rostropovich simply.

◆ All roads led to Chembur last week. Bombay was celebrating the long-awaited wedding of the grand showman's younger daughter, **Reema Kapoor**, with industrialist **Manoj Jain**. The patriarch's presence was evident everywhere. "The family did everything to ensure the wedding was celebrated just as Raj Kapoor would have wanted to," said brother Shashi. It was an evening charged with emotion. A giant picture of Raj Kapoor adorned the marriage dais. And as the bride left home, his memorable song, *Jeena yahan, marna yahan*, from *Mera Naam Joker* struck up, filling the room with poignance. The perfect curtain call.

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Taking the bow

◆ The old lady of Bori Bunder has shed a grey hair. Gone is **Girilal Jain**, her 66-year-old doughty editor. Replacing him is the 44-year-old Dileep Padgaonkar, executive editor until now. It had been coming ever since the impatient Samir Jain, 32, took over as joint managing director of Bennett, Coleman & Co, and enlisted a brood of brash go-getting journalists. The parting of ways, it appears, was not quite amicable. But Jain, who was editor for 11 years, was typically reticent: "I have nothing to say on the subject."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

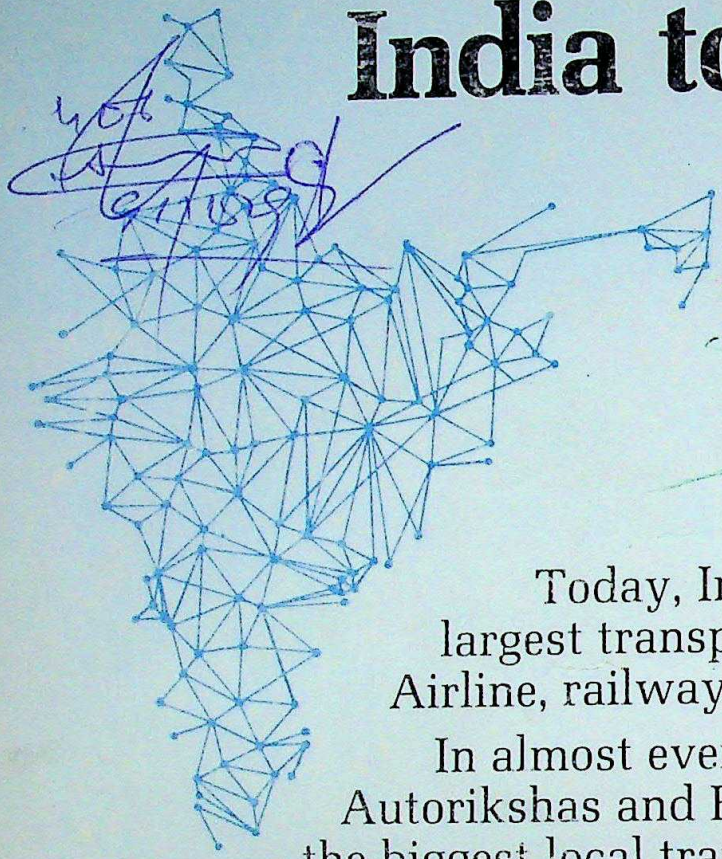
For the gracious people
W.D & H.O WILLS
GOLD FLAKE
HONEY DEW
Quality that's forever
W.D & H.O WILLS
GOLD FLAKE
HONEY DEW
STATUTORY WARNING: CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH
Every genuine
WILLS GOLD FLAKE
cigarette bears the name
W.D & H.O WILLS
CLARION C-GFK-16

REGISTRATION NO. R. N. 28587/75

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

REGISTERED No. NW/FB
D—(C)

India today



Today, India has some of the largest transport systems in the world. Airline, railway, road, Bajaj.

In almost every town and city, Bajaj Autorikshas and Bajaj two-wheelers form the biggest local transport system.

And where our vehicles go, we go. There are over five hundred Bajaj service and spare parts centres covering every corner of the country.

Plus, you have the second network. Private garages across the country which have had their people trained by Bajaj Auto, in the care and maintenance of our vehicles.

So, regardless of where you may be going in India, if your vehicle ever needs attention, there is sure to be someone at hand who has the expertise and the genuine spare parts.

Which is one more reason why you just can't beat a Bajaj.

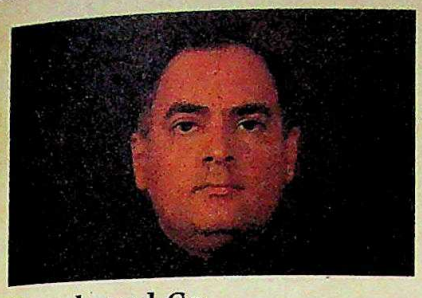
bajaj auto

Value for money, for years

Since 1947

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Touch and Go

The latest INDIA TODAY-MARG opinion poll reveals that the country is in for a period of political instability. Even if the Opposition remains fragmented, the Congress(I) is expected to get only a wafer-thin majority. As for the Opposition, even if it unites and forms a government, it is expected to flounder.

COVER STORY 26

Heading for a Crisis

After a decade of growth, India's defence plans have come to a dangerous pass. Inflation and the falling rupee have devoured resources and, faced with the guns vs butter dilemma, the Government is planning arms exports. A review and an exclusive interview with Defence Minister K.C. Pant.

SPECIAL FEATURE 90

Rajiv's Flying Squad

They are a five-man army of political commandos, who snuff out dissident fires in Congress(I)-ruled states and orchestrate coups in opposition-ruled ones. A report on the success and failures of the political Rambos rampaging through enemy territory in defence of the Rajiv realm.

SPECIAL REPORT 36

The Headline Hunter

Opposition MP Subramaniam Swamy specialises in exposes. But while most others are gunning for Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, Swamy's targets are opposition stalwarts. Still, as happened recently, his exposes often boomerang. A profile plus an interview with the *enfant terrible* of the Opposition.

SPECIAL FEATURE 108

Carriers of Discord

Though the intricate meanders of the Congress(I) rebellion in Bihar have been recorded in detail, little is known about the dissidents. An in-depth report on the rebels, their reasons for opposing Chief Minister Bhagwat Jha Azad, plus profiles of the principal dissidence mongers.

SPECIAL REPORT 40

Finesse and Fantasy

The futuristic show at the opening of the Festival of France sought to dispel that country's image of being a producer of wine, cheese and perfumes. Hence, unusually for a cultural festival, the inaugural was a hi-tech laser extravaganza—the message of a country eager to export its technology.

THE ARTS 180

CONTENTS

COMMENT 11
CAPITALOOK 19
THE FORTNIGHT THAT WAS 21
COVER STORY
Opinion Poll: Touch and Go 26
National Politics:
Heading for Instability 34
SPECIAL REPORTS
Congress(I): Rajiv's Flying Squad 36
Bihar: Carriers of Discord 40
CURRENT EVENTS
Tamil Nadu: Heralding a New Order 46
Uttar Pradesh: Brewing Revolt 52
Governors: Courting Controversy 55
Jammu Riots:
A Paralysed Administration 63
Madhya Pradesh: Opening Gambit 69
Karnataka: A Gory Mishap 70
B. Ratnakar: Suspect Probe 75
Jharkhand Agitation: A New Militancy 79
INTERVIEW OF THE FORTNIGHT
Ghulam Nabi Azad: "We lack powerful leaders in the states" 84

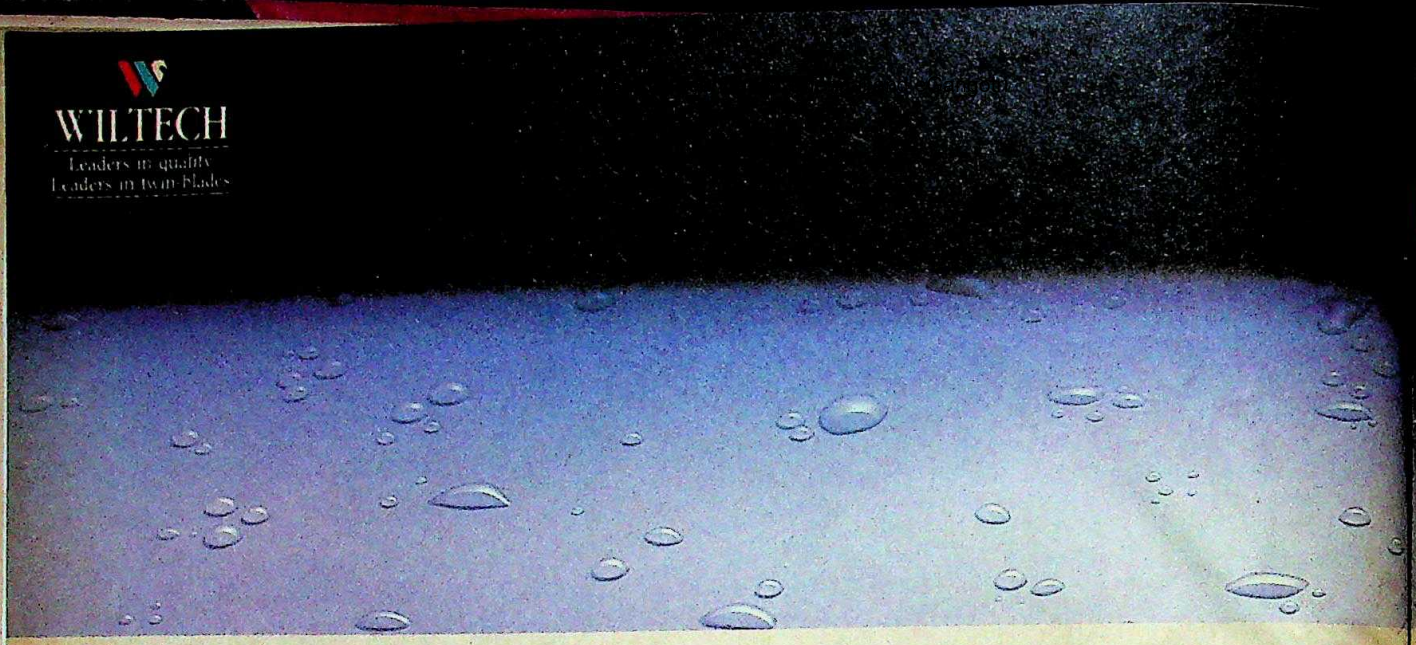
SPECIAL FEATURES
Defence Forces: Heading for a Crisis 90
Subramaniam Swamy:
The Headline Hunter 108
TRADE WINDS 113
BUSINESS
The Budget: Low-key Lobbying 114
Computers: Sick Machines 116
Gammon India: The Last Lap 121
Chocolates: Rich Taste 123
Philately: Post Profits 126
Guest Column: Budget Imperatives 130
Linear Alkyl Benzene:
Capacity Quarrel 135
Kitchen Appliances:
The Big Shake-Out 138
Cola Wars: Fizzy-go-round 144
The Markets: Firming Up 149
GLOBE-TROTTING
Homosexuals: Out of the Closet 153
Theatre: An Indian Summer 154
MEDIAWATCH
Coming of Age 159

SPECIAL FEATURE
The Mand: Terrorists' Terrain 162
SPORTS
Tennis: Advantage Zeeshan 169
Cricket:
Blows Before the Battle 172
CINEMA
N. Chandra: Mean Street Moghul 177
THE ARTS
Festival of France: Finesse and Fantasy 180
RELIGION
Karnataka: Brave Gesture 186
DEVELOPMENT
Pashmina:
Reviving a Splendid Tradition 192
ENVIRONMENT
Gujarat: Discovering Nature 194
BOOKS
Superb Cameos 199
Vagabond Way 199
EYE-CATCHERS 204

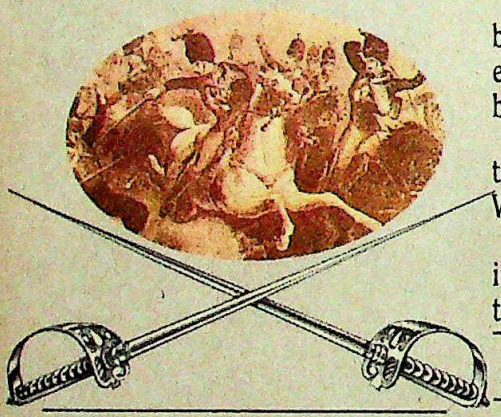
Cover photograph by RAGHU RAI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

WILTECH
Leaders in quality
Leaders in twin-blades



Presenting the anatomy of one of the two



The unbeatable Wilkinson edge

It goes back to 1772.

When the House of Wilkinson of England started making swords of exceptional quality.

Swords keen on every count.

Unbending strength. Absolutely true sharpness. And a reputation for the finest craftsmanship.

Generations later, Wilkinson brought this unbeatable cutting edge from the battlefield to the bathroom.

With razor blades that lived up to the reputation of the fabled Wilkinson swords.

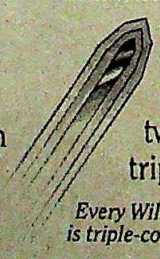
It's this technology, honed into perfection over the centuries, that Wiltech brought into India.

Wilman II Premium. The legend lives on.

With every stroke of Wilman II Premium, you'll feel Wilkinson technology at work.

The finest steel imported from speciality steel makers. A manufacturing process that leaves nothing to chance. And an extremely rigorous quality control programme at every stage of manufacture.

Wilman II Premium twin-blades are specially triple-coated with chromium, ceramic and teflon to preserve their sharpness shave after shave. For a shaving experience par excellence.

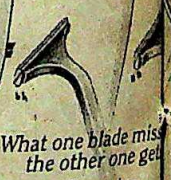


Every Wilman II Premium is triple-coated.

Why two blades are better than one

Around the world, the concept of twin-blades has been accepted as far superior to conventional razor blades.

This is how Wilman II Premium works. The cartridge of Wilman II Premium holds two blades at a carefully calculated, scientific angle.



What one blade misses the other one gets.

The first blade lifts the hair and cuts most of it. Almost simultaneously, before the hair can spring back, the second blade cuts it closest to its root.

Result: extremely close and smooth shaves like never before. No nicks, no cuts.

HTA 8757

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Wilman II PREMIUM

the world's best-engineered shaving systems.

Designed better – to last longer

Wilman II Premium twin-blades have another unique advantage: the 'Gothic arch' edge.

The unique 'Gothic Arch' edge.

Unlike the conventional inverted 'V' shape of the cutting edge, the Gothic arch gently tapers off at the edge.

This unique design results in greater strength, preventing the chipping and cracking of the cutting edge. And increasing its life.

The magnificent obsession: quality

The Wilkinson ideal of perfection. At Wiltech, achieving it is the fanatical concern of every worker.

Quality assurance starts right at the selection of raw material: the finest imported steel.

Specially trained personnel, working on highly sophisticated machines at Wiltech, build in the highest standard of quality – Premium quality– at every stage.

A guarantee of excellent quality.

Without exception, every Wilman II Premium is subjected to a battery of stringent tests.

Then, and only then, does Wilman II Premium reach you.

Fits all razors

Wilman II Premium cartridges fit all Indian and International razors like Wilkinson Profile, Gillette Contour and others.

Fits swivel...

... and fixed razors.

Wilman II Premium is available at leading outlets all over the country.

However, you can write to us for five Wilman II Premium refill packs of 5 twin-blades each. We'll arrange to deliver them through a special messenger at your door!

Composite pack of a razor and 3 twin-blades: Rs.19.00 only.
Refill pack of 5 twin-blades: Rs. 18.00 only.
Prices are inclusive of all taxes.

Write to Wiltech India Ltd., M G Road, Bangalore 560 001 for a free booklet on shaving tips.

Wilman II Premium. Anything else would be a compromise.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It takes a great shape to get your smile into great shape.

Wake up to Ajay Toothbrushes. They come in great shapes. To fit your hand. Your mouth. And clean your teeth thoroughly even from the inside. The only Toothbrush designed specially for Children, Ladies and Men. Made as well as the finest international bristles, to massage your gums gently and clean your teeth. So you can keep smiling radiantly. B-101 & B-201 for Men, B-203 & B-102 for Ladies, B-103 for Children and B-104 for Travellers.

Ajay® Premium Quality TOOTH BRUSHES

Rise and shine

Ajay Home Products Pvt. Ltd. C-114, Naraina Industrial Area, Phase I, New Delhi-110 028.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA TODAY
THE COMPLETE NEWSMAGAZINE

VOLUME XIV NUMBER 4
FOR THE FORTNIGHT FEBRUARY 16-28, 1989

EDITOR
AROON PURIE

EXECUTIVE EDITOR — INDERJIT BADHWAR
DEPUTY EDITOR — DILIP BOBB
SENIOR EDITOR — PRABHU CHAWLA
PICTURE EDITOR — RAGHU RAI
FEATURES EDITOR — SHEKHAR GUPTA
ASSOCIATE EDITOR — RAMINDAR SINGH
ASSISTANT EDITOR — P.G. MATHAI

CORRESPONDENTS
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT — RAJ CHENGAPPA
NEW DELHI — MADHU JAIN, PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA, SIMRAN BHARGAVA, DAVID DEVADAS, PANKAJ PACHAURI, SURAJEET DAS GUPTA
AHMEDABAD — UDAY MAHURKAR
BANGALORE — CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA
BHOPAL — N.K. SINGH
BOMBAY — M. RAHMAN, SALIL TRIPATHI, S.N. VASUKI
CALCUTTA — KAMALJEET RATTAN
CHANDIGARH — VIPUL MUDGAL
HYDERABAD — AMARNATH K. MENON
LUCKNOW — DILIP AWASTHI
PATNA — FARZAND AHMED, UTTAM SENGUPTA
SHILLONG — RAMESH MENON
TRIVANDRUM — SREEDHAR PILLAI
NEWS COORDINATOR — SANDHYA MULCHANDANI

ART EDITOR — SHIRLEY JOSHUA

CARTOONIST — AJIT NINAN MATHEW
CARTOGRAPHER — B.K. SHARMA
PRODUCTION IN-CHARGE — ANURADHA KAPOOR
LAYOUT ARTISTS — ANUP GUPTA, PEALI DUTTA GUPTA, PRABAL MANDAL, KAMINI SINGH

ASSISTANT PICTURE EDITOR — BHAWAN SINGH
PHOTOGRAPHERS — PRAMOD PUSHKARNA, PRASHANT PANJIAR, NAMAS BHOJANI, SHYAM TEKWANI

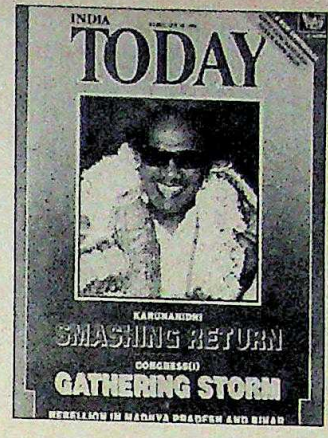
COPY DESK — SABA NAQVI BHAUMIK, NANDITA SARDANA, VIDHU KHANNA

MARKETING DIRECTOR — MOHINI BHULLAR

REGIONAL MANAGERS ADVERTISING
BOMBAY — NEENA MONGIA
NEW DELHI — NAGINDER RISHI
CALCUTTA — MEERA PAUL

ADVERTISING MANAGERS
MADRAS — R. ANAND
BANGALORE — S.J. NAIDU

● EDITORIAL OFFICE LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. F-14/15, CONNAUGHT PLACE NEW DELHI 110001. PHONE: 3315801-4. TELEX: 31-61245 INTO IN CABLE: LIVMEDIA, NEW DELHI ● SUBSCRIPTIONS: INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT, POST BOX 69, FARIDABAD HARYANA ● TRADE CIRCULATION: INDIA TODAY CIRCULATION MANAGER, F-14 CONNAUGHT PLACE, MIDDLE CIRCLE, NEW DELHI. PHONE: 3313076-8, TELEX: 31-62634 INTO IN ● ADVERTISING OFFICES: 28 -A&B JOLLY MAKER CHAMBER II, NARIMAN POINT, BOMBAY-400021. PHONE: 2026152, 2029326, 2029435. TELEX: 11-5373 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BOMBAY ● K-9, CONNAUGHT CIRCUS, NEW DELHI-110001. PHONES: 3325378, 3323576, 3321323 AND 3321273. TELEX: 31-62124 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, NEW DELHI ● FAGUN CHAMBERS, 26 COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ROAD, MADRAS-600105. PHONE: 477188, 479161. CABLE: LIVMEDIA MADRAS ● 74/1ST. MARKS ROAD, BANGALORE-560001. PHONE: 568448, 579037, 579089. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BANGALORE ● 12C EVEREST 46C CHOWRINGEE ROAD, CALCUTTA-700016. PHONE: 445398, 447726. CABLE: LIVINMEDIA, CALCUTTA
● COPYRIGHT 1987 LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. REPRODUCTION IN ANY MANNER IS PROHIBITED.
PUBLISHED BY AROON PURIE FOR LIVINGMEDIA INDIA LTD, NEW DELHI AND PRINTED AT THOMSON PRESS INDIA LTD, FARIDABAD HARYANA ● INDIA TODAY DOES NOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RETURNING UNSOLICITED PUBLICATION MATERIAL ●



MANIPULATIVE MOVES

If the intelligence apparatus is used by the Central Government for winning elections, as is mentioned in your cover story ("Smashing Return", February 15), it is highly self-defeating.

New Delhi — D.P. DAS

ENORMOUS APPETITE

For Manohar Chhabria ("Take-over Tycoons", January 31) each acquisition has been like an aphrodisiac. His preference for taking over existing companies rather than promoting new projects is contemptible, and his contribution to the growth of these companies paltry.

Kanpur — RAJEEV GOGTE

■ Chhabria should take over ailing companies and turn them into viable units in the larger interests of the nation.

Bombay — KUMAR NARAYAN SARANGDHAR

■ Your story has failed to highlight the fact that in building up a business empire Chhabria has been playing a game of greed with almost no investment or risk.

Bhubaneswar — G.K. PADHI

■ No corporate raider uses money from his own pocket to buy a company. It's a chain reaction, you buy a company, keep an eye on the firm's funds and your stake therein, pledge the funds from this company and buy a second one and use the money from this to buy another.

Bombay — SANJAY S. SHANBAG

SPELL OF EUPHORIA

It appears your magazine too has been influenced by the euphoria ("Defying the Past", January 31) created by the state-controlled media and the strong Pakistan lobby here. The anti-India feelings being instilled in Pakistani children and the clout of the army and the mullahs are factors that cannot be wished away. It would have been better to wait for new developments to unfold.

Delhi — V. SAGAR

■ Benazir's grit and determination to emerge as the leader of Pakistan are indeed praiseworthy. But since her prime motivation was personal vendetta, there is no guarantee now that she can rule Pakistan effectively in the face of inherited and acquired problems.

Chandigarh — AMARJIT SINGH DEEPAK

EXAGGERATED CLAIM

I agree that blue movies are easily available in the North-east ("Blue Evenings", January 31). But the problem of pornographic films exists in other parts of India too. The cartoon accompanying the article demeans our family values; such a scene is unimaginable here.

Shillong — MALCOLM WAR

■ Nothing shocked me as much as the report that entire families watch X-rated movies on video together. I only hope our government takes action against those involved before it's too late.

Calcutta — KRISHNA KUMAR MAL

■ Certain statements in this article are baseless and cannot but hurt the sentiments of the people of the North-east. These people are known to value highly the sanctity of family life. As rightly pointed out by the DGP of Kohima, the menace is not unique to this region nor is it more acute than elsewhere.

Patna — ASHOK GHOSH

BRUTAL MURDER

The death of Safdar Hashmi ("Senseless Killing", January 31) calls into question the entire democratic process after 41 years of Independence. It's difficult to evaluate the success of democracy when freedom of expression is curtailed.

Varanasi — GAUTAM KUMAR MAZUMDAR

■ The brutal killing of Safdar Hashmi is ironical and shocking. The man who received an award for his work in promoting communal harmony has been beaten to death by the hands that gave him the award.

Tellichery — A. RAGHAVAN

CLARIFICATION

This refers to your article on Durgapur ("A Dream Sours", December 31, 1988). MAMC works in two shifts and skeleton crews are detailed in the night shift for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

maintenance of essential services. So, it's not correct to say that workers are allowed to sleep for three hours on the shift. Production at MAMC has never stopped for lack of orders. We have at present around Rs 200-crore worth of orders.

MAMC stands for Mining and Allied Machinery Corporation Limited and not Mineral and Allied Machinery Corporation as reported.

Durgapur — H. CHATTERJEE, *Manager, (Public Relations)*, MAMC

COMMUNAL POLITICS

The ghastly murder of Ranga Rao ("A Caste War Erupts", January 31) and the consequent reign of terror are the results of the communalisation of politics by political parties. The unprecedented violence in Andhra has communally polarised the people.

Neyveli — M.V.V.S. REDDY

■ To understand the politics of Andhra, we have to go back to 1969 when Indira Gandhi in her fight for supremacy in the Congress introduced the politics of confrontation, dividing castes and communities and setting one up against the other.

Kakinada — C.V. RAO

TIMELY REPORT

The report on Gayasi Ram ("Agonising Wait", January 31) was timely and good. His execution has been stayed by the Allahabad High Court following a writ petition based on the article filed by an advocate Rajendra Singh Yadav.

Allahabad — S. SHASHINDRAN PILLAY

■ The story of Gayasi Ram is a sad and shocking reflection on our snail-paced procedures. It's only fair and reasonable that he be released without any delay.

Nilgiris, Tamil Nadu — B.R.SHETTY

CONTINUING VIOLENCE

The post-election scenario in Darjeeling ("Revolt Within", January 31) should have been marked by a pledge to renovate the hill region. Instead, it has been marked by violence and counter-violence.

Nepal — GANESH PRADHAN

LOST ORCHID

The *Paphiopedilum fairrieanum* ("Beauty Blooms", January 31) was first flowered by M. Fairrie of Liverpool in whose honour the orchid was named by Lindley in 1857. The place of origin of this plant could not be accurately traced but it certainly came from India.

Trivandrum — C. SATHISH KUMAR

A THAW IN RELATIONS

Rajiv's visit to China ("Breaching the Wall", January 15) has certainly laid a firm foundation for the peaceful settlement of the border issue. The changes on the international scene make it imperative for us to reorient our policy towards China.

Bhubaneswar — RUPU PATNAIK

■ Just the fact that Rajiv's visit to China is the first by an Indian premier in 34 years doesn't make it historic. So far there has been no fruitful outcome except the so-called "major breakthrough" on the border issue.

Delhi — ANURAG KRISHNA

■ Rajiv's visit to China is an important step in the right direction. But his remark that India considered Tibet an "autonomous region" of China and would not allow any anti-China activities by Tibetans in India is regrettable. Aren't Tibetans justified in fighting for their rights just as Palestinians and Namibians?

Dharamsala, H.P. — TENZIN NAMDHAK TAKLHA

■ Pandit Nehru did nothing to prevent China's growing influence in Tibet ("Poised for Peace", January 15). When China occupied it in 1959, India lost a precious buffer state. With careful planning, China occupied Indian territory in 1962. Now it claims Arunachal Pradesh. Rajiv Gandhi must be complimented on his daring Chinese mission.

Bombay — S.M. KHANDERIA

PARTIAL REFORMS

The recent package of electoral reforms ("Halfway House", January 15) is another example of issues being sacrificed for political mileage. The ruling party presented a half-baked cake hoping for huge electoral gains.

Patna — YAMINI SAHAY

SEVERE HARASSMENT

K.G. Somani is absolutely correct ("Causing Alarm", January 15) when he says that the discretionary powers of tax officials have increased. Those who suffer at their hands know the result. Even presuming that 97 per cent of tax returns are not scrutinised, the fact remains that the remaining 3 per cent are severely harassed.

Bombay — MAHABIRPRASAD S. DEORA

POLITICAL GAME

There can be no solution to the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi controversy ("A Myth Exploded", January 15) because all political parties are exploiting it for petty gains. It would be better to demolish the present structure and construct a school or hospital on the site so that all communities can benefit from it.

Ratnipora, Kashmir — P.L. WAGUZARI

PRIVILEGED PEOPLE

Newsmakers '88 gave an excellent assessment of developments in India during the past year. The conclusion of the article covering events in neighbouring countries ("New Beginnings", January 15) was electrifying—being witness to our neighbours' struggles for freedom, we should indeed consider ourselves privileged and desist from activities which may harm our democracy.

New Delhi — S.V. JASWAL

FRENCH SLIP

In the article on the Festival of France ("Utsav Time", January 15) the writer says, of the exhibition of paintings organised as part of the festival: "No *Mona Lisa* (alas, she's Italian) but there will be several Picassos, Monets, Renoirs and Matisses." Apart from the fact that Picasso is not really French, the writer seems to imply that he, and the others mentioned are somehow less illustrious than the painter of the *Mona Lisa*.

Bombay — NARENDRA KUMAR SHARMA

INDIA AHEAD

China is far behind India ("Breaking the Ice", December 31, 1988) in fields like the peaceful use of nuclear power, telecommunications and computers. The Chinese have yet to produce electricity from their first nuclear plant being installed with foreign expertise.

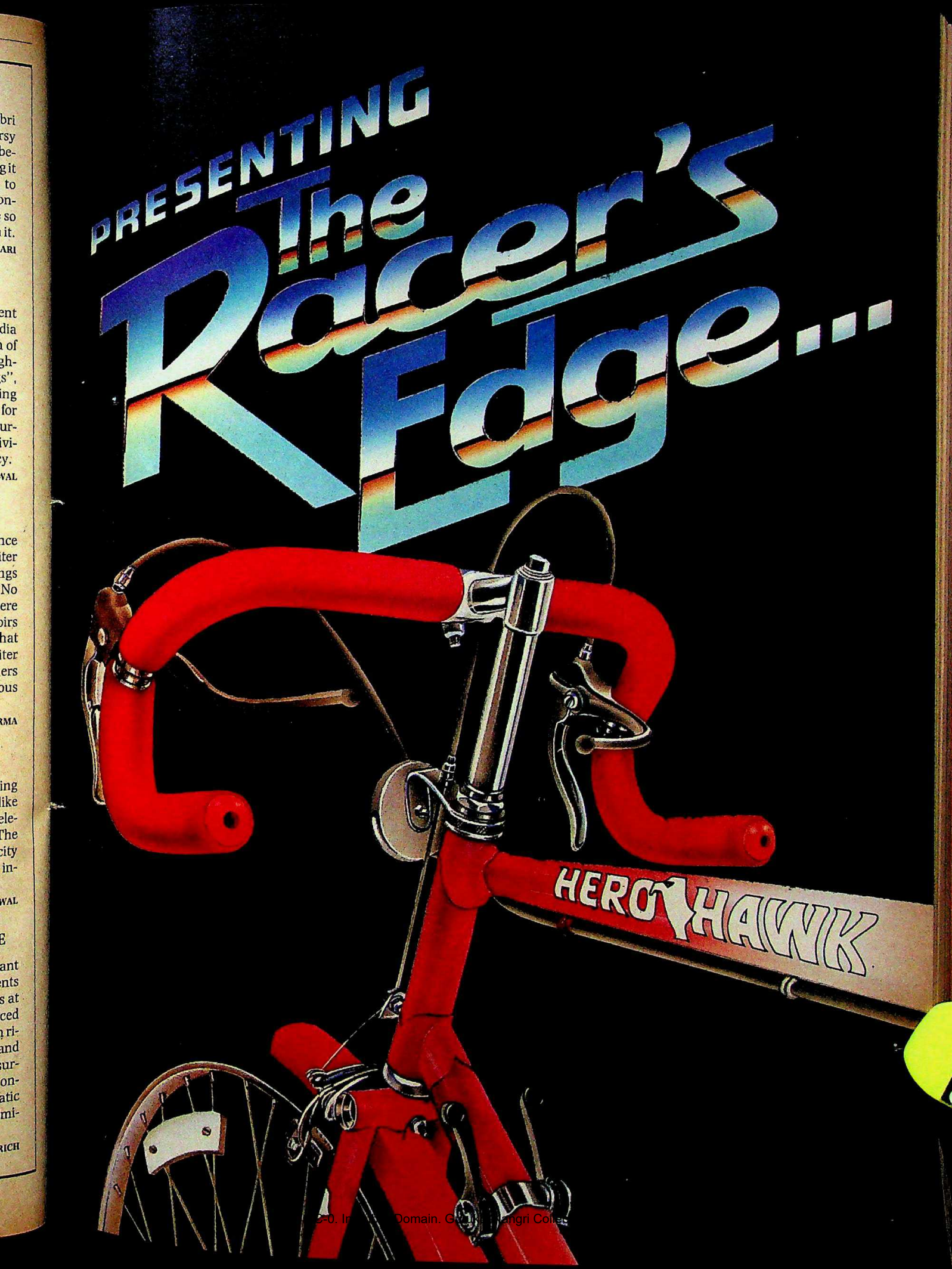
Paris — M.K. AGARWAL

INCONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE

Your remark on the stay of Satwant and Kehar Singh's execution ("Elements of Absurdity", December 31, 1988) is at variance with your usually balanced approach, espousing a strong human rights angle. As Ram Jethmalani and others have indicated, the evidence surrounding Kehar's conviction was inconclusive and under normal democratic conditions would never have culminated in as grievous a sentence.

London — ANGELA DIETRICH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar


PRESENTING
The Racer's Edge...
HERO HAWK

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It's not just 10 gears. But knowing what to

Ten gears? Five gears? None? Depends on what's to be done.

And to help you discover what you can do, here's the Hero Hawk.

Built with expertise that gives you the clear edge of excellence.

Read on to find out how.

So level or downhill rides get tackled with the Hero Hawk's high gears.

And climbs, opposing winds and starting-from-standstill with the lower ones.

High gears to cruise. Low ones for climbs.

The Hero Hawk's imported Falcon gear system lets you pedal comfortably, without changing the pedal-force in different riding conditions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

do with them.

Remember. Gears must be changed well in time. And pedalling must continue while you shift.

Hero Hawk for great cycling times!

But geared or ungeared, the Hero Hawk means the best in racing or riding pleasure, always.

Thanks to its specially crafted lightweight tubular steel frame.

With drop-bar handle and centre-pull brakes, designed to international standards.

Its soft nylon grips and sleek polyurethane seat. Made the way champions like them.

Its easy-on-the-feet metallic pedals, with toe straps and shoe support.

And accessories such as pump, water bottle and saddle bag. (With geared models only.)

For a whole new world of easy riding or racing.

The Hero Hawk.

The racer whose edge you must discover. Today.

HERO BICYCLES

Ask for the Hero Hawk Owner's Manual, specially designed for you. (With geared models only.)

HERO HAWK

THE RACER'S EDGE. FROM HERO.

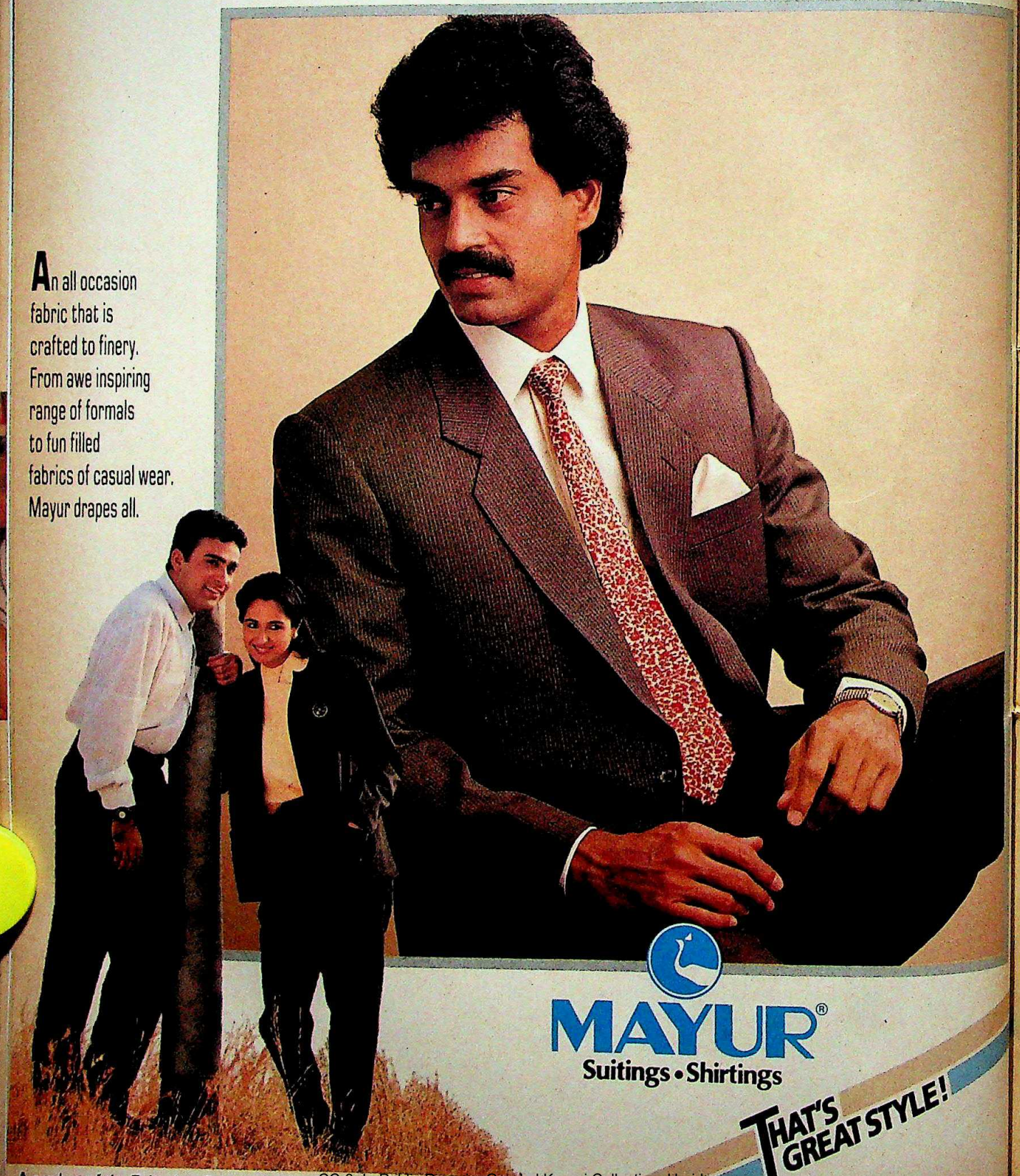
CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Digitized by eGangotri and Sarayu Trust. Funding by MoE-IKS

HTA 6234

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Casuals or Formals, That's Great Style !

An all occasion fabric that is crafted to finery. From awe inspiring range of formals to fun filled fabrics of casual wear. Mayur drapes all.



MAYUR®

Suitings • Shirtings

THAT'S GREAT STYLE!

A product of the Rajasthan Spinning & Weaving Mills Ltd.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Mudra:A:RSW:4586

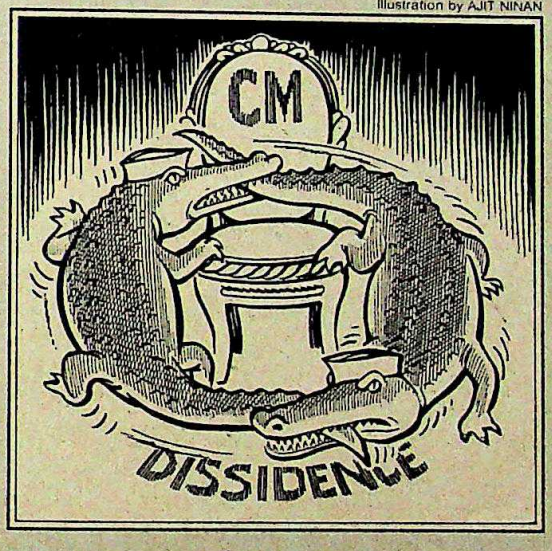
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dissidence Without Cause

IT'S become a game of political nine-pins that threatens to rip asunder the very grassroots fabric of the ruling party. The name of the game—and the spectacle hardly warrants a more respectable epithet—is dissidence. The players: agglomerations of unruly—but determined—state legislators and party workers led by local political warlords. The method: assault the chief ministers' chairs in snowballing numbers. The aim: dislodge them. Then: Go back to "Go".

The most frustrating part of this devious game, which has been on exhibition in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and now is travelling to Gujarat and Rajasthan along with a sideshow in Maharashtra, is that, barring minor variations to the theme, nobody wins. There are no tangible results, no calculable gains, no birth of new ethos. Confusion chasing conflict chasing anarchy chasing instability. Truly a living example of sound and fury signifying nothing. The hero becomes the villain, the vanquished the victor, and reason loses out to rhyme.

Illustration by AJIT NINAN



For what, indeed, can one make of the madness that seems to have captured the Congress(I) in a vice-like grip? When Motilal Vora was brought to the Centre in February last year and replaced by a reticent Arjun Singh the ruling party observers from the Centre chirped in unison that the move was necessary because Vora's rule had led to dissidence in the state and weakened the party. Now that Vora is back the official reason is the same. But dissidence far from dissipating has germinated afresh. In Bihar Bindeshwari Dubey was replaced by Bhagwat Jha Azad because of "dissidence". Today Azad faces the axe for the same reason. In Rajasthan, a pliant but fuming Harideo Joshi was removed because of pressure—as the Central "observers" who stage-managed his execution and for the second time annointed Shiv Charan Mathur chief minister, trumpeted—from the you-know-whats. Now, Joshi is breathing dissident dragonfire that threatens to scorch not only Mathur but also the Centre. Round and round they go.

They say if you repeat a word often enough in your mind it begins to lose its meaning. And that has become the fate of the word "dissident" in India's political lexicon. Nehru's era, too, was marked with dissidence. But the dissidents were giants—with faces—like Govind Ballabh Pant, Sardar Patel, Atulya Ghosh. They were rebels with causes, disagreeing with Nehru on ideology, economics, political idiom. Nehru respected them, and they him. Even when they disagreed, the Centre—the political centre, that is—held together and permitted the conditions for orderly social evolution and economic growth. And chief ministers like V.P. Naik, Y.B. Chavan, Ravi Shankar Shukla kept their states together for long.

During Mrs Gandhi's time, too, there were dissidents—serious enough and strong enough to split the party. But there were clear reasons. You could support a pro or a con based on articulate debate and ideological reason—a healthy political phenomenon. In 1969 when Morarji Desai and Nijalingappa broke with Mrs Gandhi, the party split Left versus Right on economic issues. In 1978, when Swaran Singh, K.C. Pant, and Brahmananda Reddy split from Mrs Gandhi the issue at stake was her handling of the Emergency.

In 1980, too, when Devraj Urs attempted to lead a revolt against Mrs Gandhi it was as much a demonstration of regional pulls and pressures as it was a case of personal confrontation between the two erstwhile allies. But the issues were clearly defined and the gainers and losers—mostly men and women of prominence and eminence—were able to take their cases to the party and the country.

Today's dissidence is a crass display of the fact that shorn of people of stature, vision, ideology, firmness of belief and calibrated thought, India's politics has degenerated into pettiness. The Opposition displays the same self-serving—and self-destructive—ends in its current convulsions that are a direct result of appeasing to the dissident elements. But it is in the ruling party where the rot is more evident. For what, indeed, are the burning issues in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh or Bihar? Not police brutality, not corruption, not caste discrimination. The rebel chieftains and their followers champion not causes or significant differences of opinion, but themselves. Their war-cries seem to be: if you're the insider, then I'm the outsider, and so long as I'm the outsider, I'll never let you rest in the inside—and the country be damned.

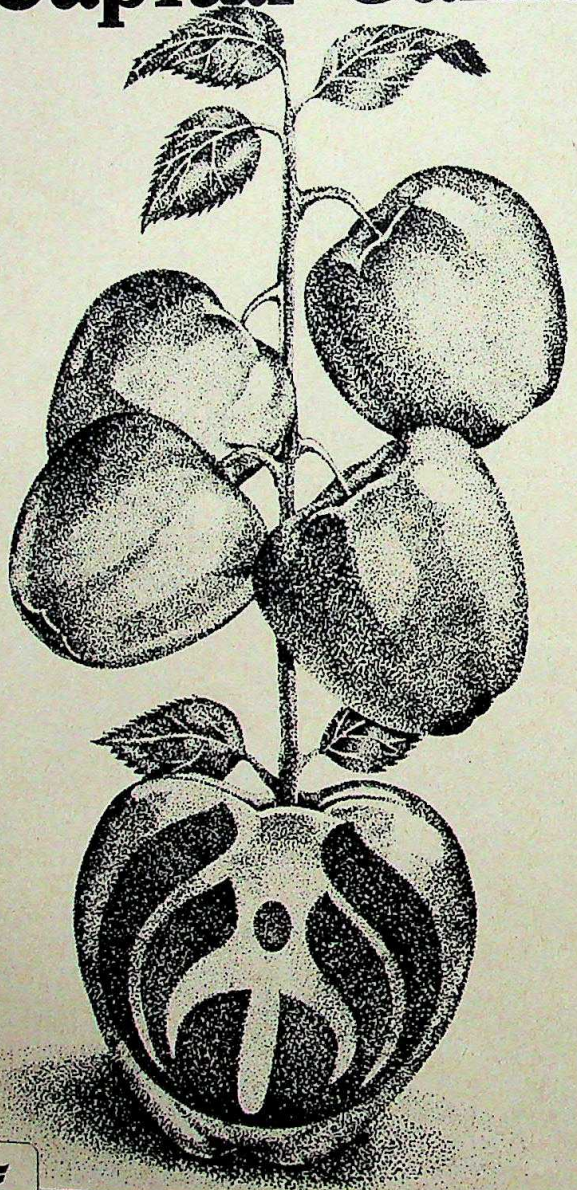
The dissident fight today is purely one for the crumbs of office. The trouble is they all want to have their crumbs and eat them too. The only way out is through extended patronage. Bir Bahadur Singh in Uttar Pradesh was one chief minister who saw the dissidents for what they were—just plain crumb-seekers, trying to cloak their greed in dissidence. And to prove his point, Singh dealt with them—effectively—in the crudest of ways—he bought them off by increasing salaries, perks, benefits, and allotting them land at concessional rates.

All this appears to be symptomatic of a deeper malaise—a bankrupt leadership at the Centre, weak regional leaders, the inability of the ruling party to entertain open debate and dissension, the party structure held artificially together at the grassroots level by "office-bearers" who do not reflect the electoral mandate of the party workers, and above all, a sense of an all-pervasive political anomie and nervousness. But even though the symptoms, now in lethal virulence, were noticeable as long as two years ago the party seemed to lack the political will to take the most elemental remedial actions like holding party elections. So, in a party in which disputing titans clashed, it is now the day of the dissident pygmy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IDBI Capital Bonds An attractive instrument for exemption from Capital Gains Tax.



- Available at par throughout the year.
- Exemption from Capital Gains tax under Section 54E of the Income Tax Act, 1961.
- Exemption from Wealth tax under Section 5(1) (xvie) of the Wealth Tax Act, 1957
- Income tax benefit under Section 80L.
- Interest at 9% p.a. payable half yearly.
- At the investor's option, interest for the full period of 3 years can be paid in advance on discounted basis.
- No deduction of tax at source.
- Outstation cheques accepted and cost of collection will be borne by IDBI.

25TH YEAR OF SERVICE TO INDUSTRY

For further details contact the nearest IDBI office or write to Manager.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BANK OF INDIA

Jolly Maker Chambers No. 2, 225, Vinay K. Shah Marg, Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021.

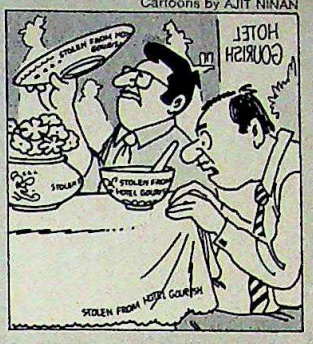
Sobhagya-B-/88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BEWARE PILFERERS

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN



■ Pilferage of crockery and toiletries is a regular feature at hotels. On being presented with huge bills, many customers vent their anger by pocketing some item belonging to the hotel concerned.

Having learnt this lesson the hard way, Gourish Hotel in Bangalore decided to tackle the problem head-on. A new manager was brought in and given the task of curbing the thievery. And this gentleman soon proved his worth by evolving a novel method of putting off would-be pilferers.

As is the custom in most established hotels, Gourish Hotel's name was engraved on all its belongings. But under the manager's instructions, the words "stolen from" now preceded the hotel's name. The trick seems to have worked and of late there have been no thefts at the hotel. The only catch is that many guests are finding the experience of eating out of crockery that is "stolen from Hotel Gourish", understandably distasteful.

ALL FOR A CHICKEN

■ As winds of liberalisation sweep the country, advocates of free enterprise are turning up even in the police force.

A resident of Cuddapah, Andhra Pradesh, who discovered that four tolas of gold were missing from her home, went to the local police station to complain. The head constable on duty was all concern. But alas, he needed an incentive to proceed with the investigation. And what the presumably hungry (read:greedy) man asked for was a chicken.

So the next day, her husband returned with a chicken and visions of the police setting out on the trail of the missing gold. But the constable had pretty definite ideas of the gap between his abilities and his remuneration, and the incentive required to meet the shortfall. One look at the chicken, and he declared it was not big enough.

The case of the missing gold thus came to be known as the case of the Cuddapah constable's chicken.

SNEAKING IN

■ The capital's culture vultures are a persevering lot. If they ever find themselves without complimentary passes for a prestigious event, they resort to two methods.

The well connected ones simply phone a senior bureaucrat and demand passes. They usually succeed in getting them. The second option—gatecrashing—is resorted to by the less influential.

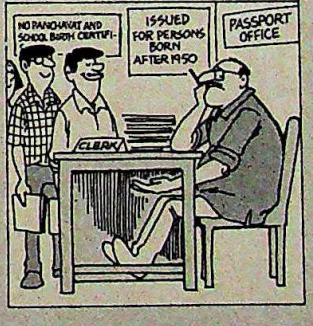
At a recent, jam packed event in the capital, many accredited journalists arrived with a couple of hangers-on in tow. When confronted by the ushers, they simply put their noses up in the air and said: "*Hamaray saath hain.*" (They are with us).

Seeing the method work, two young men followed a journalist who happened to be alone. As soon as he entered the auditorium, they glided up to the usher and declared: "*Inkay saath hain*" (We are with him). They too gained entry—indicating how "exclusive" the capital's culture circuit really is.

PASSPORT SAGA

■ Getting a passport made had always involved a long battle with officialdom. And now, due to a new directive, north Indians aspiring to possess a passport are in for an even more unpleasant time.

Delhi's Regional Passport Office (RPO) will only accept application forms of persons born after 1950 if they are accompanied by birth certificates issued by a "corporation". School leaving certificates will no longer suffice. Neither will birth certificates issued by village panchayats, say clerks at the RPO.



As far as the bureaucrats are concerned the villagers haven't been born. So the endless queues at the RPO have given way to a handful of hopefuls. For the clerks there, this marks the beginning of hard times. With the crowds thinning, their wallets—earlier fattened by bribes from passport seekers hoping to beat the queues—too have slimmed proportionately.

GOOD SAMARITANS

■ Firefighters in our country usually arrive after the house has burned down. Still, even though they may be of limited use to humankind, recently firemen covered themselves with glory by coming to the aid of an avian.

The scene of their heroic deed was a huge tree near the general post office in Bombay. Trapped in its branches was a little pigeon, which had been ensnared by the string of a torn kite. The bird's piteous cries prompted a passer-by to alert the Colaba fire brigade.

With uncharacteristic promptness, the firemen arrived. This was not the sole surprise. The second surprise was the efficiency with which they rescued the pigeon, which flew to freedom with a joyous flap of its wings.

Their good deed for the day done, the firemen shrugged off the praise showered on them by onlookers and sped back to the station.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FILL UP

this coupon and listen to your favourite sound: a child's laugh.

Fun and laughs are as vital to a child as the air he or she breathes. And good clean fun is what the Disney Today comic magazine is all about.

So why not fill up this coupon and make everybody happy.

Save upto 20% on cover price

Mail to:
Living Media India Ltd.
Subscription Department
Thomson Press Building
P.B. No. 69 Delhi-Mathura Road
Faridabad-121 007 (HARYANA)

I want a subscription for my child. Here is my ☐ Annual: Rs. 96/- ☐ 6 monthly Rs. 50/-subscription for the English edition.
I am paying by :
Cheque/M.O./D.D. No. _____
Please mail my copy to:
Name _____
Age _____ Sex _____
Address _____
_____
_____
School _____
Parent/Guardian's signature _____
Please draw remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd.
114

Walt Disney's DISNEY TODAY
Available every fortnight in English and Hindi.

© 1987 THE WALT DISNEY CO., USA.

MILESTONES/DT/114 a

The Times of India

● *The Tamil Nadu poll is the fourth battle of Panipat which will give a new direction to the nation.* ■ DEVI LAL in *The Times of India*

● *The likes of Mr V.P. Singh and other opportunists, who are floating to find their moorings of power, cannot even measure up to his (Rajiv Gandhi's) knees.* ■ ARJUN SINGH quoted in *The Telegraph*

● *If you terrorists want to kill me, tell me the time and place and I shall be there unarmed. But it must be in daylight.* ■ DARSHAN SINGH RAGI in *The Times of India*

● *Don't you like his face? He is handsome.* ■ H.K.L.BHAGAT about Rajiv Gandhi's frequent appearance on television, quoted in *The Statesman*

● *The state Government has succeeded in meeting the essential needs of the common man by vigorously implementing the Union Government schemes.* ■ P. VENKATASUBBAIAH, Karnataka governor, in *Newstime*

● *I am not as mad as you think.* ■ GOBIND NARAIN SINGH in *Ananda Bazar Patrika*

● *Flying now is a pain in the neck.* ■ J.R.D. TATA at the Bombay Flying Club diamond jubilee celebrations

● Mujhe to *'black cat'* chahiye ■ SUBHAS GHISING to Jyoti Basu, quoted in *The Telegraph*

● *I believe in Raj Kapoor's theory. He used to say, show your film to everybody, let even your drivers see it.* ■ SHASHI KAPOOR in *Star and Style*

● *We didn't need a Sarkaria Commission to tell us that India was one, we knew it from the time we were born.* ■ RENUKA CHAUDHARY, MP, in *Eve's Weekly*

● *Prophet Mohammed would have no objection to the book.* ■ SALMAN RUSHDIE in *The Indian Post*

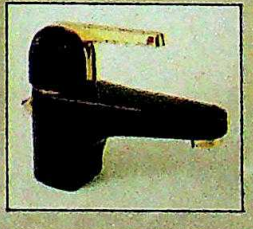
● *A festival such as this is an event—a stone—a landmark—what's the word—Ah yes, a milestone, in a long history of co-operation between two countries.* ■ FRANCIS DORE, director-general festival of France, in *Bombay*

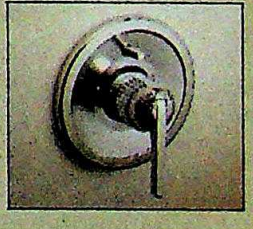
● *If I'm not better than all the guys in the present team then you can cut my hands off.* ■ MOHAMMED SHAHID in *Sportsworld*

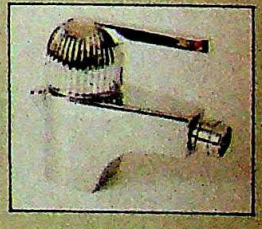
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

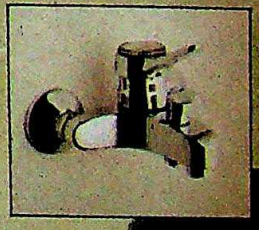
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dripless®
KARIBIK









When a thing of Beauty is convenience forever.

Dripless Karibik Single Lever Mixers. Stunning. Elegant. And dramatically different from anything like this you have ever seen.

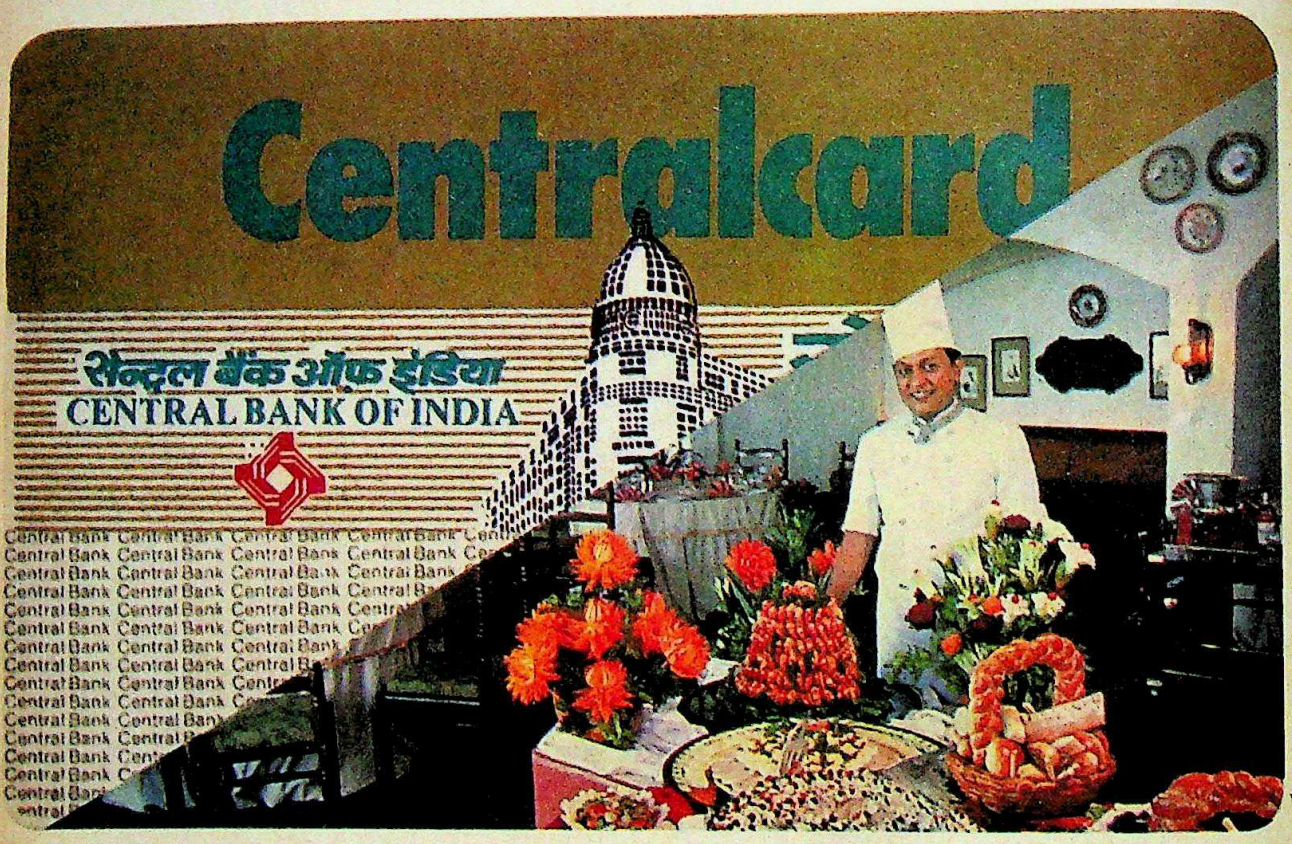
A wide range of finishes to choose from: White/Gold, Black/Gold, Chrome or Bronze.
Common to them all are advantages of optimally designed, non-corrosive Ceramic Disc Cartridge, From who else but, ROKAL ARMATUREN, GmbH West Germany, the manufacturers of the world's finest range of bathroom fittings.

Want to know more about it? Drop a line at:
Aquaplus India Marketing Pvt Ltd.
B-170, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase-I
New Delhi-110 020 (India)
Telephones: 6837075, 6837671, 635411
Telex: 031-65201 'DFI IN'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Watch your credit-rating go up...



at over 8000 places simultaneously with Centralcard...

Over 8000 of the most respected, sought-after establishments in India and Nepal offer you free credit if you are a Centralcard-holder.

- Shop, dine, travel, and avail of a lot more facilities with your Centralcard.
- Get instant and easy cash withdrawals at any of Central Bank's 2600 branches.
- A special add-on membership for spouses.
- A Corporate Membership Scheme for organisations.

Centralcard offers merchant establishments a wide customer base in India. Coming from India's largest nationalised bank, the Central Bank of India, Centralcard is also issued by the Vysya Bank and the United Bank of India.

To date, there are over 40,000 Centralcard holders and the numbers are increasing rapidly.

Centralcard's international tie-up with the world's two largest credit card chains, Mastercard and VISA, offers a huge potential clientele of over 536 million. That means greater business prospects for Centralcard merchant establishments.

And a great credit-rating for Centralcard-holders!

Centralcard

For details contact your nearest branch of Central Bank of India.

Interpub / C B I / 4 / 88

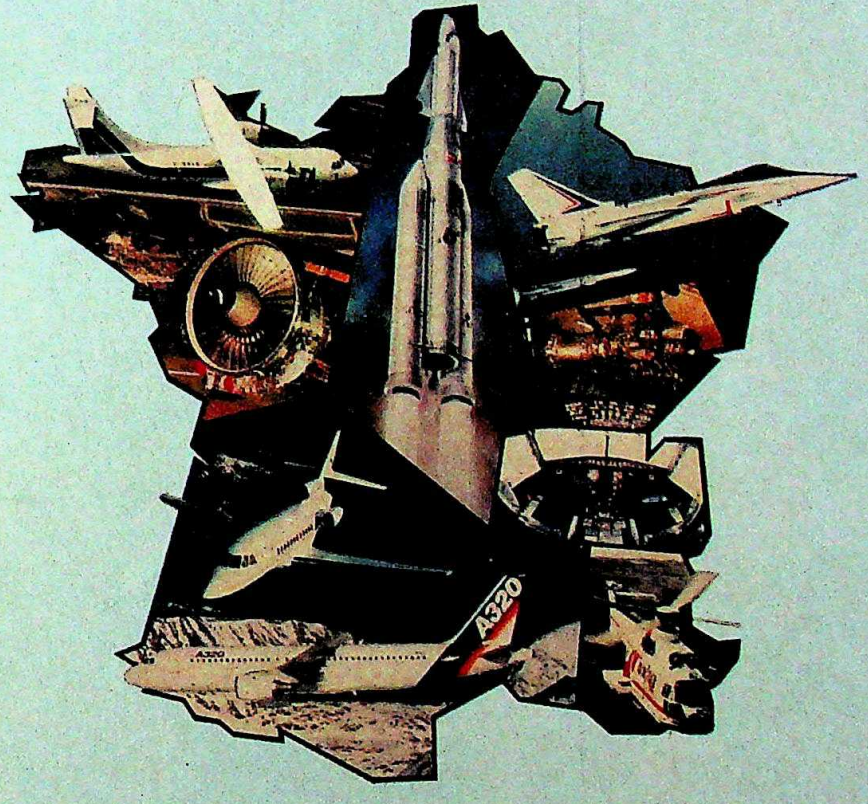
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE FRENCH AEROSPACE INDUSTRY

- 200 firms
- A turn-over of FF 12.5 billion $ U.S. (of which more than 60 % are exported).
- More than 20 % of the turn-over are devoted to Research and Development.
- 121.000 highly qualified employees.
- High-level training schools, laboratories and test centres.

- Product requiring the intervention of the most sophisticated technologies : composite materials, aluminium-lithium alloys, fly by wire controls, configurated control vehicle (CCV), high-speed propellers, integrated digital avionics, micro-electronics, systems engineering, computer assisted design and manufacture (CAD-CAM) etc..
- A policy of international cooperation.



ORGANISER OF
FRENCH AEROSPACE 89 IN INDIA
AERONAUTICAL AND SPACE CONFERENCES

◆

NEW DELHI, February **15 - 17**, Hotel Oberoi
BANGALORE, February **20-22** Hotel Windsor Manor

GIFAS

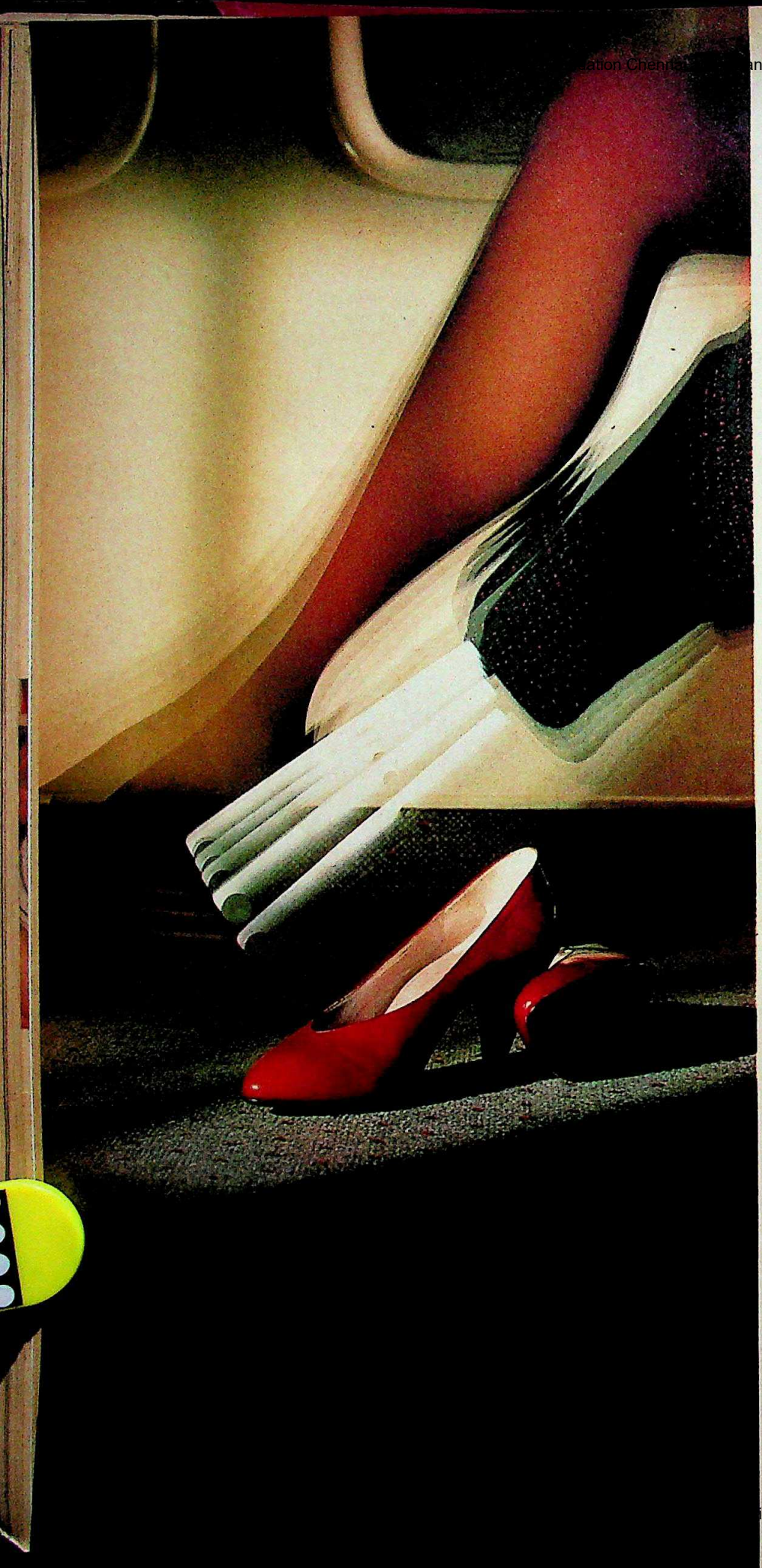
FRENCH AEROSPACE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION

◆

GROUPEMENT DES INDUSTRIES FRANÇAISES AERONAUTIQUES ET SPATIALES

4, rue Galilée, 75782 PARIS CEDEX 16 - FRANCE
Phone : (33-1) 47 23 55 56 - Fax : (33-1) 40 70 91 41 - Telex : 630 615 F

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



EVEN OUR SEATS ARE UPWARDLY MOBILE.

Until now, airline seats were built for a mythical creature called the 'average businessman'.

On new Club World we believe that none of our passengers are average. So we spent 18 months designing an airline seat that would provide comfort and support over long haul flights, whether you're a modest 5' 6" or an imposing 6' 5".

Now you can stretch out and relax from head to toe.

After all, even the most successful executives work better if they occasionally put their feet up.

CLUB WORLD

BRITISH AIRWAYS
The world's favourite airline.®

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Grabbing Turf

● In-house turf-grabbing has broken out among the ranks of Doordarshanites. Pitted against each other are veteran sports anchorman Jasdev Singh on one side and a determined brigade of young and upwardly mobile radio and television commentators

on the other.

Singh is due to retire in a couple of months as director of sports telecasts but seems determined not to quit. He has been jockeying for an extension with the help of colleagues from his Asiad '82 days. Many of them now hold important positions, for instance, Home Minister Buta Singh.

But the Young Turks seem equally determined to stop him in his tracks. And so they have begun to complain to Information Ministry bigwigs that Singh has a dubious record of playing favourites and patronising friends. Singh on his part dismisses his detractors as upstarts who have a lot to learn.

But the main victim in this unseemly battle is the future of sports commentary itself. It is true that no bright commentators have been able to spring up during the past decade under Singh's banyan tree-like presence. And others who had shown promise have been relegated to trivial work. Surajit Sen, for example, now reads weather reports on Doordarshan. Talk about working under a cloud.

Cushioning Costs

● It's election year. And following the Tamil Nadu experience the ruling party is getting the jitters. It is raising funds, say insiders, not only to fight the elections, but also to provide a cushion in the event of an electoral debacle. The target is Rs 150 crore. Sympathetic industrialists have been identified and economic plans laid out. These include construction of Jawahar Bhawan on 80,000 sq ft of space adjacent to New Delhi's press club.

The land was acquired during Mrs Gandhi's time but the Janata government put a stop to construction when it came to power. The project is being revived because if the Congress(I) gets a knocking in December the chances are that it will have to vacate the dozen or so sprawling buildings which house its offices.

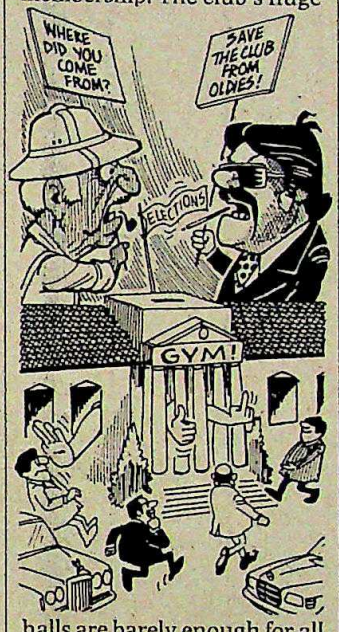
Cartoons by AJIT NINAN

The idea is to consolidate the office structure in Jawahar Bhawan, which will also serve as the AICC headquarters.

Also scheduled as a gala fund-raiser—for the Bhawan again—is a Lata Mangeshkar Night in Bombay sponsored by top industrialists, including some of the country's leading textile barons.

Squabbling Sahibs

● It's the pucca preserve of the sahib-log. But some of the sahibs are tut-tutting about the way things are being run at the much-sought-after Delhi Gymkhana Club, where no-pull outsiders can look forward to a half-century wait for membership. The club's huge



halls are barely enough for all the bile that has been vent since the elections to the managing committee last month.

Thirteen of the 16 seats were cornered by a group, mainly of civil and defence services officers, which campaigned jointly. Ousted oldtimers, reliving the shock of 1984—when a similar group coup took place—complain that they haven't even seen some of the new committee members before. New committeewallahs in turn say they are trying to save the club, since standards have deteriorated while old committee members "stuck to their seats for decades and did precious little".

The past year has been particularly bitter. Five committee members resigned last May. That was followed by legal suits filed by a member disputing disciplinary action and alleging corruption. Sheaves of pamphlets floated around before the elections, describing committee members as "thugs" and charging them of various things from allowing pilferage to selling club membership. Chhota behaviour from burra sahibs, what?

Literary Courtier

● When politicians from Uttar Pradesh in the Congress(I) sang paeans of praise to Sonia Gandhi on her birthday it came as an embarrassment to the first family. But recently an octogenarian, internationally-renowned novelist addressed a high-falutin open letter to the prime minister's teenaged daughter about which his aides have maintained a diplomatic silence.

The novelist, Mulk Raj Anand, has always been an ardent admirer of the family, but this particular passionate display took quite a few unawares at a recent conference of intellectuals in New Delhi.

At the conference, Anand circulated a paper titled: "A letter to a young citizen." It began by saying: "Dear Kumari Priyanka Gandhi, Greetings!" And proceeded to re-

count letters written by "your great grandfather" to "your grandmother". Eight pages, 2,000-odd words, quotes from Aldous Huxley and *vedic* chants later, the founder-editor of *Marg* and recipient of the Padma Bhushan ended with a fervent appeal to the young to save this poor planet of ours from wanton destruction.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

IF THIS DOESN'T MAKE YOU START SAVING OIL, YOU'RE PROBABLY NOT IN BUSINESS FOR PROFITS.

Name of Company	Oil saved per year– Kilolitres	Additional profit per year – Rs.*
Warner Hindustan Ltd.	400	14,00,000
Vijay Kumar Mills	96	3,36,000
GTC Industries Ltd.	45	1,57,500
Digvijay Textile Mills	15	52,500
Rajkot Dairy	240	8,40,000
Nav Bharat Steel Rolling Mills	480	16,80,000
Visvesvaraya Iron & Steel Ltd.	4,300	1,50,50,000
Shri Raghuvir Chemical Industries	20	70,000
Ashok Foundry & Metal Works	90	3,15,000
Man Industrial Corporation	570	19,95,000
J.G. Glass Industries	700	24,50,000

You are looking at the names of a few pioneers in the industry who are confronting the problem of oil wastage and taking steps to alleviate it.

And more importantly, saving themselves lakhs of rupees every year to add to their profit curves.

But what is surprising is that these thinking individuals are only a handful. Even in today's situation of acute oil crisis.

Surprising, considering that saving oil does not necessarily involve using only expensive, sophisticated equipment or changing plant machinery. Rather, it involves a simple change of attitude towards the problem.

Because once you decide to act on the problem, the rest becomes easy.

PCRA has already helped over 1750 industries, identified wastage areas and provided complete recommendation packages for increasing efficiency. For free.

These industries will testify that in most cases, the recommendations consist of simple measures to be implemented by you and your work force. Simple measures carried out with a new awareness. And a commitment towards the cause of saving that drop of oil.

So if yours is an industry that has already consulted PCRA, now is the time to act.

And if you haven't yet talked to PCRA, now is the time to pick up the phone or mail the coupon below.

After all, the profitability of your company is in your hands. And considering the high oil prices, it's about time you changed your attitude towards the problem. After all you are in business for profits, aren't you?

I am keen to know about fuel oil saving in Industry.

- ☐ Please send me your free literature
- ☐ Please depute your representative to visit our plant

Annual fuel oil consumption : _____

Major fuel consuming equipment with capacity : _____

_____

Name : _____

Address : _____

_____

T.T.

* *At an average rate of Rs. 3,500/- per Kilolitre.*

Petroleum Conservation Research Association

P C R A

603, New Delhi House
27, Barakhamba Road,
New Delhi-110 001.
Tel : 3315868.

FUEL SAVED IS PROFITS MADE.

everest/d88/PCRA/275

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

everest\d88\PCRA2275

Dear Bharat,

I couldn't have chosen a worse fortnight to fill you in on news from the home front. Frankly, it's been pretty dull around here, mainly routine stuff. With Rajiv Gandhi having lost another state election party MLAs have been absolutely revolting in a number of Congress(I) states; Subramaniam Swamy has decided to decimate the Opposition single-handedly; another festival flowered in India; N.T. Rama Rao sacked his entire cabinet and Coke is battling Pepsi. Like I said, dull, routine stuff.

Hopefully, the action will pick up once Parliament opens for the budget session—it's been getting livelier by the question hour and this time we should see some real fireworks (our old friend Hershman has surfaced again). Talking about fireworks, we have had yet another festival to contend with and it's getting pretty confusing trying to remember whether it's the year of the bear or the poodle. In any case, the poodle won paws down. The Prime Minister's Office, half the Cabinet and all the social groupies took French leave to learn all about how the French do it (they do it with lasers).

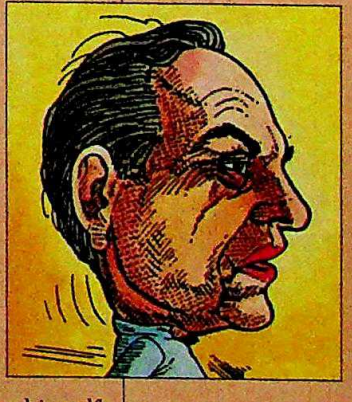
Buta Singh, has been flying around in circles, mainly Congress(I) ones, swatting at everything in sight.

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN

Rajiv behaves like he doesn't have a worry in the world.

But the big question is, how does Rajiv do it? He's just had an electoral set-back in the south, dissidents are thumbing their noses at him in at least three of his states, his popularity rating is rock-bottom, he can't even appoint the chief ministers he wants, and yet he behaves like he doesn't have a worry in the world. Pretty worrying, for the rest of us. Specially since he also acts like he intends to be around to waltz India into the 21st century. One can almost hear his party's next election slogan—"Ten more years."

Actually, his confidence may not be all that misplaced. The Janata Dal is still on the boil, the National Front has taken a back seat and V.P. Singh seems to have wandered off into the wilderness for another spell of political *sanyas*. In any case, Rajiv and the ruling party can always count on the dislikes of Subramaniam Swamy to do their job for them. Swamy has been making mysterious trips abroad and bombarding the media with all sorts of allegations against opposition leaders like Ramakrishna Hegde and V.P. Singh. The trouble is nobody knows whether he is the flying Swamy or the lying Swamy. Or, for that matter, whether he is a genuine bloodhound, a publicity hound, just a hound or a cat's paw. The general consensus is that he doesn't quite know himself.



The trouble with Subramaniam Swamy is nobody knows whether he is the flying Swamy or the lying Swamy.

But with or without Swamy, Rajiv does have his own SWAT team, better known in political circles as the Fly Swats. Piloted by Buta Singh, they have been flying around in circles, mainly Congress(I) ones, swatting at everything in sight. Dissidents in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan and opposition chief ministers in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka have faced the brunt of the fearsome five—and survived. (There may be no truth in the rumour that the Fly Swats intend to adopt the SAS motto—'Who dares, Wins.')

Rama Rao now becomes the first chief minister in history to hold every cabinet portfolio, which is a frightening thought should he start liking the idea.

We also have another episode of the continuing adventures of N.T. Rama Rao, popularly known as Drama Rao. This time, he has outdone, or rather undone, himself. Discovering one morning that his cabinet was leaking—the state's budget papers had been slipped to a local daily—he demanded the resignation of all 31 ministers and passed them on to the governor for acceptance.

Hailing their moral stand, Rama Rao departed for Delhi leaving the state without a cabinet (or was it the other way around?). He now becomes the first chief minister in history to hold every cabinet portfolio, which is a frightening thought should he start liking the idea.

But that seems to have been the flavour of the fortnight, much fury and sound signifying something—except nobody's quite sure what. Is Rajiv on the way out, on the way back, or just way out? Is V.P. Singh the answer? Or the question? Is Swamy an *enfant terrible?* Or just a terrible infant. Is Coke in? Or is Pepsi out? Watch this space.

Yours fatefully,
DILIP BOBB

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VXL

We Excel

It began as an idea. Which became a name. And now it is a way of life.

A group of companies, spread all over India, a range of diverse activities, numerous demanding disciplines... brought together within one timeless concept : 'We Excel'...

VXL India Limited.

Today, 'We Excel' is a way of life, a guiding beacon for a Corporation that has made success a habit in diverse business areas.

VXL : in the top bracket of woollen and blended suitings.

VXL : in the precise area of electrical meters and protection relays.

VXL : when there is no room for error. Precision equipment for the defence of India.

VXL : in the challenging area of edible oils.

And now, with 1989 ahead of us, 'We Excel' will soon enter new frontiers.

The wide world of chemicals.

The exciting world of sophisticated electronic instrumentation.

The fashionable world of pure-wool, designer menswear. Suits and safaris specially made for export.

The technology intensive world of

♦ DIGJAM ♦ OCM ♦ Universal Electrics

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cost-effective food processing, where 'nutrition' is the key word.

Other core sector units are in the final stage of execution.

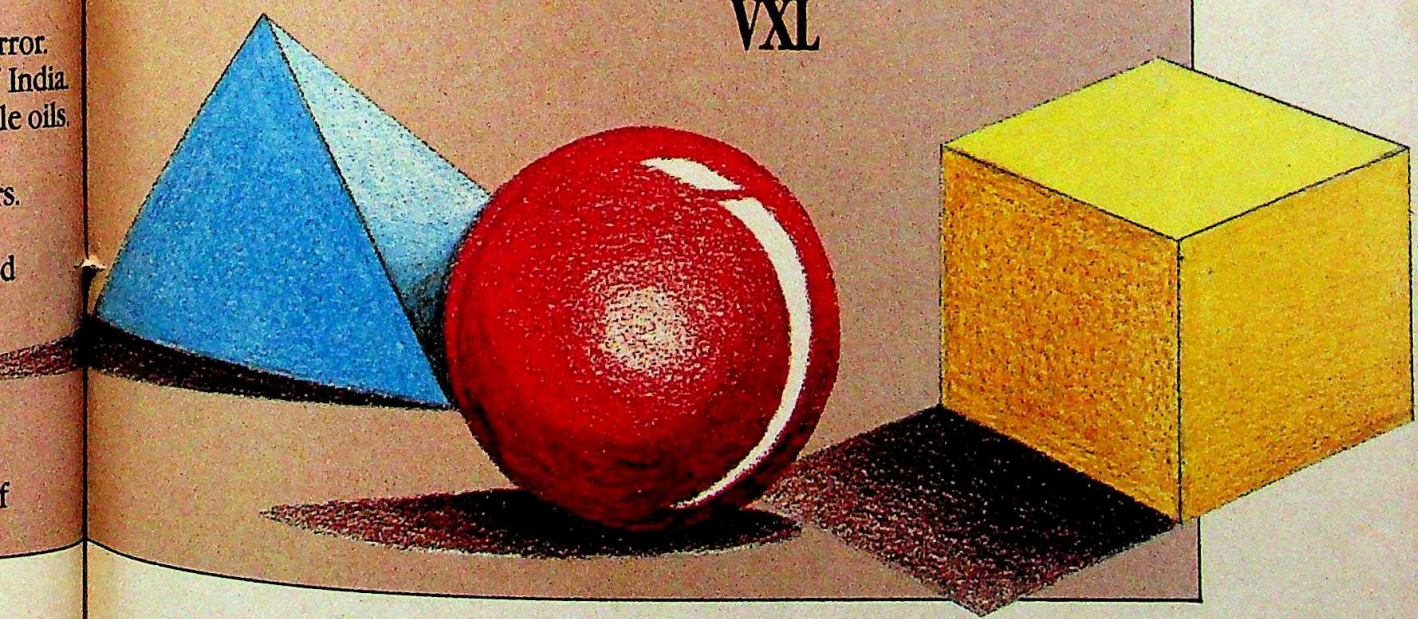
We Excel : A creed made possible by constant modernisation, constant upgradation.

And a highly refined orientation that ensures our consumers get the best.

VXL : An idea, a name, a Corporate belief that has grown in stature as the years go by.

Enabling us to enter the final year of an exciting decade with unsurpassed confidence for the future.

At the beginning of 1989, to all the readers of India Today, a Corporate update from all of us at VXL



♦ Universal Engineering ♦ Sidharth Oils

V·X·L
INDIA LTD.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I like a woman who has her secrets.
There's always something left to discover.

DIGJAM

Super Suitings for the Connoisseur

A Product of VXL India Ltd.
WE EXCEL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Available at Mill's SUMANGAL showrooms and other leading stores

Digitized by [illegible] oundation Chennai and eGangotri

Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

AJAX/DWM/PS-89

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OPINION POLL
CONGRESS(I)

TOUCH

INDIA TODAY commissioned MARG (Marketing & Research Group), the leading independent market research company, to conduct a nation-wide opinion poll, similar to the one conducted before the last general elections (INDIA TODAY, December 31, 1984). This is the fourth in a series conducted by MARG at six-monthly intervals (INDIA TODAY August 31, 1987; February 29, 1988; August 31, 1988).

Over 100 MARG interviewers covered more than 200 locations countrywide, interviewing 10,929 registered voters in 30 constituencies between January 25 and February 1. For the first time they carried ballot boxes to enable voters to mark their choice in secret. The poll was supervised by Jyoti Singh and Sunita Venkatraman.

The 30 constituencies were selected by well-known psephologist, Prannoy Roy, who analysed the data and projected the findings across the various swing zones to calculate the number of seats likely to be won by the Congress(I). In this complex exercise, research assistance was provided by Lolita Ghose and Namrata Harish.

The opinion poll covers a question on voting intention, a number of questions on items of continuing interest, and some of topical value.

The poll findings have been reported by Prannoy Roy and MARG.

Is Rajiv Gandhi on the way out? Are we in for political instability? Are we heading for a coalition government? These are the main questions thrown up by the latest INDIA TODAY-MARG poll. According to the poll, a hung Parliament is likely even if the Opposition is not united. However, if it does unite, the Congress(I) will be consigned to the Opposition benches. But will the Opposition be able to provide a stable government?

The poll suggests if elections to the Lok Sabha had been held towards January-end, it would have been touch-and-go (a two-seat majority) for Rajiv Gandhi even if the Opposition were fragmented. If it were united, the Congress(I)'s current strength of 400 plus would have been cut almost in half (to 203), leaving it still the largest party—but on the opposition benches.

However, a united opposition means all major parties, from the BJP to the CPI(M), put up a joint candidate in almost every constituency. Whatever the final line-up, the poll points to uncertain times ahead. Under the possibilities of a divided and a united opposition, the line-up could be as in the charts below.

The 'divided opposition' scenario is based on the past

CONGRESS(I) STRENGTH IN LOK SABHA

Tables by RAJEEV MADAN

THE NORTH — 126 Seats

States	Seats
Haryana	10
Himachal	4
Jammu & Kashmir	6
Punjab	13
Uttar Pradesh	85
Chandigarh	1
Delhi	7

THE SOUTH — 132 Seats

States	Seats
Andhra	42
Karnataka	28
Kerala	20
Tamil Nadu	39
A. & N. Islands	1
Lakshadweep	1
Pondicherry	1

THE EAST — 142 Seats

States	Seats
Arunachal	2
Assam	14
Bihar	54
Manipur	2
Meghalaya	2
Mizoram	1
Nagaland	1
Orissa	21
Sikkim	1
Tripura	2
West Bengal	42

THE WEST — 142 Seats

States	Seats
Goa	2
Gujarat	26
Madhya Pradesh	40
Maharashtra	48
Rajasthan	25
Dadra & Ngr. Haveli	1

ALL INDIA — 542 Seats

	THE NORTH	THE SOUTH	THE EAST	THE WEST	Total Congress(I) Seats	Total Lok Sabha Seats	% of Seats
1989 (February – Opinion Poll)	48	47	81	98	274	542	50.6
1988 (August – Opinion Poll)	49	56	76	116	297	542	54.8
1988 (February – Opinion Poll)	74	76	86	109	345	542	63.7
1987 (August – Opinion Poll)	65	79	79	100	323	542	59.6
1984	114	71	96	134	415*	542	76.6

*Includes seats won in Punjab and Assam Lok Sabha elections held in 1985

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AND GO

performance of the various parties. It indicates no single partner in the opposition would get even 100 seats. In such a situation, it is possible the Congress(I) may be able to operate comfortably by allying with one of the smaller parties or some independents.

The 'united opposition' scenario is one of many possible. The actual distribution of seats would depend upon the agreement on their allocation. What is clear is that regional parties, such as the TDP, the DMK and the AGP, are unlikely to gain as their strengths lie in their own states. The communists, on the other hand, could get some seats outside traditional strongholds. For the BJP, a much wider area—the entire Hindi belt and Gujarat—would open up and it would be able to pick up more seats than the CPI(M)/CPI. The main beneficiary of a united opposition would be the Janata Dal, which would pick up an additional 40-50 seats.

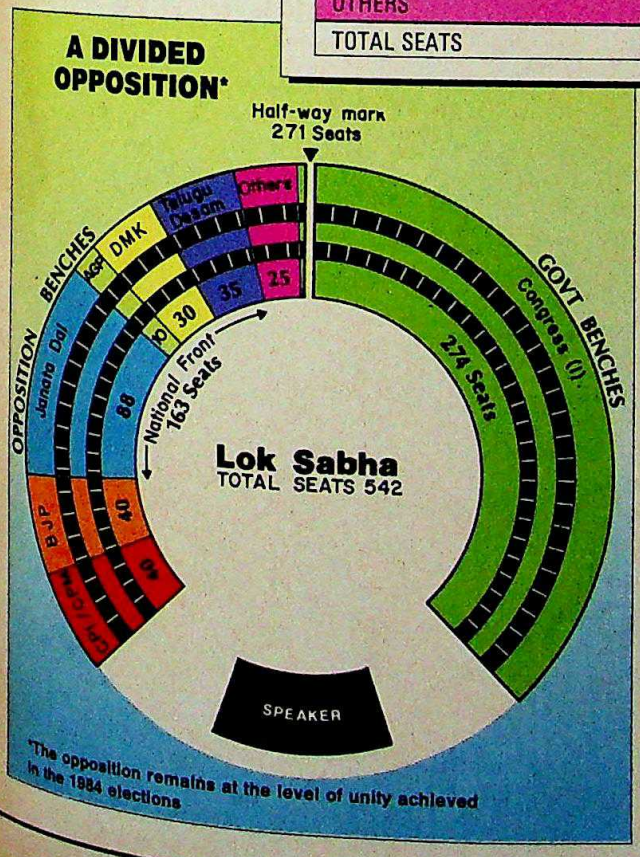
Nevertheless, the National Front would need the support of both the BJP and the CPI(M)/CPI to secure a majority. Whether these parties support the Government from inside or outside will determine the stability of the united opposition regime.

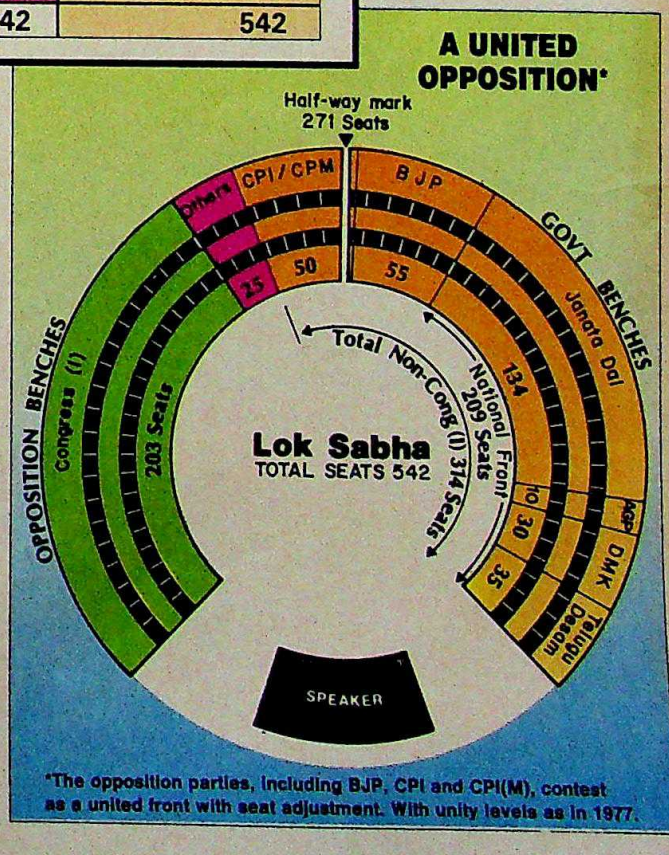
Despite the poor performance of the Congress(I) at the hustings, this poll shows an improvement in the prime minister's performance. Looking across the four polls, it is apparent that Rajiv's ratings are higher in the February polls than in the August ones. This could perhaps be attributed to the downward seasonal pressure on prevailing prices towards the beginning of each year—and, according to the poll, prices are the most important issue facing the electorate.

The latest INDIA TODAY-MARG poll also gives an indication that the popularity of the prime minister and that of his party are moving in opposite directions. This phenomenon has often been witnessed in western parliamentary democracies, where it is not very unusual to have a leader well ahead of his party. The results of the current poll are perhaps as much a reflection of the prime minister's inability to control the rampant in-fighting within his party as they are of the electorate's growing disenchantment with the Congress(I).

SEAT DISTRIBUTION

	A DIVIDED OPPOSITION	A UNITED OPPOSITION
CONGRESS(I)	274	203
BJP	40	55
CPI/CPM	40	50
TELUGU DESAM	35	35
DMK	30	30
AGP	10	10
JANATA DAL	88	134
NATIONAL FRONT T. DESAM, AGP, DMK, J. DAL	163	209
TOTAL OPPOSITION BJP, CPI/CPM, N. FRONT	—	314
OTHERS	25	25
TOTAL SEATS	542	542





CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When it's 100% Cottons, think only of

Century Textiles

India's largest Cotton textile exporter, Century Textiles, is today synonymous with the highest in quality and dependability in the international market.

Fashion designers the world over pay rich tributes to its feel, finish and infinite variety –shirtings and cambrics, voiles and mulls, dress materials, furnishings and bed-sheets. In the great fashion frontiers of the West, they believe the best things that have happened to cottons have happened at Century Textiles.

Century Textiles and Industries Limited

Century Bhavan
Worli, Bombay 400 025.
Telephone: 4300351
Telex: 011-71027
Telefax: 4309491

Now available for Select Garment Exporters

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Sobhagya-B/CT/89

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRIME MINISTER'S PERFORMANCE

		Good	Average	Bad
ALL INDIA	Feb 89	43	34	23
	Aug 88	38	33	29
	Feb 88	43	35	22
	Aug 87	34	37	29

('Don't knows' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

PERFORMANCE vs EXPECTATIONS

		Better than expected	Worse than expected	As expected
ALL INDIA	Feb 89	39	31	30
	Aug 88	32	39	29
	Feb 88	36	32	32
	Aug 87	30	40	30

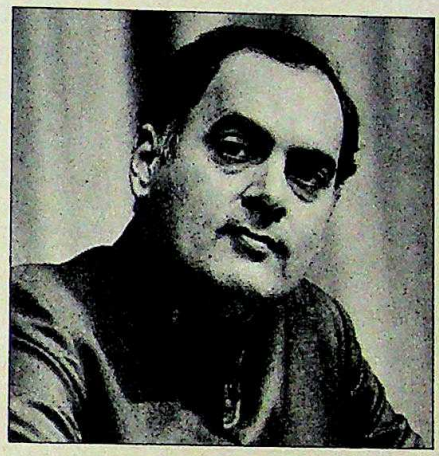
('Don't knows' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

RAJIV'S RATING UP

The rating of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's performance has been yo-yoing in the last four INDIA TODAY-MARG polls.

Despite his recent political set-backs and his performance over the last six months, Rajiv's rating has actually improved over the last poll.

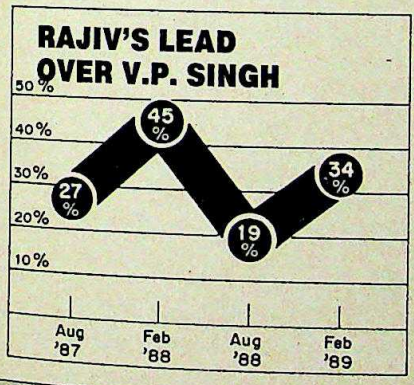
The rating is higher in the February poll than in the August one. This may be attributed to the relatively lower prices prevailing early in the year.



GAP REDUCES

As in the case of his performance rating, the prime minister's performance vis-a-vis the expectations of the electorate also shows no divergent trend and tends to move in a cyclical manner.

In comparison with the poll conducted in August 1988, now an even greater proportion of the voters feel that Rajiv Gandhi's performance over the last six months has been better than they had expected.



RAJIV'S LEAD INCREASES

Rajiv Gandhi has again widened the gap—which he had forfeited in the last poll—between him and other prospective candidates for the prime minister's job.

Among supporters of the ruling party he remains, not surprisingly, the overwhelming favourite. The difference over last time is that he has gained support even among opposition voters—edging out Jyoti Basu, and running neck-and-neck with Vishwanath Pratap Singh.

Though for Rajiv this represents an improvement over last year's August poll—when among opposition supporters both V.P. Singh and Jyoti Basu took a lead over him—his improved ratings do not match those of the poll before last, the February 1988 one.

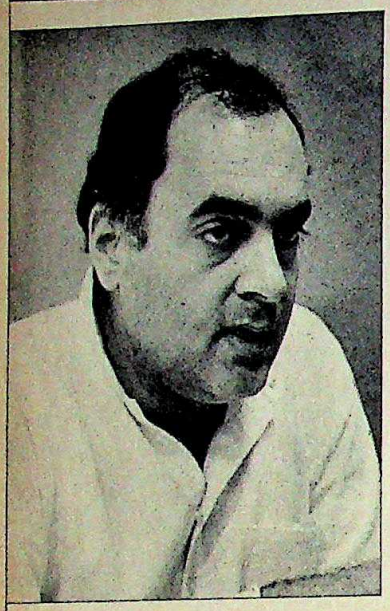
WHO WOULD MAKE A BETTER PRIME MINISTER?

		RAJIV GANDHI	V.P. SINGH	RAJIV GANDHI	R.K. HEGDE	RAJIV GANDHI	JYOTI BASU
NORTH		62	32	77	18	77	18
SOUTH		68	27	65	25	72	22
EAST		62	29	71	19	47	47
WEST		61	29	72	22	70	26
ALL INDIA	Feb 89	63	29	71	23	66	28
	Aug 88	56	37	67	27	60	35
	Feb 88	68	23	75	18	68	26
	Aug 87	61	34	66	30	70	27
Congress(I) voters		90	6	93	5	90	7
Opposition voters		45	45	55	35	50	43

('Don't knows' excluded; 'Both equal' accounts for the balance) (All figures in percentages)

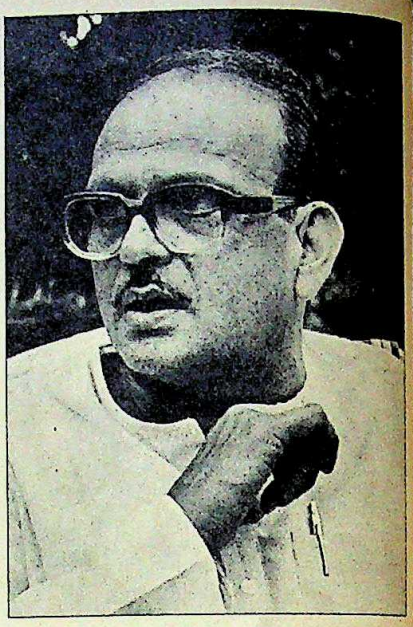
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



RAJIV GANDHI vs V.P. SINGH

Rajiv Improves



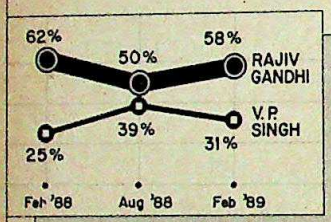
One standard question in the INDIA TODAY-MARG polls undertaken till now involves a comparison of Rajiv Gandhi and Vishwanath Pratap Singh.

These comparisons are based on a number of qualities in each individual as perceived by those polled.

The prime minister has always enjoyed, and continues to enjoy, a lead over V.P. Singh in terms of being:

- more honest,
- a better administrator,
- a person with greater clarity of vision, and
- more pro-poor.

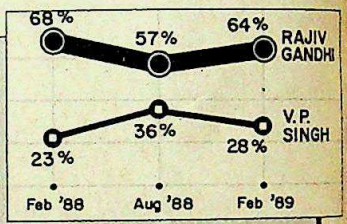
However, while Rajiv's position has strengthened since the August 1988 poll (both among his own supporters as well as among opposition backers), it is marginally weaker than in February 1988.



MORE HONEST

		Rajiv Gandhi	V.P. Singh	Rajiv's lead
ALL INDIA	Feb 89	58	31	+ 27
	Aug 88	50	39	+ 11
	Feb 88	62	25	+ 37
Congress(I) voters		83	9	+ 74
Opposition voters		41	46	− 5

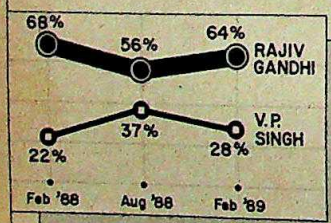
('Don't knows' excluded; 'Both equal' accounts for the balance) (All figures in percentages)



BETTER ADMINISTRATOR

		Rajiv Gandhi	V.P. Singh	Rajiv's lead
ALL INDIA	Feb 89	64	28	+ 36
	Aug 88	57	36	+ 21
	Feb 88	68	23	+ 45
Congress(I) voters		88	7	+ 81
Opposition voters		47	43	+ 4

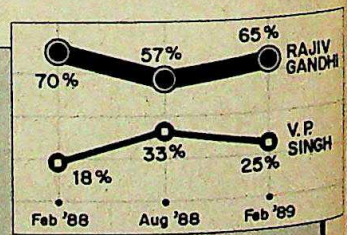
('Don't knows' excluded; 'Both equal' accounts for the balance) (All figures in percentages)



GREATER CLARITY OF VISION

		Rajiv Gandhi	V.P. Singh	Rajiv's lead
ALL INDIA	Feb 89	64	28	+ 36
	Aug 88	56	37	+ 19
	Feb 88	68	22	+ 46
Congress(I) voters		88	8	+ 80
Opposition voters		47	42	+ 5

('Don't knows' excluded; 'Both equal' accounts for the balance) (All figures in percentages)



MORE PRO-POOR

		Rajiv Gandhi	V.P. Singh	Rajiv's lead
ALL INDIA	Feb 89	65	25	+ 40
	Aug 88	57	33	+ 24
	Feb 88	70	18	+ 52
Congress(I) voters		88	6	+ 82
Opposition voters		50	35	+ 15

('Don't knows' excluded; 'Both equal' accounts for the balance) (All figures in percentages)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

National Front leaders at the inaugural rally: uncertain identity

OPPOSITION GOVERNMENT WON'T LAST

In the latest INDIA TODAY-MARG poll, voters were asked whether they felt a united opposition government at the Centre would last the full term or break up earlier.

It should be some consolation to the ruling Congress(I) that around two-thirds of the voters in each zone were of the opinion that an opposition government at the Centre would not be able to last out its full term.

Obviously, the electorate has still not forgotten the events of 1979 when the opposition alliance under the Janata Party flag collapsed well before its term came to an end.

REMAIN UNITED OR BREAK UP?

	Break up	Remain United
NORTH	63	37
SOUTH	63	37
EAST	60	40
WEST	66	34
ALL INDIA	64	36

('Don't knows' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

AWARENESS ABOUT NATIONAL FRONT/JANATA DAL

	National Front		Janata Dal	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
NORTH	25	75	55	45
SOUTH	32	68	41	59
EAST	25	75	80	20
WEST	17	83	46	54
ALL INDIA	24	76	51	49

('Don't knows' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

HIGH AND LOW

With some element of confusion existing about the main opposition groupings, voters were questioned about their awareness of the National Front and the Janata Dal.

While knowledge of the National Front was low that of the Janata Dal was fairly high. Only a bare quarter of the voters knew of the Front, while an impressive 51 per cent were aware of the Dal.

Awareness about the National Front was the highest in the south. This could perhaps be attributed to N.T. Rama Rao's chairmanship of the National Front as also to the heavy exposure received by leaders of the National Front in the recent Tamil Nadu elections.

In the case of the Janata Dal, the level of awareness is surprisingly the highest in the east (80 per cent), followed by the north (45 per cent).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BEIJING VISIT ADVANTAGEOUS

Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China last January was the first to that country by an Indian prime minister since the '50s when Jawaharlal Nehru made an official visit to Beijing. Since the 1962 Indo-China conflict, relations between the two Asian giants have been openly hostile.

There has been considerable debate on whether Rajiv should have made the trip and what exactly were the gains.

Voters were asked whether they approved of Rajiv Gandhi's journey to Beijing.

A vast majority (80 per cent of those aware of the visit) supported the prime minister's initiative in restoring a dialogue with the Chinese leadership.

Moreover, around two-thirds (74 per cent) of these voters felt that the visit had served to strengthen India's position vis-a-vis China.

Overall, the rating for the prime minister's visit is exceedingly high. As would be expected, the visit has more backing among supporters of the Congress(I), but even among supporters of the Opposition, 66 per cent of the voters felt Rajiv's trip to Beijing was advantageous for India.

IMPACT OF PM'S CHINA VISIT

	India's Position Strengthened	India's Position Weakened
Congress(I) Supporters	86	14
Opposition Supporters	66	34
ALL INDIA	74	26

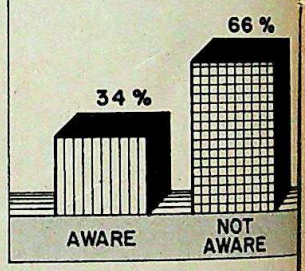
('Don't knows' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

THE BOFORS CONTROVERSY: PM & FRIENDS INVOLVED?

	Yes	No
Congress(I) Supporters	42	58
Opposition Supporters	80	20
ALL INDIA	68	32

('Don't knows and those not aware of Bofors' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

BOFORS AWARENESS



RAJIV NOT IN THE CLEAR

Has the Bofors controversy blown over? Or is it still a major issue? The latest INDIA TODAY-MARG poll sought to assess the current status of the longest-running controversy in recent Indian history.

The bad news for the Congress(I) is that a third of the voters (and 42 per cent in the north) were aware of the controversy. What is even more distressing for the Congress(I) and the prime minister personally is that, of those aware:

- 68 per cent feel Rajiv Gandhi and his friends are involved, and
- 58 per cent of those who think the prime minister and his friends are involved believe Rajiv Gandhi himself is involved.

The Bofors controversy is obviously a major issue even among supporters of the ruling party. Over 40 per cent of Congress(I) backers who are aware of the controversy believe that the prime minister and his friends are involved.

As expected, the condemnation of Rajiv Gandhi's friends as well as of the prime minister himself is greater among opposition voters.

RAJIV GETTING TOO MUCH COVERAGE

The INDIA TODAY-MARG poll questioned voters about Doordarshan's performance on issues relating to viewership, coverage of the prime minister and the credibility of Doordarshan news.

■ **Viewership:**

Just over 40 per cent of voters claimed they watched Doordarshan 'regularly nowadays'. The viewership was, however, higher in the west and the north. Viewership figures are the lowest in the south.

■ **Coverage of the Prime Minister:**

For some time, opposition leaders have been complaining that the prime minister is getting too much coverage on Doordarshan. At times, Rajiv has himself expressed this view. It now seems 50 per cent of the TV-viewing electorate (and a hefty 34 per cent of Congress(I) supporters) shares this view.

■ **Credibility of the News:**

The mandarins of Mandi House should find considerable consolation in the finding that almost three-quarters of the TV-viewing electorate is of the opinion that the political news carried by Doordarshan is believable.

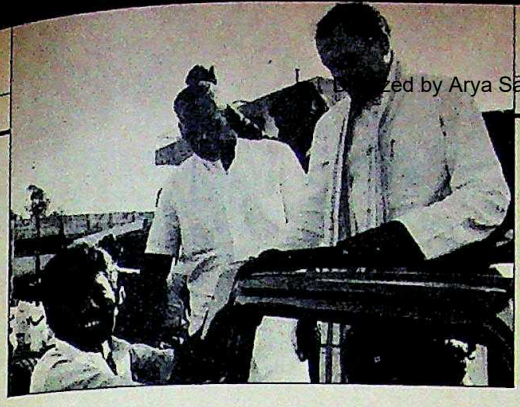
PM'S COVERAGE ON DOORDARSHAN

	Too Much	Too Little	Just Right
Congress(I) Supporters	34	14	52
Opposition Supporters	58	9	33
ALL INDIA	50	10	40

('Don't knows and non-TV viewers' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation



TAMIL NADU: THE PARTY'S DEFEAT

The voters were asked to indicate whether they saw the Congress(I) defeat in Tamil Nadu as a defeat for the party or a defeat for the prime minister personally.

Twenty one per cent were unable to identify the winner or said the Congress(I) won. Of the rest, two-thirds felt that the defeat was the party's defeat, not the prime minister's personal defeat. This was so among both, Congress(I) and opposition backers (though Congress(I) voters were more charitable to their leader than opposition supporters).

PUNJAB PROBLEM HANDLED WELL

Paradoxically, considering that there has been no visible improvement in the situation in Punjab, a majority of the voters seem fairly satisfied with the way the Government is handling the Punjab problem.

As may be expected, the 'very good' ratings were much higher among Congress(I) voters, while the reverse was true for the 'very bad' ratings. However, even among opposition voters, opinion is fairly evenly divided about the Government's handling of the Punjab problem.

CONGRESS DEFEAT: RAJIV'S OR PARTY'S?

	Rajiv's Defeat	Party's Defeat
Congress(I) Supporters	21	79
Opposition Supporters	39	61
ALL INDIA	34	66

(This question was only put to those who were not ignorant of the result.)

('Don't knows' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

HANDLING OF THE PUNJAB PROBLEM

	Very Good	Good	Bad	Very Bad
Congress(I) Supporters	16	59	17	8
Opposition Supporters	7	40	33	20
ALL INDIA	11	47	27	15

('Don't knows' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE IN THE COUNTRY

ALL INDIA	Prices	Corruption	Communalism	Law and Order
Feb 89	46	32	16	6
Aug 88	46	35	14	5
Feb 88	48	34	12	6
Aug 87	32	36	23	9

('Don't knows' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

FUTURE OF THE ECONOMY

		Will Improve	Will Worsen	Remain Same
ALL INDIA	Feb 89	37	19	44
	Aug 88	31	24	45
	Feb 88	31	28	41
	Aug 87	32	29	40

('Don't knows' excluded) (All figures in percentages)

PRICES THE MAIN CONCERN

The prospect of a heavy dose of inflation is perceived as the most worrying problem facing the nation. Corruption is viewed as the most serious problem for the nation by one-third of the electorate. Communalism/separatism and law and order are cited by much smaller proportions of voters.

On the personal front also, voters are more concerned about prices, though as many as one-third find unemployment the most serious problem. Once again, women cite prices much more often than men as their main concern.

OPTIMISM ABOUT THE ECONOMY

The results of a good monsoon and the growth in the economy are reflected in the latest INDIA TODAY-MARG poll.

For the first time in this series of polls, the proportion saying that the economy is faring 'well' has exceeded 20 per cent and the 'badly' rating has plummeted to below 50 per cent.

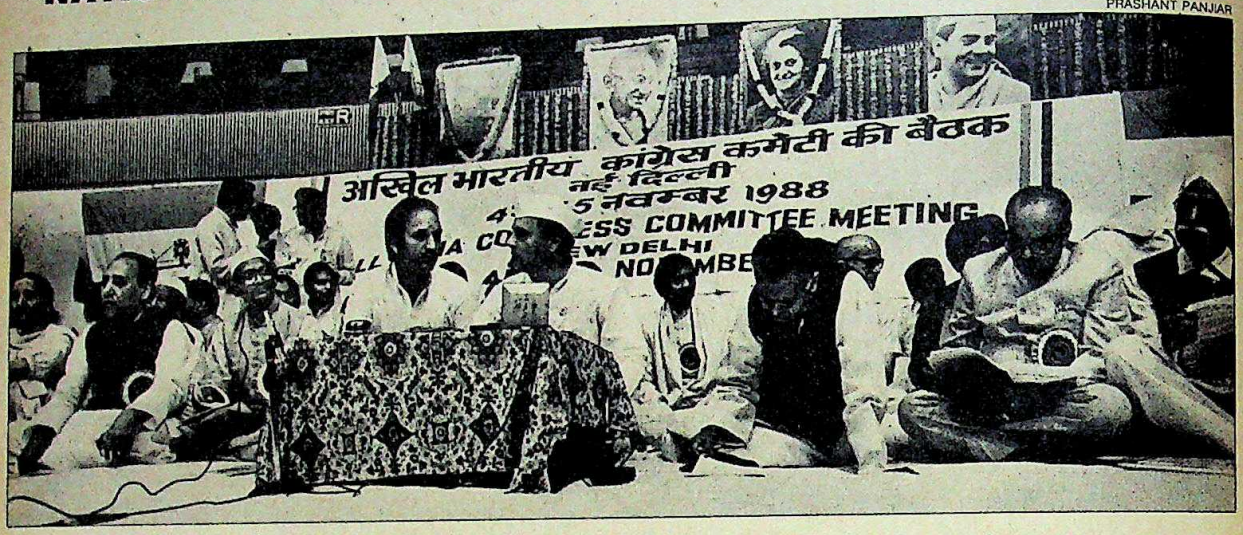
The voter is also optimistic about the future, with 37 per cent expecting the economy to improve further in the next six months and only 19 per cent expecting a downturn.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NATIONAL POLITICS HEADING FOR

PRASHANT PANJIAR



The poll shows that the prime minister's personal ratings have remained steady, even risen, while that of his party has fallen...

THE wheel of Indian politics tends to rotate with a cyclical certainty. Now it is appearing to come full circle circa 1967. That year Indira Gandhi, buffeted by party infighting, held to ransom by regional satraps, squeaked through the parliamentary elections with a slender 12-seat majority. And major reversals for the ruling party in the northern states led to coalition governments in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Punjab and Haryana. How she met the post-election challenge is another story.

But with the general elections only nine months away and the clock of political fate ticking on mercilessly, Rajiv Gandhi must surely have the sinking feeling his mother then had. For, as the INDIA TODAY-MARG poll reveals, Rajiv's fate, and that of his party, hangs in the same political balance as that of his mother in 1967. In a continuous and catastrophic slide that began more than a year ago, the ruling party has rapidly lost ground. If elections were held today, the Congress(I) would win no more than 274 seats—just three seats more than the halfway mark—opposition disunity notwithstanding. And if opposition unity materialises the Congress(I) would get just 203 seats and find itself confined to the benches of the Opposition.

Whether the erosion will continue is anybody's guess. But obviously all efforts so far—including Rajiv's valiant forays into enemy territories like Tamil Nadu—have failed miserably. If anything, the Tamil Nadu election, more than any other political happening of the last three years, has cast its shadow over the fortunes of the ruling party and is threatening to seal its fate. The INDIA TODAY-MARG poll was, incidentally, conducted within days of the Tamil Nadu poll results.

For the ruling party, one of the most critical revelations of events in Tamil Nadu was that it has ceased to function as an organisation capable of sustained, coordinated and inspired teamwork and strategy. It was at such heated war with itself that rivals within the party even resorted to conducting fraudulent survey polls in order to buttress their partisan viewpoints before the high command.

The Congress(I) certainly appears to be in a self-destructive mood. And it is this mood, manifested in dissidence, corruption, disorganisation and outright anarchy, that has been pulling the party down rather than any sustained effort by the equally flip-flop opposition. Whatever political mileage and confidence the Opposition has gained has been by default.

In the south, the Congress(I) has suffered reverses not only because of a lack of clear strategies but also because regional opposition leaders and personalities have exercised a charismatic pull on the voters. In the north, particularly Uttar Pradesh, the ruling party's position is about the same as it was six months ago. This clearly indicates that in the Hindi heartland, the Opposition, which has neither powerful leaders nor an attractive and clearly-enunciated programme, is still not viewed as an alternative to the Congress(I). But in the west, the poll shows a drop in the Congress(I)'s strength from 116 in the August 1988 poll to 98 now. This region includes Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan where dissidence, powermongering and crass patronage-seeking are at their height and where clearer alternative groupings with an image of cohesiveness—like the BJP—are making gains. In essence, it is the Congress(I) that is doing itself in, rather than the National Front which still projects a somewhat nebulous image.

Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Gujarat have become the symbols of the demise of Central authority and the grip of the high command over the party. In all these states Central ministers have been hooted and vilified publicly.

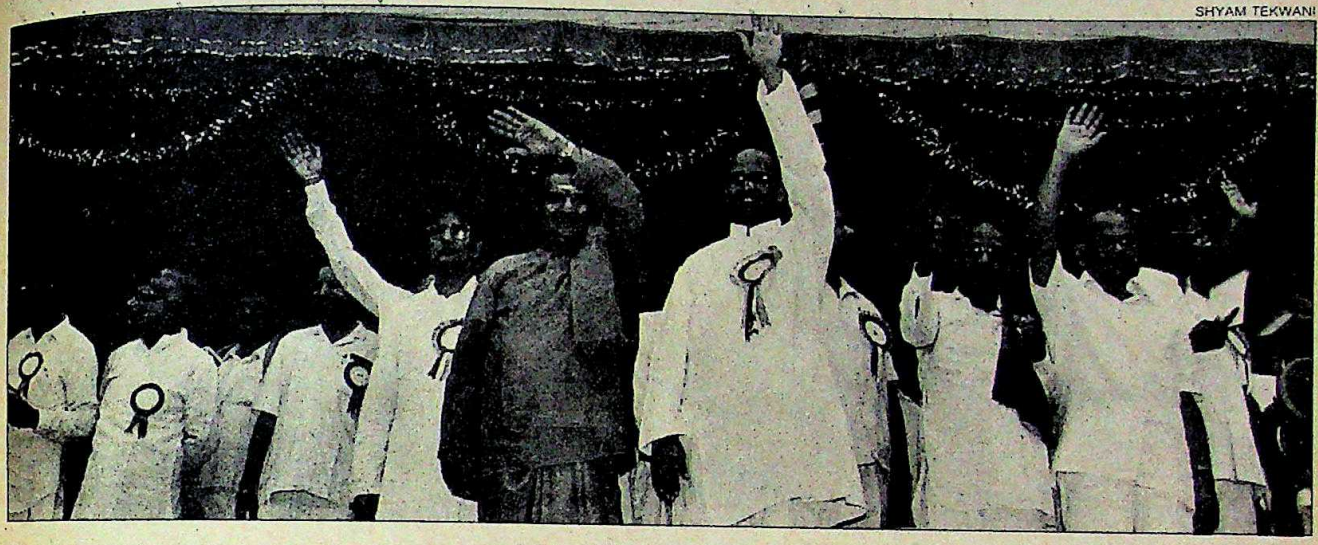
The revolt against the prime minister's men, by proxy, is a revolt against the prime minister himself no matter how many loyalty oaths to the prime minister the dissidents may take when asked to do so by Central observers whose political currency, to all intents

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INSTABILITY

SHYAM TEKWANI



...Two-thirds of the poll respondents believe that even if the Opposition forms a government it will not hold together.

and purposes, stands devalued.

It is this devaluation of political authority that appears to be turning the public away from the ruling party in large numbers. And opposition leaders have been quick to exploit this. Last fortnight N.T. Rama Rao, Devi Lal, and even Jyoti Basu publicly upbraided the prime minister at the chief ministers' annual meeting in New Delhi. Such functions are usually low-key affairs and in the past they have never served as platforms for politicking leave alone attacking the prime minister who is the host. But with the Congress(I)'s fortunes waning, even a forum such as this has lent itself to becoming a stage on which opposition leaders can demonstrate their new-found aggressiveness.

TRUE, as the poll shows, Rajiv's personal ratings have remained steady, even risen, while his party's has fallen. This dichotomy occurs possibly because in comparison to party apparatchiks, state leaders, and the slime and grime of local politics, Rajiv still stands out as an attractive and overburdened sympathy-figure. Besides, to the public, he is still the only figure in the party who enjoys the image of a national leader—a man of stature. Also, V.P. Singh, who was catching up with Rajiv in the popularity ratings six months ago, has now fallen behind in a head-to-head comparison. Caught up in the petty bickerings of opposition parties, he seems to have lost his special identity and become one among several opposition leaders. He also appears to have lost his earlier momentum, even in the Hindi heartland.

But will Rajiv's personal popularity continue? The poll indicates some disturbing straws in the wind. More than a third of the respondents were aware of the Bofors controversy and 68 per cent of them believed Rajiv and his friends are involved. Surprisingly, 42 per cent of those aware of the controversy and who called themselves Congress(I) supporters also held the same belief. That Rajiv's image-builders may have turned counter-productive was also indicated by the fact that over half the respondents who watch Doordarshan felt the prime minister was receiving excessive coverage.

And most of the respondents indicated that, along with rising prices which have become a serious worry, corruption is a major concern. Congress(I) dissidence in the states—perhaps a reflection of the political jitters arising from these factors—is also the result of chief ministers spending most of their time protecting their political turfs rather than plunging headlong into bread-and-butter development work. What is worse, the local party organisations are doing the same thing.

It is quite evident now that the major shake-ups in the All India Congress(I) Committee and the Pradesh Congress(I) Committees—intended to mobilise the party to meet the opposition onslaught—have simply not worked. The state committees are in a shambles. Balram Singh Yadav in Uttar Pradesh, Ashok Gehlot in Rajasthan, Veerendra Patil in Karnataka, Chandulal Chandrakar in Madhya Pradesh, have not only not been up to snuff but have become hopelessly enmeshed in debilitating groupism. In important states like Karnataka and Haryana PCC(I) chiefs have been appointed but the committees have not even been constituted.

It's self-destruct all the way. And as the ruling party sinks, the fate of Parliament seems on the brink of uncertainty. The spectre of coalition governments begins to loom large. For even in the worst-case scenario for the Congress(I) (203 seats in the face of a united opposition) the National Front will get only 209—63 short of a majority. The BJP and the communist parties will hold the balance. Two-thirds of the poll respondents believe that even if the Opposition forms a government it will not hold together. How the equations will resolve themselves is in the realm of guesswork. But the message that is clear is that the nation is headed for a period of political instability.

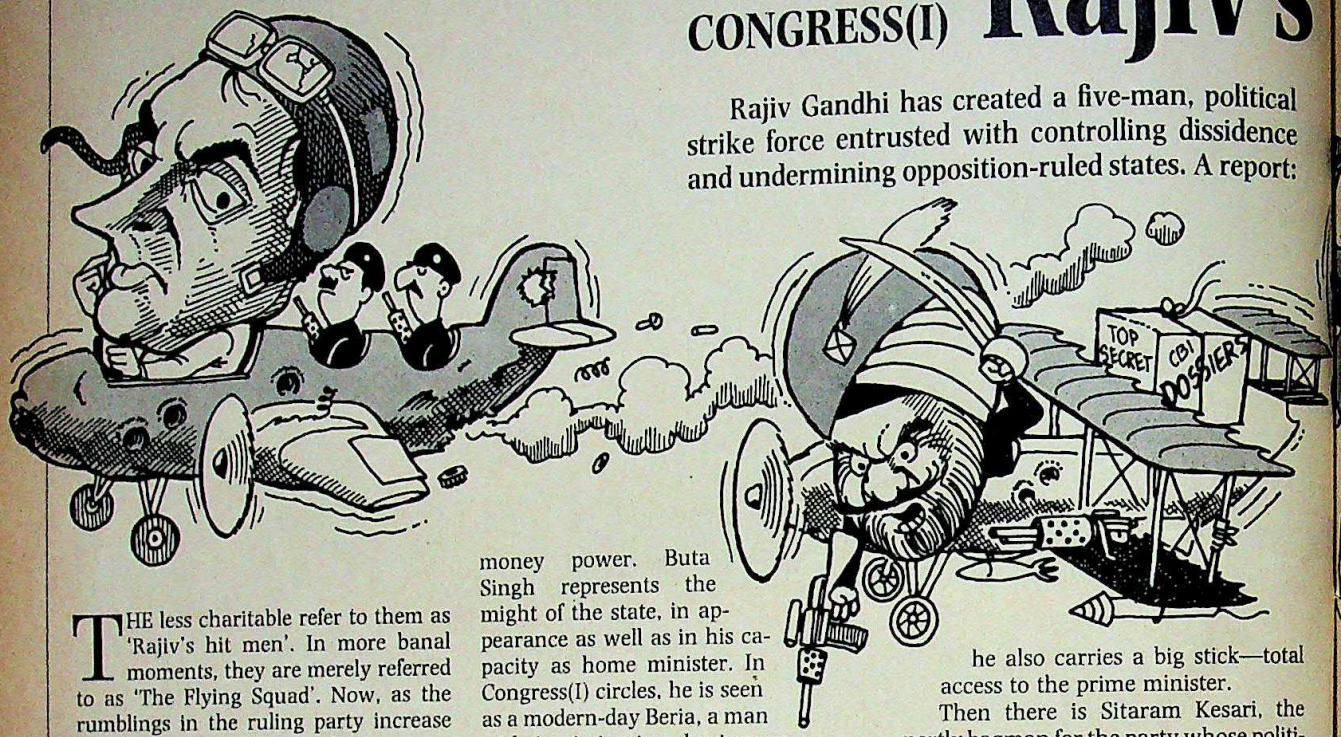
—INDERJIT BADHWAR and PRABHU CHAWLA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONGRESS(I) Rajiv's

Rajiv Gandhi has created a five-man, political strike force entrusted with controlling dissidence and undermining opposition-ruled states. A report:



THE less charitable refer to them as 'Rajiv's hit men'. In more banal moments, they are merely referred to as 'The Flying Squad'. Now, as the rumblings in the ruling party increase and the general elections draw nearer, they have finally emerged in their true role—the prime minister's political commandos charging forth to do battle against the enemy and uphold the fair name of their king. Individually, they are hardly the stuff that Arthurian legends are made of. But collectively, they constitute an elite and powerful force, a five-man army of political Rambos rampaging through enemy territory in defence of the Rajiv realm.

Endowed with all the awesome power of the state, and the prime ministerial seal of authority, the five men—Union Home Minister Buta Singh, Steel and Mines Minister Makhan Lal Fotedar, All India Congress(I) Committee General Secretary Ghulam Nabi Azad, former Punjab chief minister Darbara Singh and the party's permanent treasurer Sitaram Kesari—have transformed the party symbol, the hand, into a mailed fist.

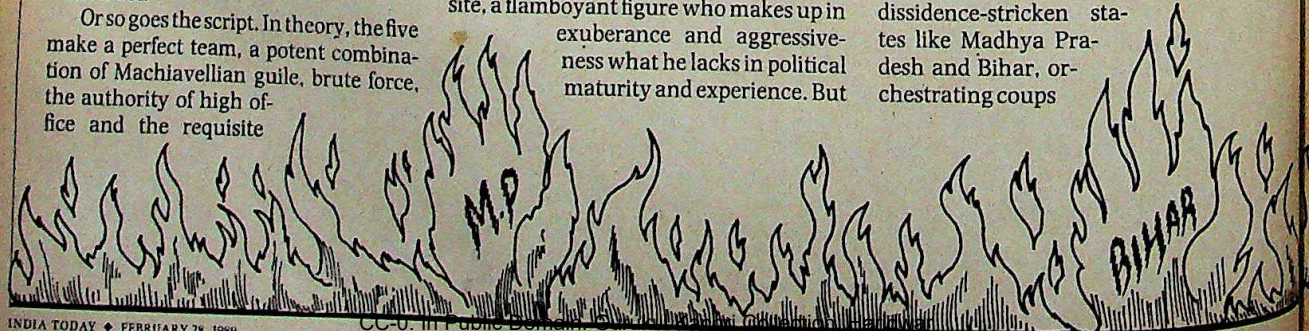
Or so goes the script. In theory, the five make a perfect team, a potent combination of Machiavellian guile, brute force, the authority of high office and the requisite money power. Buta Singh represents the might of the state, in appearance as well as in his capacity as home minister. In Congress(I) circles, he is seen as a modern-day Beria, a man with incriminating dossiers on everybody and head of the invisible but omnipotent secret police.

The lantern-jawed Fotedar is the eternal schemer, made in the mould of the Borgias. A cunning and crafty backroom player, he revels in intrigue and political plots, cajoling, threatening, enticing and persuading his way through the corridors of power. He has dealt with almost every Congressman in his capacity as political secretary to Mrs Gandhi, and later, Rajiv himself. Ghulam Nabi Azad is the opposite, a flamboyant figure who makes up in exuberance and aggressiveness what he lacks in political maturity and experience. But he also carries a big stick—total access to the prime minister.

Then there is Sitaram Kesari, the portly bagman for the party whose political links stretch back into the party's hoary past. As party treasurer, Kesari's power lies in his hold on the party coffers. There is hardly any important Congress(I) leader who has not been obliged by Kesari. And the perfect counterpoint is Darbara Singh, the soft-spoken and non-controversial elder statesman whose socialist links go down well with certain sections of the ruling party. The five also have another collective asset—uninhibited loyalty to Rajiv Gandhi.

> **The Squad is endowed with the awesome power of the state, and the prime ministerial seal of authority....**

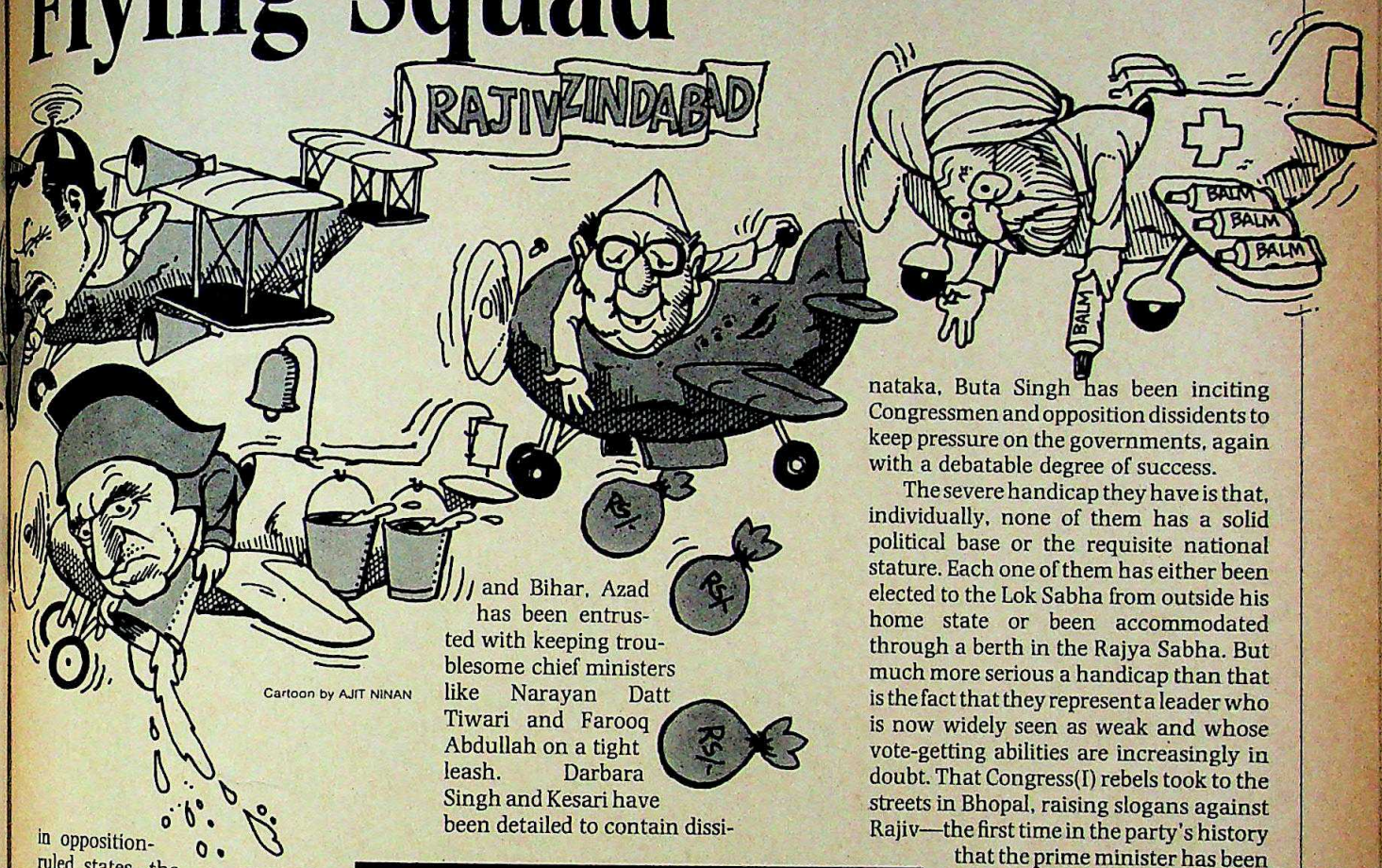
Paradoxically, that is also a disadvantage. In political terms, the Flying Squad has all the attributes to make for a formidable force, a political powerhouse that carries clout, the keys to the safe and a carte blanche from the prime minister. And operationally, they give the impression of being on top of the situation—literally. Air-dropped like political para-commandos on dissidence-stricken states like Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, orchestrating coups



CC-0. In Public Domain. Sunaj Gangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Flying Squad



Cartoon by AJIT NINAN

....They are political Rambos rampaging through enemy territory in defence of the Rajiv realm.

in opposition-ruled states, the Flying Squad is constantly on the move, jetting from one trouble-spot to another.

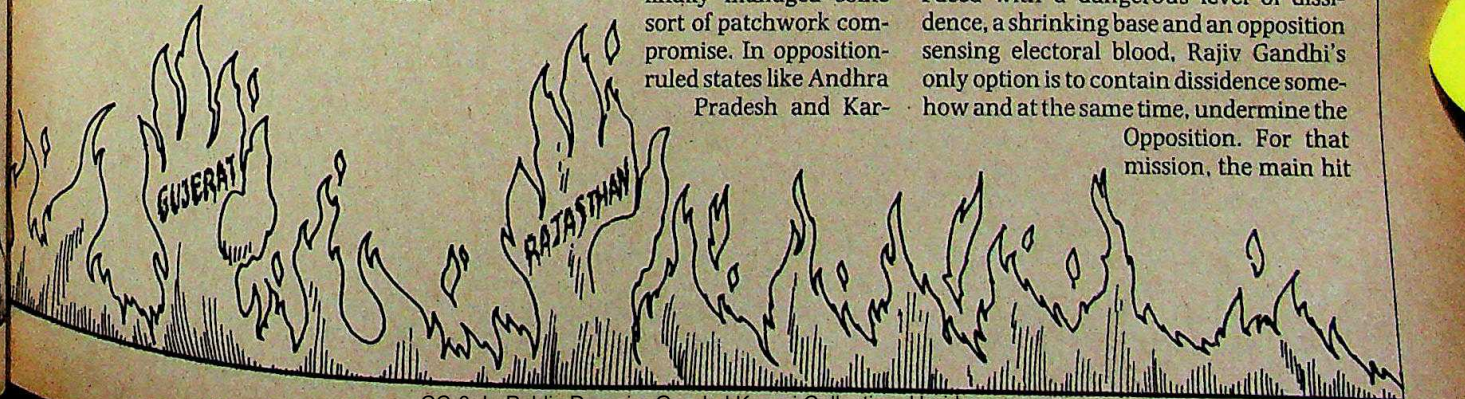
But in reality, the five-man army has become something of a chimera, an illusion of power and activity that is at odds with the visible success, or lack of it, in its role and mission. During the last few months, the five have been air-dropped on Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Bihar. Their brief: to snuff out dissident fires in the Congress(I)-ruled states and foment trouble in the others. While Buta Singh and Fotedar have played major roles in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, Azad has been entrusted with keeping troublesome chief ministers like Narayan Datt Tiwari and Farooq Abdullah on a tight leash. Darbara Singh and Kesari have been detailed to contain dissidence in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Maharashtra.

But on balance, the failures of their missions have outweighed the successes. In the Congress(I)-ruled states, they have been scorned by dissidents but they have finally managed some sort of patchwork compromise. In opposition-ruled states like Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, Buta Singh has been inciting Congressmen and opposition dissidents to keep pressure on the governments, again with a debatable degree of success.

The severe handicap they have is that, individually, none of them has a solid political base or the requisite national stature. Each one of them has either been elected to the Lok Sabha from outside his home state or been accommodated through a berth in the Rajya Sabha. But much more serious a handicap than that is the fact that they represent a leader who is now widely seen as weak and whose vote-getting abilities are increasingly in doubt. That Congress(I) rebels took to the streets in Bhopal, raising slogans against Rajiv—the first time in the party's history that the prime minister has been criticised in public—is an indication of that fact.

Similarly, the Bihar dissidents' defiance illustrates that as a peace-keeping force, the Flying Squad is hardly as formidable as it seems. In Mrs Gandhi's time one Central nominee, or at the most two, was all that was required to quell sporadic convulsions in the party. The fact that Rajiv requires five nominees to do the same job symbolises the erosion of his personal authority.

Yet, in terms of potential, Rajiv's Flying Squad forms the spearhead for the Congress(I) in the coming electoral battle. Faced with a dangerous level of dissidence, a shrinking base and an opposition sensing electoral blood, Rajiv Gandhi's only option is to contain dissidence somehow and at the same time, undermine the Opposition. For that mission, the main hit



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

men are Buta Singh and Fotedar.

As home minister, Buta Singh undoubtedly has the most clout. He has been involved in the removal of 12 of the 18 Congress(I) chief ministers who have been changed in the last four years. He controls the governors in various states, whether ruled by the Congress(I) or the Opposition. The governors send their confidential briefs directly to the home minister who then tailors the political strategy accordingly. He also has access to intelligence reports from the IB and CID agents in the states who gather political intelligence for the ruling party. Buta Singh and Fotedar were active in Tamil Nadu during the elections, even to the extent of sketching out a scenario for the swearing-in of a Congress(I) chief minister. They failed mainly due to their blind loyalty to a leader who believed naively that the Congress(I) would defeat Karunanidhi.

In Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, the scene was somewhat different but it was also an example of how the Flying Squad operates and with what success. Surprisingly, considering they are his political strike force, the Flying Squad rarely meets Rajiv Gandhi as a group. Usually, he summons them to his residence individually and gives them their brief. In most cases, it is Rajiv who lays down the objectives for the operation, leaving the logistical details to members of the squad.

In Madhya Pradesh, for instance, when the Central observers failed to convince Congress(I) legislators to accept Madhavrao Scindia as Arjun Singh's replacement, Rajiv Gandhi called in Buta Singh and Fotedar. While Buta Singh carried the clout, Fotedar had dealt with Arjun Singh on innumerable occasions and was the key strategist. Rajiv Gandhi had already informed them of his objective—to install Motilal Vora as a compromise candidate. Now, Buta Singh and Fotedar decided to attack Arjun Singh where he was the strongest. The strategy was to create a rift within Singh's camp and woo the fence-sitters.

Fotedar had already called Bhopal before his arrival and asked some Arjun Singh supporters to meet him in the Raj Bhawan. At Bhopal airport, Fotedar got into a car with Scindia and two other MPs. After driving for a few minutes, Fotedar stopped the car, asked the driver to move to the escort car and requested one of the MPs to drive—he suspected the driver was an intelligence operative deputed by Arjun Singh to report on their strategy.

Subsequently, the two worked in tandem—Buta Singh using his authority as home minister to collect information and intelligence while Fotedar, the arch-manipulator, went to work on softening up the dissidents. Ultimately, the success was cosmetic—Arjun Singh gave in to the idea of Vora taking over and the dissidents agreed to issue a resolution expressing support for Rajiv Gandhi.

But in real terms, it also exposed the true role—and the true worth—of the Flying Squad, as a mobile fire-fighting outfit whose main task is to save face for the prime minister. As Madhya Pradesh showed, the ultimate success was merely that—a superficial but face-saving show of support for Rajiv Gandhi.

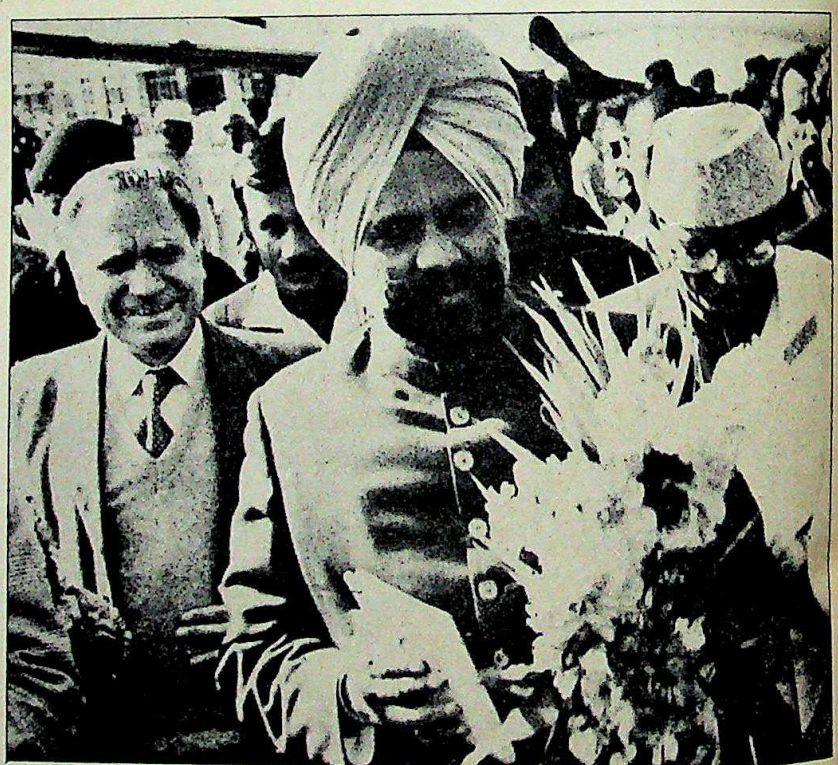
The real worth of the Flying Squad is limited to saving face for the prime minister.

Says Fotedar: "Our basic mandate is to adopt the two tools of persuasion and patience. And these are essential for any democratic party." But he also admits that, "whatever the people think, I must make it clear that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is indispensable for the nation and the party. He is a national necessity and all of us must keep this in mind while making any political moves".

Though the situation in Bihar was more critical—verging at one stage on a split in the party, ultimately the duo did ensure that Rajiv Gandhi's brief—the continuation of Bhagwat Jha Azad in office—was fulfilled. Once again, it was Buta Singh's presence that carried the necessary weight while Fotedar manipulated the MLAs. At a private meeting with the dissidents he subtly reminded them of the favours he and the prime minister had bestowed on them in the past. He pointed out that Ramashray Prasad Singh, a prominent dissident leader, was obliged to the prime minister for his being inducted as a minister in the state Cabinet against the wishes of the chief minister.

When even this strategy failed, Buta Singh stepped in. The Bihar governor's resignation was quickly accepted and, instead of continuing with the local chief justice as acting governor, R.D. Pradhan was flown in from Arunachal Pradesh and sworn in as governor. Pradhan had worked under Buta Singh as Union home secretary and his appointment was a warning to the rebels that in case they remained uncompromising, President's Rule would be imposed.

Once again, it was more of a face-saving gesture rather than an outright success. But the main objective had al-

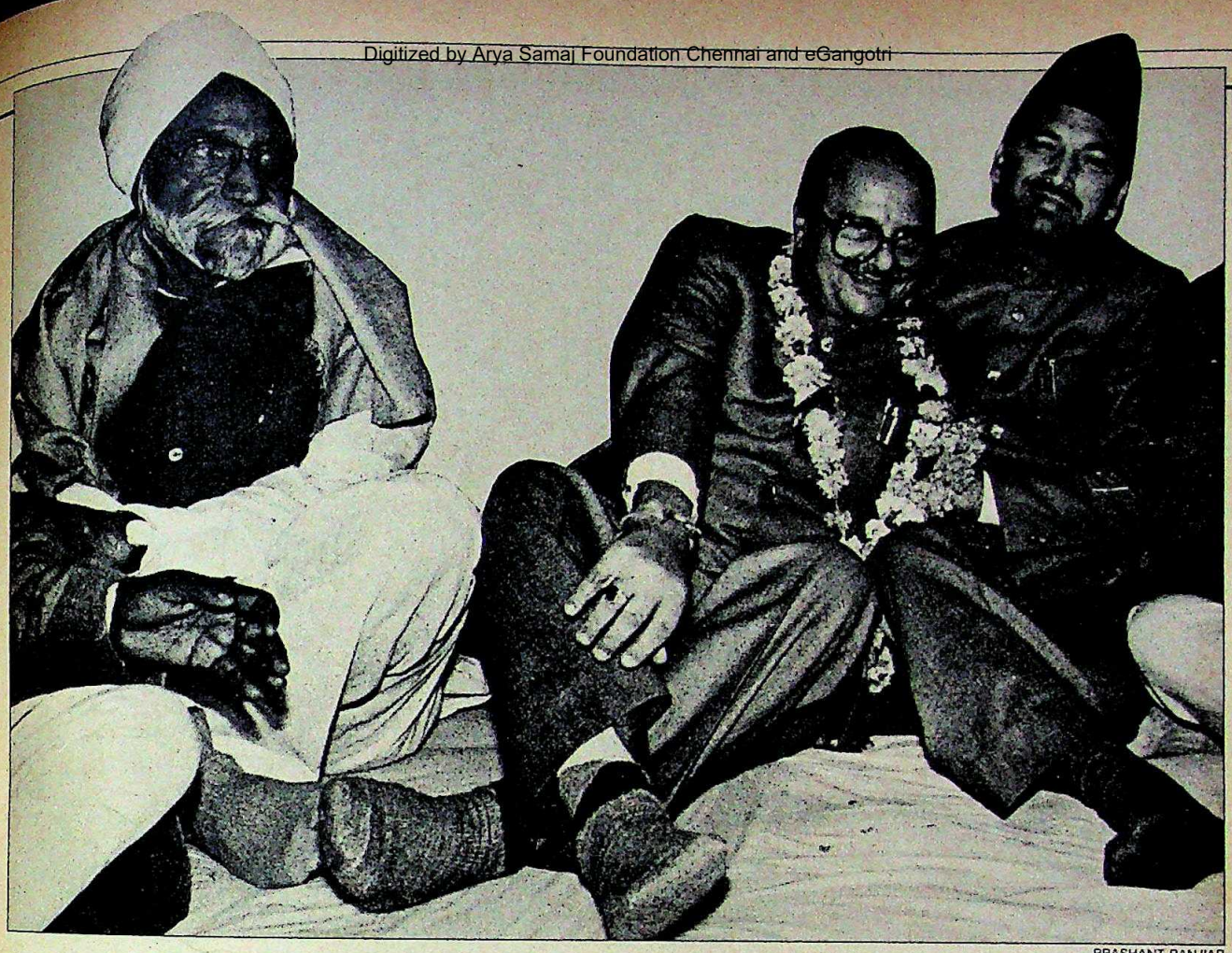


(From left) Fotedar, Buta Singh and Bhagwat J. Azad

KRISHNA MURARI KRISHAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



PRASHANT PANJIAR

(From left) Darbara Singh, Arjun Singh and Ghulam Nabi Azad

Many senior party leaders now question the authoritarian attitude and techniques of the Flying Squad.

ways been to salvage the image of the prime minister. Says Buta Singh: "We operate purely within the guidelines and brief given to us by the prime minister. It is our duty to convey the message to everybody in the party that all of us owe our existence to the prime minister and nobody else. Anyone who thinks otherwise is not loyal."

But it is precisely this air of sycophancy—and the urgency to save face for Rajiv—that is their Achilles' heel. Most senior party leaders now question the techniques adopted by the Flying Squad. Said a chief minister of a northern state: "By their authoritarian attitude they have annoyed a large number of partymen all over the country."

In that, all five share equal responsibility. Azad's major role is to enforce discipline in the party ranks. As one of the key office-bearers of the party, he has the clout to appoint state and district-level office-bearers who can become an effective counter to any chief minister. He did this in Uttar Pradesh when he appointed Balram Singh Yadav, a known enemy of the chief minister, as UPCC(I) chief. In Rajasthan too Azad played a major role in siding with the chief minister and the PCC(I) chief Ashok Gehlot in the face of dissident activity. He summoned rebel MLAs and office-bearers of the district committees and told them that any dissident activity at this stage would be considered as being against Rajiv Gandhi. Azad is known for his assertiveness and usually manages to bulldoze his way through any opposition. His handicap is that senior leaders do not respect him enough and see him as a Johnny-come-lately in politics.

Kesari does not suffer from that handicap, being one of the few left in the party who belong to the old guard. That gives him a unique advantage, he personally knows everyone of importance in the party and is familiar with their weaknesses and vulnerabilities. But Kesari is not known for his subtlety. Much of his worth is diluted by his crude handling of issues and people which has alienated a large number of party workers.

Darbara Singh is included mainly for his image. As one of the seniormost Congressmen, he can lend respectability to the squad. But he prefers a role that is low-profile and non-controversial and that dilutes his authority. Nor does he command the kind of respect that could add to his effectiveness.

When the fire-fighting exercise was in full swing in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar, the Congress(I) high command was quietly informing whoever cared to listen that its aim was to teach a pre-emptive lesson to rebels planning similar revolts in other states. The idea was to nip the activity in the bud through a show of force. But it didn't work that way. For even as the fire-fighting was on in the two states, fires of defiance broke out in Rajasthan and Gujarat.

In essence, therefore, Rajiv Gandhi's Flying Squad is doing a lot of flying around—but mainly in circles. On paper, they seem an ideal team but in practice, their success has been limited to papering over the cracks and limiting the potential damage. To give them their due though, their task is not easy. Even Saatchi & Saatchi would find it tough to perform the task they are entrusted with—salvaging the image of a lame-duck leader.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BIHAR

Carriers of Discord

Even though the intricate meanders of the Congress(I) rebellion in Bihar have been recorded over the last fortnight in detail, little is known about who the rebels are and who is doing what and to whom.

Kaisi ulti huyee hukumat hai/kaisa andha huwa zamana/jinko hona tha jail-khane mein/unke haathon mein hai jail-khana. (How this administration has turned upside down/how blind this world has become/those who ought to have been behind bars are controlling the prison).

THESE lines penned in the '50s by the Patna-based Urdu poet Mohammed Niaz who later migrated to Pakistan, have often been used to describe successive governments as well as individual politicians of Bihar. They remain an apt commentary on the state's Congress(I) legislators, several of whom have dubious pasts. And Bhagwat Jha Azad loyalists would have one believe that these unsavoury characters have been hurt most by Azad's Government; and that they are the ones who have launched a crusade against the chief minister.

But the truth is that Azad too is surrounded by a host of unsavoury characters and the demarcation between his supporters and his detractors can hardly be made in terms of black and white. In fact, Azad had put his finger on the malaise when he was asked why he had inducted people with dubious records into his cabinet. Helplessly, he had said: "I have to select from the same pond." Now Azad's stake-out in the pond has reduced. But the rotten fish are still there, on both sides.

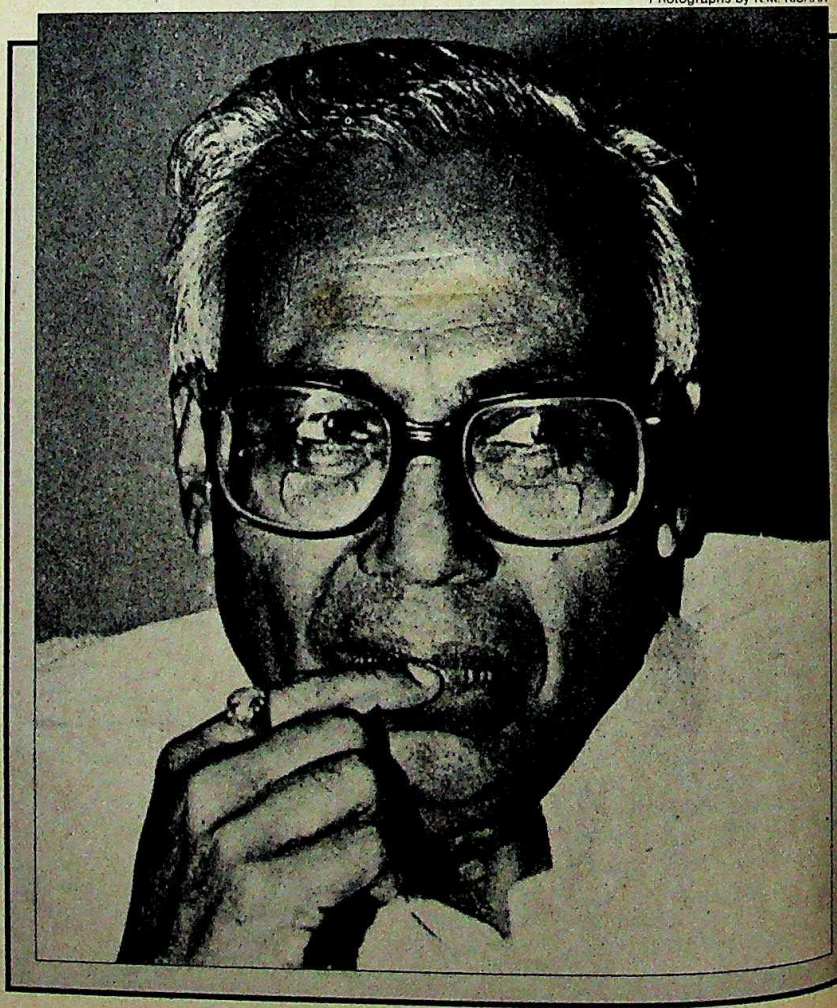
This is one reason why Azad's detractors' credibility was suspect in the eyes of the Congress(I) high command. And some of the reasons given out by the dissidents for opposing Azad did indeed reek of pettiness. Azad kept saying the legislators were annoyed with him because he would not brook their nonsense. "I have stopped the private practice of the MLAs," he would often boast. And though he emphatically denies it, he is credited with having threatened at Ranchi on Republic Day that he would take care of the "Vidhayak Mafia" (mafia elements among the legislators).

Azad: back against the wall

Azad's array of opponents was formidable from the word go. There was the group of Bharat Prasad Singh—known as 'Contessa Singh' in Patna because of his red Contessa car—and some others whose 'private practice' of transfers and postings of officials Azad claimed to have put an end to. Then there was the grouse harboured by Bindeshwari Dubey, Union labour minister, whom Azad had replaced and who had reportedly taken a vow not to visit Patna till Azad remained chief minister. There was another former chief minister, Dr Jagannath Mishra, whose family members were publicly accused by Azad of having robbed Bihar and minted money through illegal trading. Moreover there always was the question of the personal ambitions of the PCC(I) President Tariq Anwar and L.P. Sahi, the Union minister of state for education and culture. And, last but not the least, there was Shiv Chandra Jha, the outgoing speaker who led the rebels, and Ramashray Prasad Singh, a Bhumihar leader, who had been a state minister for 16 years till Azad dropped him (*see box*).

Significantly, the dissidence cut

Photographs by K.M. KISHAN



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

across caste barriers, considered insurmountable in Bihar. Ranged against the Brahmin chief minister, were Rajputs (Dinesh Singh, Tribhuvan Singh), Bhumihars (Ramashray Prasad Singh, Vishwa Mohan Sharma), Brahmins (Shiva Chandra Jha, Bindeshwari Dubey, Jagannath Mishra), Kayasthas (O.P. Lal), Harijans (Bilat Paswan Bihangam, Trilok Harijan) and even Muslims (Tariq Anwar, Mohammed Hussain Azad, Akil Haidar).

The dissidence appears to have been abetted by the cooperative barons, especially the deposed chairman of the Bihar State Cooperative Marketing Union, Tapeshwar Singh, Congress(I) MP, who was forced by Azad's Government to surrender in court and bail himself out.

The dissidents: refusing to relent

WHY I OPPOSE AZAD

"Whenever a chief minister visits a district he consults legislators from there. But I have never been consulted by Azad nor, to my knowledge, have most of the legislators."

DINESH SINGH, former minister

"When I asked Azad to release money for two bridges in my constituency which were sanctioned by Dubey, he said he could not be expected to carry the burden of adopted children (sic)."

MOHAMMED HUSSAIN AZAD, former minister

"I have seen Azad virtually forcing Ramanand Yadav, the state's industries minister, to sit on the front seat of his car along with his security guard. Did he expect Yadav or other legislators to approve of this?"

CHANDRIKA RAI, MLA

"Azad is the first person to have publicly insulted me in all my political life and I have a personal score to settle."

LAMBODAR PATHAK, MLA

"I was a mere showpiece. While I was minister of state for education, not a single file relating to my department reached me."

DEVENDRA NATH CHAMPIA, former minister

Singh had vowed four months ago at a press conference in Patna's Samrat Hotel owned by him that he would see the back of Azad, and he is suspected of having financed the revolt. Said Bachcha Jha, the chief minister's brother-in-law: "It was for everyone to see—money was flowing like water and numberless taxis were being hired by the dissidents to carry musclemen."

Dissident leaders underplay their use of money. "The revolt against Azad was so spontaneous that nobody needed to finance it," says Ramashray Prasad Singh. Another rebel MLA, Chandrika Rai, fumes: "Tapeshwar Singh attended only one of our meetings and just because he was carrying a brief-case the impression has gained ground that he was carrying money. For all you know he possibly had toothpaste in it."

MERELY money is too simplistic an explanation for the dissidence. The revolt by 140 out of the 191 Congress(I) MLAs had more fundamental reasons. Talks with a cross-section of the dissidents reveal that most of them have not met the chief minister even once during the last six months.

In retrospect, Azad placed far too much faith in the ability of the Central leaders and the prime minister to prop him up. Having excellent contacts with senior functionaries in the party and the Government, Azad was confident nobody could touch him. Even on January 23, when the revolt first erupted with the dissidents forcing hapless AICC(I) General Secretary Oscar Fernandes to listen to them, and Jha refusing to obey the high command's diktat to step down, the chief minister was telling his supporters: "The resignation of Gobind Narain Singh as the governor should be an eye-opener to you and you must realise that I am not the chief minister because of you but because of people in New Delhi." This attitude proved disastrous as legislators continued to desert him.

From the very day Azad took over as chief minister, he began to wound and embarrass his partymen with barbed comments. One of the first orders he issued was to stop all grants released by the previous Dubey government to universities, colleges and other institutions as well as financial sanctions given for construction of bridges and buildings.

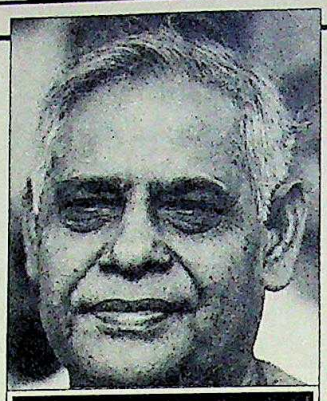
While some legislators were taunted for corruption, others were treated rudely. Chandrika Rai, MLA and son of former Bihar chief minister Daroga Prasad Rai was one such. While his uncle, Bhisma Prasad Yadav, is the parliamentary affairs minister in the Azad Ministry,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Jagannath Mishra's grouse was that the chief minister had publicly accused his family of having robbed the state.

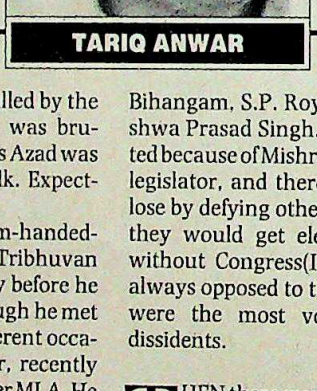
JAGANNATH MISHRA



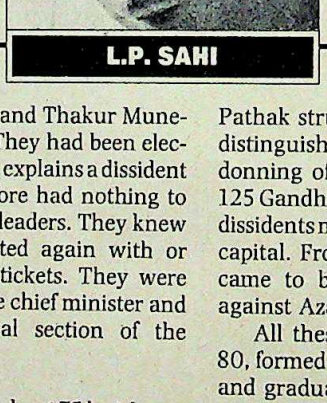
BINDESHWARI DUBEY

Bindeshwari Dubey's grievance was that he had been ignominiously replaced by Azad as chief minister.

Tariq Anwar was irked because Azad had stalled the reorganisation of the PCC(I) as visualised by him.



TARIQ ANWAR



L.P. SAHI

L.P. Sahi's grudge against Azad was that he had upstaged him in the race for chief ministership.

he is a vocal dissident leader. Rai recalls that he was once called by the chief minister but on arrival was brusquely told to come back later as Azad was going out for his evening walk. Expectedly, Rai never did.

Others refer to similar ham-handedness on Azad's part. Captain Tribhuvan Singh, who was with the army before he joined politics, recalls that though he met the chief minister on three different occasions during the last one year, recently Azad mistook him for some other MLA. He adds that on the only occasion when he talked to the chief minister about a development project in his constituency, Azad dismissed him by saying that the Government had no money.

When Azad took over he had declared he would not allow groupism to flourish in the party. *"Yahaan main group nahin chalne doonga,"* (I won't allow groupism to flourish) he had said, recalls Rai. Ironically, it was his actions that ensured that groupism proliferated. He dropped 22 ministers of the Dubey regime. These people—including O.P. Lal, Vijayshankar Dubey and others—later played an important role in mobilising dissidence against Azad.

The hawks among the dissidents were Dr Jagannath Mishra's loyalists like Kamal Nath Singh Thakur, Bilat Paswan Bihangam, S.P. Roy, and Thakur Muneshwa Prasad Singh. They had been elected because of Mishra, explains a dissident legislator, and therefore had nothing to lose by defying other leaders. They knew they would get elected again with or without Congress(I) tickets. They were always opposed to the chief minister and were the most vocal section of the dissidents.

THEN there were about 75 legislators like Akil Haidar, Rai and others, who were known as Tariq Anwar's men. Once Tariq Anwar—the youngest president the PCC(I) has had—drifted away from Azad, who for the last one year has stalled the reorganisation of the committee as visualised by Anwar, his men too ranged themselves against Azad.

Also fanning discontent were half a dozen legislators such as Bharat Prasad Singh, contractor-cum-politician, and Sanjeev Prasad 'Tony', who looks like a thug from Hindi films and has an unsavoury reputation. These legislators owed allegiance to Shiv Chandra Jha, and had been brewing trouble for the chief minister from day one.

Some legislators such as Lambodar Pathak, who claims that Azad publicly insulted him, had individual grievances against the chief minister. Pathak struck upon the brilliant idea of distinguishing the dissidents through the donning of Gandhi caps. He purchased 125 Gandhi caps on January 19 when the dissidents met at the MLA club in the state capital. From that day, the Gandhi cap came to be identified with the revolt against Azad.

All these MLAs, numbering around 80, formed the hardcore of the dissidents and gradually their number swelled, as even ministers in the Azad Government chose to desert him. The experience of Devendra Nath Champia, a tribal MLA from Singbhum, is intriguing. He was inducted as a minister of state for education by Azad who made Nagendra Jha, the controversial politician from Mithilanchal and a longstanding rival of Dr Mishra, the cabinet minister in charge of education. Champia was a Mishra loyalist and that possibly explains why Nagendra Jha ensured that not a single file would reach his minister of state. Another Dr Mishra loyalist, Amarendra Mishra, a minister of state, handed in his resignation last month on the eve of the eventful assembly session, claiming that the chief minister had tried to implicate him in a controversial government decision.

In the long litany of charges against Azad, the question of double standards

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Dissidence Mongers

SHIV CHANDRA JHA

The tall and debonair former speaker of the Bihar Assembly is the Chanakya of the dissidents. The former economics lecturer has had a feud with Azad spanning three decades. Both men hail from Bhagalpur, but while Azad has been representing the district in the Lok Sabha since 1957—barring the Janata period—Jha had to remain content with being a member of the Bihar Legislative Council till 1980, when he won the Bhagalpur assembly seat.

At long last Jha has got the opportunity to upstage Azad. As speaker, Jha was in a position to oblige MLAs by including them in house committees, approving their travel allowances, and rescuing many from embarrassing moments in the House. As Azad shut his door to legislators whom he deemed inimical, they flocked in hordes to the speaker.

Jha, however, is accused by his detractors of being a political opportunist. As evidence they point to his past actions. For instance, he was a dissident when Dr Jagannath Mishra was the chief minister. But once Azad arrived, both men closed ranks against him. Though Jha is currently leading the pack of MLAs who are clamouring for Azad's blood, they are unlikely to back him, should he make a bid for the chief ministership.

RAMASHRAY PRASAD SINGH

Chief ministers have come and gone, but for 16 years this Bhumihar leader from Gaya has been a minister in Bihar—till Bhagwat Jha Azad dropped him from the ministry in February last year. For the first time in his long political career Singh found himself in the dissident camp. Reputed to have been a capable, though somewhat controversial minister—he is among the most prosperous politicians in the state—Singh's non-inclusion in the Azad ministry had sent shockwaves through the Bhumihar community. The caste had dominated the bureaucracy during the chief ministership of Bindeshwari Dubey, but was sidelined by Azad. At first he had eulogised Azad, but when that failed to cut any ice with the brusque chief minister, Singh moved over to the rebel camp.

Now, Singh claims that when legislators called on the chief minister during the initial days, they were often greeted with the acerbic words: *"Jao... Jao... kitne paise lekar aaye ho?"* (Go..Go..how much money have you brought with you?). Other partymen who went to Azad to plead for different schemes, says Singh, were taunted: *"Thekedar ne kitna paisa diya?"* (How much money has the contractor given you to lobby for this scheme?)

figures prominently. Recalls a bitter Tribhuvan Singh: "Azad never lost an opportunity to abuse MLAs for their alleged corruption, but when CPI leader Ramendra Kumar charged him on the floor of the Assembly with amassing property worth Rs 40 crore, Azad failed to reply in the House, or to contradict it outside the House." Another dissident MLA quips that while the chief minister would publicly insult MLAs for trying to win elections on the back of district magistrates and police officers, he saw no impropriety in having his own men as district officers in his home constituency of Bhagalpur.

Then there is the perennial problem of transfers. Not surprisingly, double standards here have alienated the largest number of legislators. Ramashray Prasad Singh points out that after taking over as chief minister, Azad had proclaimed that he would follow administrative norms and transfer officials only twice a year. "The number of transfers ordered by the chief minister during the past 11 months far exceeds that of any previous government," claims Singh.

Dr Mishra tries to be sanctimonious while criticising Azad. "I have never shied away from voicing the problems of the people and this is what makes successive chief ministers think that I am against them," he says. "Last year an earthquake devastated Bihar and Azad completely failed to rise to the occasion."

Has Azad's grip on the administration been a myth then?

WHICH section of the people are satisfied with the Government's performance?" demands Narendra Singh, dissident MLA. He points out that the state owes a whopping Rs 170-crore to university and college teachers in arrears payments and nothing had been done to solve the crisis. Making fun of Azad's administrative abilities, Mohammed Hussain Azad wonders if the chief minister's decision not to negotiate with the non-gazetted employees last year, who struck work for a record-breaking 77 days, demonstrated acumen. He adds: "Azad has done nothing for the minorities and even the state-level committee meant to supervise the Union Government's 15-point programme for the uplift of minorities has not met even once during the past one year."

This sentiment, confirm Urdu journalists in Patna, has often been echoed in the editorials of their journals. Recalls the editor of an Urdu newspaper: "I myself often apprised Azad of this growing alienation among Muslims, but he seemed preoccupied with other things."

While dissidents vented their feelings, Azad resorted first to prose—*"Kiya tha bharosa jin patton par, ab we hi hawa dene lage."* (The leaves I relied on are now fanning the fire against me)—and then took the fight to the people by going on a padyatra. He walked, jogged and ran through the streets of Patna, shaking hands with rickshaw-pullers, addressing impromptu street meetings. As Azad undoubtedly possesses the gift of the gab, the padyatra evoked a sympathetic chord among many in the large crowds, particularly when he exhorted people to rise against the mafia: *"Gher lo in mafia ko."* (surround the mafia).

The dissidents, expectedly, described the padyatra as *"Pad ke liye yatra."* (A walk to save his chair). Azad's supporters responded with placards that stated: *"Jo Azad se rootha hai wahi Bihar ko loota hai."* (Those who are annoyed with Azad are the ones who have been looting Bihar).

The placard with the most poignant message, however, was put up by one of Patna's residents on the second day of the padyatra: *"Mukhyamantri, gate na dekho, bhooki janata ka pet dekho"* (Chief Minister, do not look at the welcome arches, look instead at the sunken midriff of the starving people). Sadly, in the vicious grappling for the chief minister's chair, this is one message which will surely go unheeded.

—UTTAM SENGUPTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The fabled land of the Peaceful Dragon– now just two hours from Delhi!

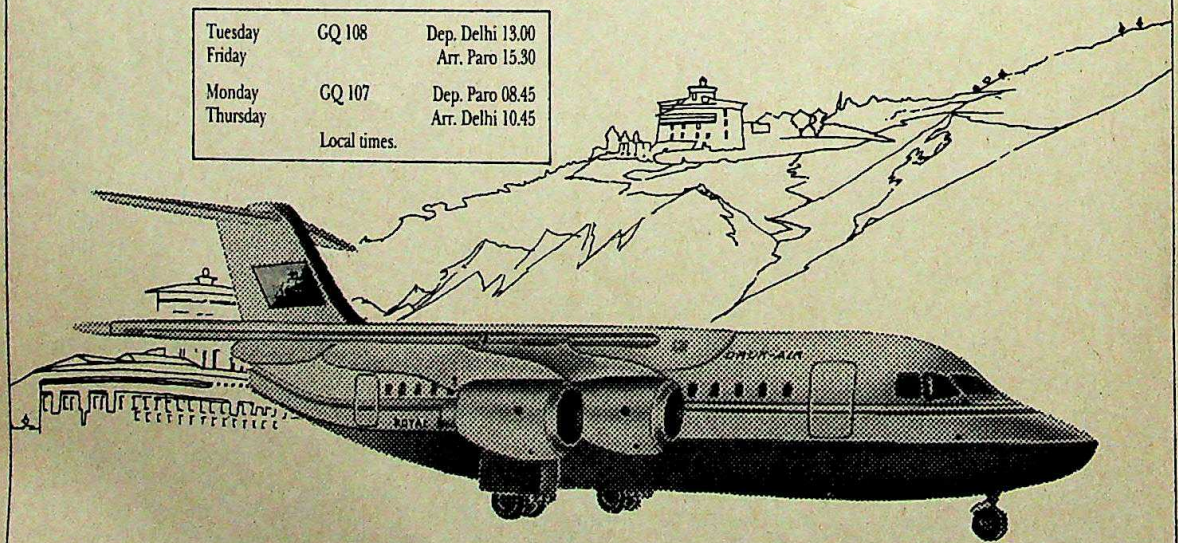
BHUTAN.

The land of the Peaceful Dragon. The tiny, picturesque mountain kingdom — a tourist's dream come true. Where Buddhism is more than a religion; it's a way of life. Where the people always wear a smile... and the mountains are everywhere.

Now, with the introduction of two flights a week direct from Delhi to Paro by Druk-Air, Bhutan is just two hours away. On the Royal Bhutan Airline's new 80-seater BAe 146 jet, with a cabin crew trained by Thai Airways, you are assured of a pleasant flight — and an escape to Shangri-La!

So whether it's for business or pleasure that you're travelling to Bhutan, Druk-Air's direct Delhi-Paro flight is the fastest and most pleasant way to get there.

Tuesday Friday	GQ 108	Dep. Delhi 13.00 Arr. Paro 15.30
Monday Thursday	GQ 107	Dep. Paro 08.45 Arr. Delhi 10.45
	Local times.	



DRUK-AIR

(A ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF BHUTAN UNDERTAKING)

For flight reservations, please contact

Malbros Travels Pvt. Ltd.
D-950 New Friends Colony
New Delhi 110065
Phone: 6843771

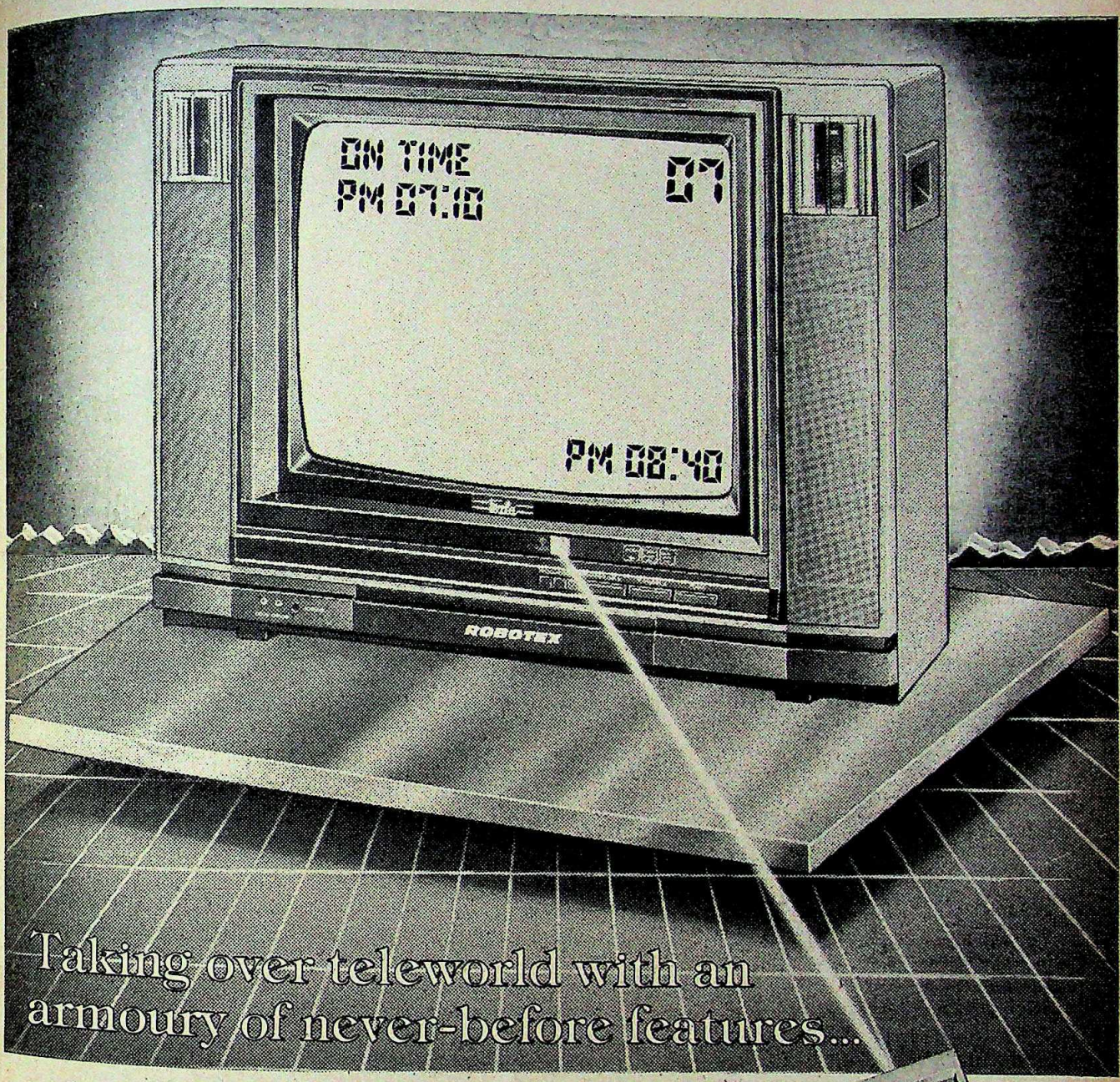
Druk-Air
51 Tivoli Court
1A Ballygunge Circular Road
Calcutta 700019
Phones: 444903, 447718

Druk-Air
c/o Royal Bhutanese Embassy
Dhan Mandi Road
Dhaka, Bangladesh

F/N/XIII 330

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Taking over teleworld with an armoury of never-before features...

Flying in from the unexplored vistas of tele-technology. Robotex ... programmed to enamour you with its magnetic looks and conquer teleworld with its armoury of sophisticated features. Some, which you may have never seen before.

Robotex. Fusing technological wizardry with style to place luxurious tele-watching at your finger-tips with a feather touch 28-key remote control.

- Automatic SWITCH-ON/SWITCH-OFF facility to ensure that you do not miss out on your favourite programmes.
- Special ON-SCREEN DIGITAL CLOCK showing the hr./min. AM/PM time.
- 6 COLOUR-11 ITEM ON-SCREEN DISPLAY indicating timer setting, tuning accuracy, volume, brightness, colour & contrast levels etc.
- SLEEP TIMER facility to programme the set to switch off by itself after 90, 80, 70, 60, 50, 40, 30, 20 or 10 minutes.
- Sophisticated 28-KEY REMOTE CONTROL HAND-SET that puts you in full command.
- Two-way DUAL SPEAKERS.
- PANEL LOCK to make pre-set controls tamper proof.

maa/ND/TX-88

ROBOTEX

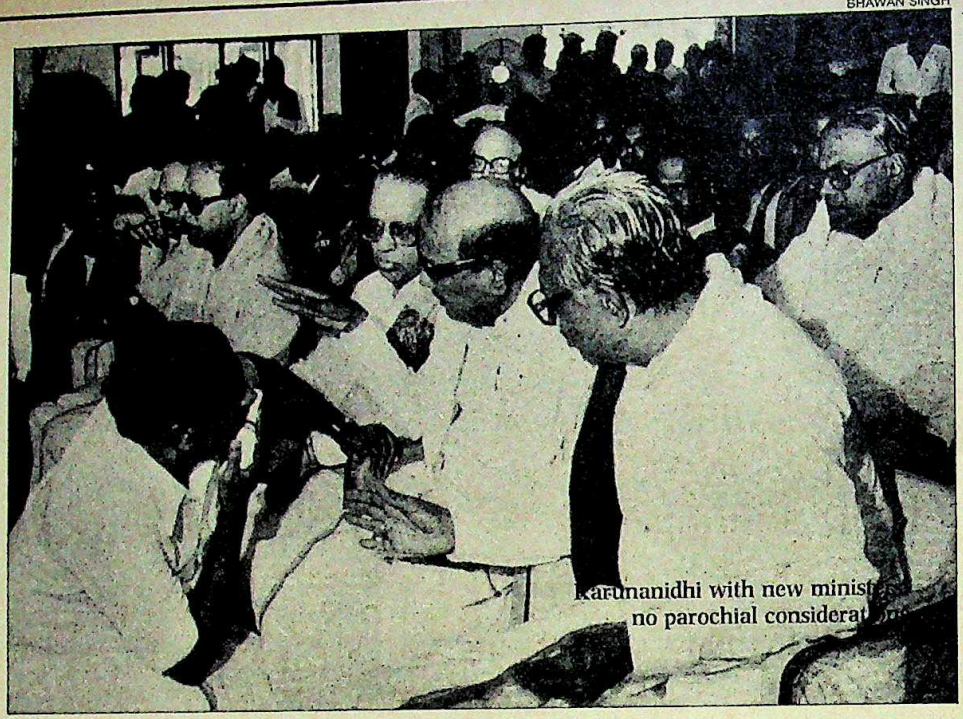
. . . a breed apart!

Texla®
The right choice

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHAWAN SINGH



Karunanidhi with new ministers: no parochial considerations

TAMIL NADU

Heralding a New Order

Karunanidhi's first decisions make it clear that he means business

BACK in power after 13 years, Muthuvel Karunanidhi, Tamil Nadu's new chief minister, took care to see that he sent out the right signals in the first days of his second reign. A curious mix of caution and decisiveness characterised all his decisions. The caution was intended to convince the sceptical that he intended no adventurism, no unnecessary changes. And by his decisiveness, he made sure everyone knew that the old order had ended.

Being the undisputed leader of the DMK, Karunanidhi does not have to give in to pressure groups within the party. And his selection of ministers reflects that fact. Sacrificing considerations of region and caste, he formed a 17-member ministry made up of both new and experienced faces, presumably selected on merit. He himself retained the key portfolios of finance, industry and planning. Tamil Nadu, which was once a leading industrial state, has fallen way behind and Karunanidhi wanted to tell industrialists that he would accord top priority to industrial development.

The choice of Nanjil Manoharan as revenue minister is his way of acknowledging that finances are his administration's biggest headache. A wily politician and tough administrator, Manoharan is entrusted with finding ways to generate more revenue and reduce the huge budget deficits.

But at the same time Karunanidhi also made it clear that he was not going to stop existing welfare programmes. That, he knows, will guarantee his exit from power. So when the Centre announced that it was raising the price of rice sold through ration shops, Karunanidhi categorically said that in Tamil Nadu, the old price would continue. This decision means an additional subsidy of Rs 40 crore, taking the overall deficit to over Rs 400 crore.

Education is another area to which Karunanidhi is expected to devote much attention. Despite being part of the National Front, he is believed to nurture the view that the educational system's Dravidian thrust is being diluted. So the education minister is an ideological hardliner—K. Anbazhugan, secretary of the DMK. The food portfolio went to Arcot Veerasammy, who is the permanent party headquarters secretary.

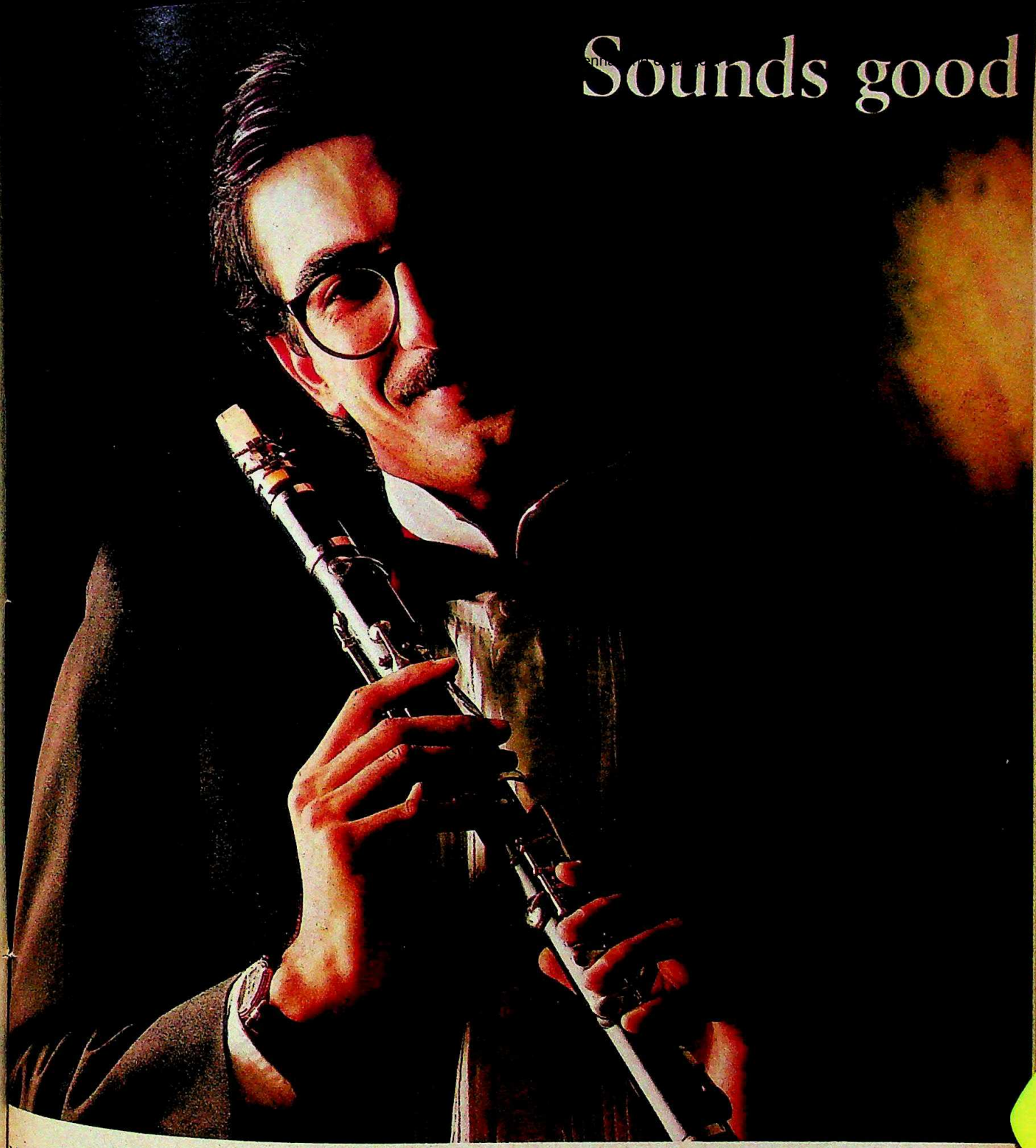
In choosing civil servants for key administrative posts too, Karunanidhi was keen to distance himself from the image he had acquired in his previous ministry. At that time, civil servants had sometimes resented his interference. And with his Dravidian ideology, he was also seen to nurture an antipathy towards Brahmins.

This time, the man he chose as his economic adviser was a Brahmin—S. Guhan, a former finance secretary, who had quit the IAS in 1979 disgusted with MGR's policies. Widely regarded as a pragmatist, Guhan's appointment was another signal that the Government would encourage industrialisation and remove administrative bottle-necks.

Such bottle-necks were in fact a major reason for the state's industrial stagnation. Files for new projects often used to be held up by the MGR government for months on end. Frustrated by delays, industrialists often opted to shift projects to other states. Delays of this kind, Karunanidhi told department heads in his first meeting with them, would no longer be tolerated. On his part, he promised not to interfere in the administration. For a start, he said, politicians would not be appointed to head most state government undertakings.

The carrot he held out to the bureaucrats must have appeared quite enticing. Especially because, just three days after taking over, Karunanidhi had effectively wielded the stick too. He ordered the transfer of over 50 senior IAS officials in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



Sounds good

I had read all about how the top grade limestone from Rajasthan and the latest technology from Denmark go into the making of New JK Cement.

So when my contractor asked me why JK, I said because it sounds good.

Of course it's not 'sounds' as in music, I said.

VIJAY STAMBH

Give your house the best there is!

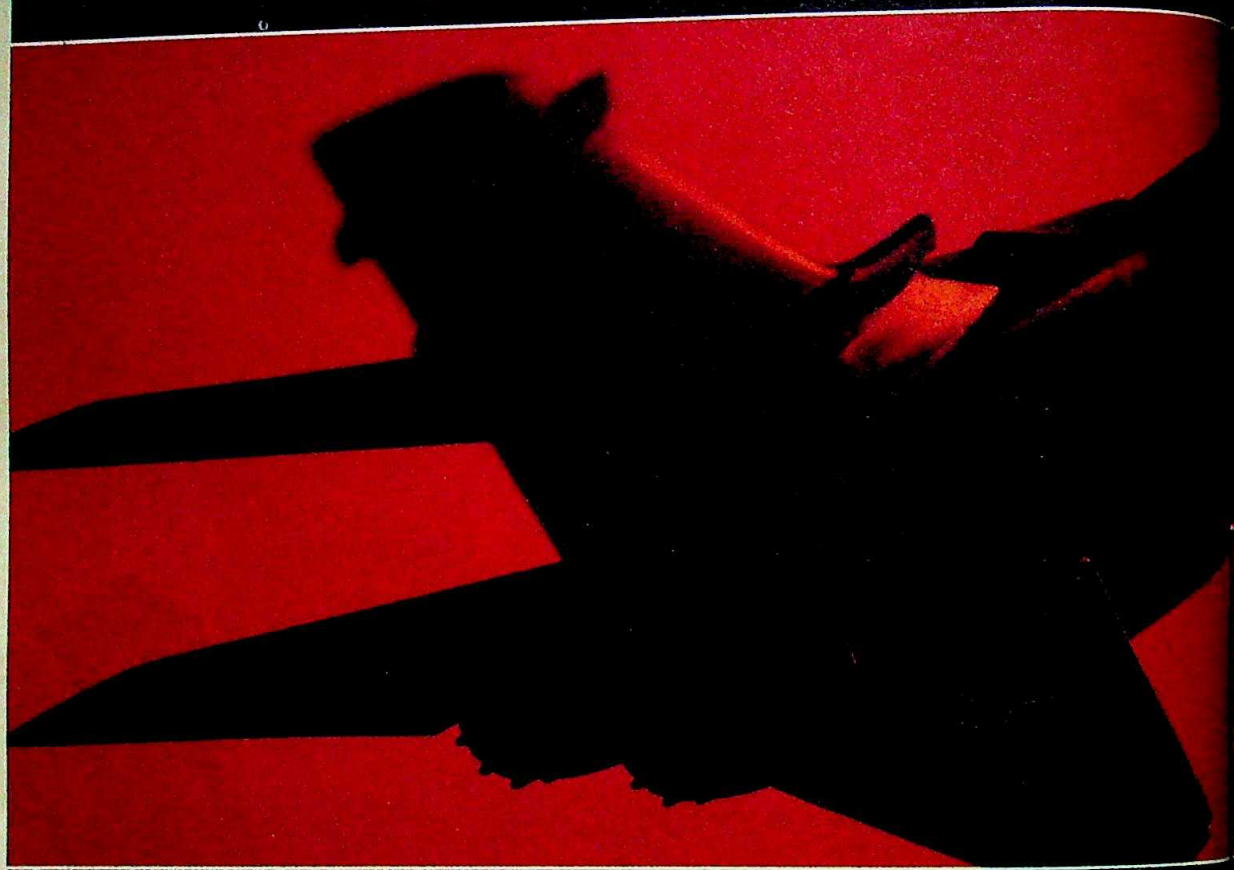
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, H

NEW JK CEMENT

Works: Nimbahera, Rajasthan

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE POWER OF P



HEADING FOR THE TOP WITH TH

The fast changing world of computers now has a name with the power to take over the No.1 position. PCL Computers.

It's the one year old venture that's taken the entire Indian computer industry by storm.

Setting up an astounding installation base of more than 6000 computers in this short span. And today, increasing that figure at a monthly rate of virtually 500 computers!

That's an achievement born out of the people's faith in not just our hardware, but also our service and support systems that are unquestionably one of the best in the country.

Proof of which is PCL's exclusive uptime record of 99.8% on all machines, and repeat order track of almost 70%!

Here, take a closer look at all that PCL offers you :

The fastest growing hardware range

Five years ago, PCL started by offering you basic office equipment like electronic typewriters. In July '87, after establishing the strong and efficient infrastructure absolutely essential for a service-oriented industry like computers, PCL launched its Computer Division. And now, within a year of its inception, it offers you a complete range of PCs, PC-XTs, PC-ATs, 80386-based systems, mini computers, office publishing systems, electronic telex systems, modems, CAD/CAM/CAE, LAN, EWS and printers. And of course, the whole host of peripherals ranging from special cards to plotters, digitizers and even constant voltage transformers!

The fastest growing support network

PCL has grown tremendously since it started with a small team of just 15 people; today it has a massive workforce of more than 800 people,

working
nationwi
Each of
premier
with thei
Marketing
Engineer
And, with
than then
the right
In additi
and, as a
efficient

everest/ad8/PCL/256

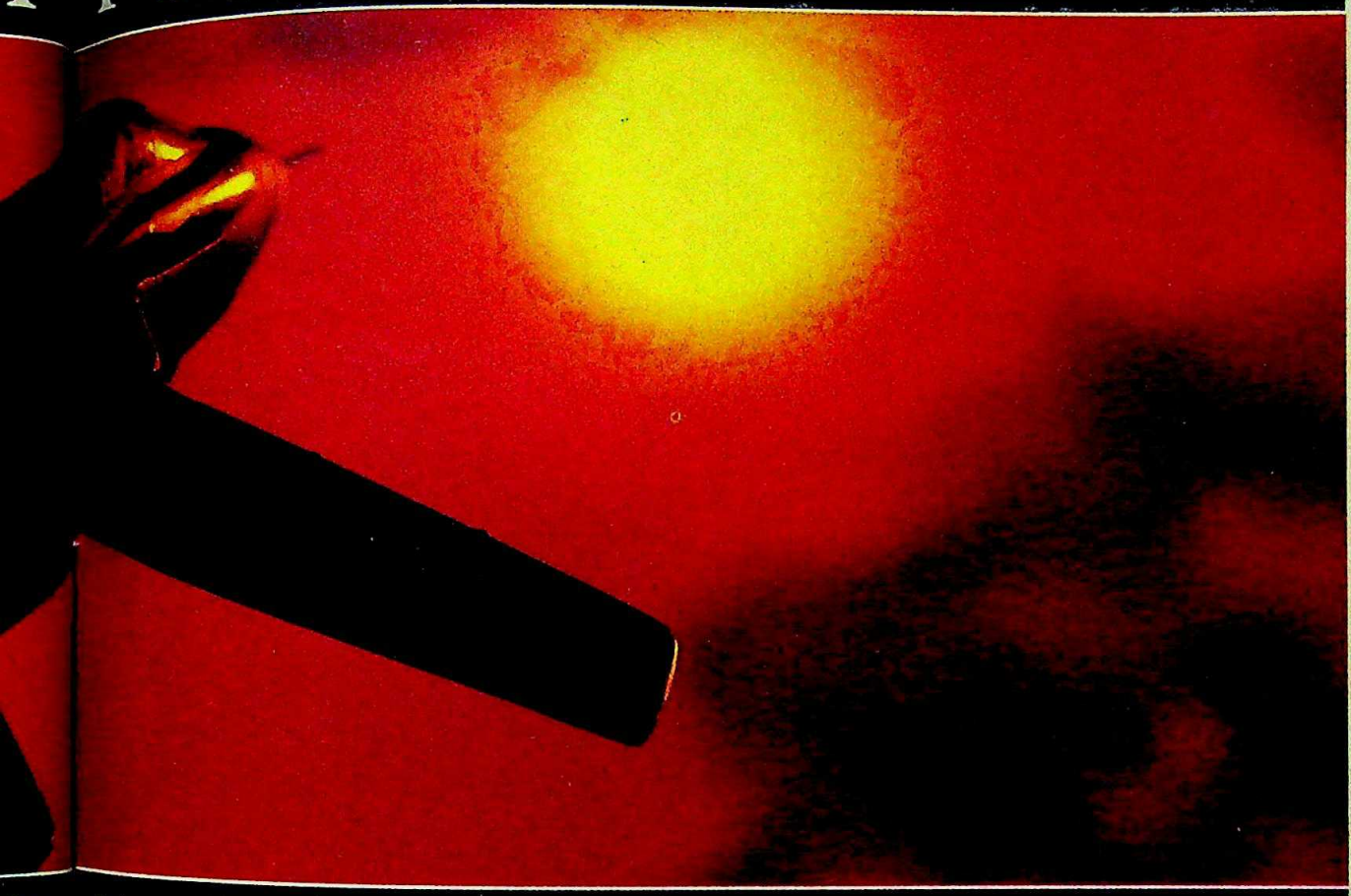
Pertech Computers Ltd

Corpora

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PCL COMPUTERS



THE FASTEST GROWTH RATE

working with commitment in every part of the country, from PCL's nationwide network of 48 offices.

Each of our professionals has been carefully selected from India's premier technological and management institutes. Then, in accordance with their talents, inducted into specialised groups – Industry Marketing, Customer Services, System Engineering, Customer Engineering and Application Support.

And, with over 50,000 man months of industry experience, who better than them to advise you on everything, from site selection to choosing the right computer and software?

In addition, they will help you make optimal use of your computers and, as and when the need arises, upgrade them in the most cost-efficient way.

Of course, if it's special software you need, they will even develop customized packages for you!

Small wonder that the PCL promise is almost impossible for the others to match, leave alone beat!

PCL

India's fastest growing computer company.

Corporate Office: E-46/10, Okhla Phase-II, New Delhi-110 020. Tel: 6837379, 6841860, 6841864, 6846472. Telex: 031-75163 PCL IN.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nearly all the departments and over two dozen government undertakings. Simultaneously, officials close to Karunanidhi were appointed to key posts. R. Nagarajan who had been Karunanidhi's secretary in 1976 was made commissioner of the most sensitive departments of home, excise and prohibition.

Together with setting the tone of the new administration, Karunanidhi made it clear that he is prepared to take on the Centre when required. Though he did not attend the meeting of non-Congress(I) chief ministers, in a strongly-worded memorandum to the Centre he demanded Rs 200 crore as an immediate grant. He also sent signals that he had ways of embarrassing the Centre: in one statement he said the Union Government should invite the LTTE for a dialogue to end the conflict in Sri Lanka.

With non-Congress(I) chief ministers, on the other hand, Karunanidhi was conciliatory. He announced that he would solve the Cauvery water dispute with Karnataka and the Telugu Ganga project dispute with Andhra Pradesh through negotiations and without seeking the intervention of the Centre.

And so, magnanimous towards friends, unrelenting towards his foes, Karunanidhi briskly completed his first fortnight in power. During the last 13 years he has amply demonstrated that he has the capacity to survive out of power. Now he has to show that he can restrain his followers eager to have a share of the plums of office. In some ways, that is the more difficult test. And many in Tamil Nadu are sceptical about Karunanidhi passing it.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

AIADMK

Merger Blues

UNTIL a month ago, nothing was so hateful to the Jayalalitha faction of the AIADMK as the faction headed by Janaki. The feeling was, of course, mutual. Now each is realising that there is indeed something more hateful than the other—the unpleasant fact of being out of power. So a merger of the two factions aimed at returning to power some day doesn't appear to be as outlandish a prospect as it seemed a short while ago.

Oddly enough for a state dominated by personalities, the first call for unity came from the cadres. At Sivaganga constituency in Ramnad district, 2,500 volunteers belonging to the two factions declared in a joint meeting that only a united AIADMK could take on the DMK. Similar views were voiced by cadres in Madurai, Salem and Tiruchirapalli.

Then, middle-level leaders of the two parties held a series of meetings to discuss a possible merger. Representing the Janaki faction was former transport minister S. Muthuswami, while K.K.S.S.S. Ramachandran attended on behalf of the Jayalalitha faction. In at least three meetings, Jayalalitha herself was present. And Shashikala, one of her close confidantes, met Janaki four times.

Following the confabulations, an outline for merger was drawn. It was decided that party posts would be allotted as far as possible in keeping with the structure of the undivided AIADMK. Janaki would be the president and Jayalalitha the general secretary.

But senior members of the Janaki faction—R.M. Veerappan, Aladi Aruna, Valampuri John, A.C. Shanmugam and Ms Sambasivam—opposed the plan. The idea of working under Jayalalitha—who in the united party was way down in the hierarchy as propaganda secretary—seemed unappealing.

Janaki, convinced that politics is not her forte, decided she had had enough of bickering. On January 31, she issued a peremptory statement: "I have decided to quit politics and not hinder anyone. I will bless all efforts taken by MGR's followers to perpetuate his glory."

SHYAM TEKWANI

Janaki (top) and Jayalalitha: aborted moves

Next day, Jayalalitha, who during the campaign had refused to take note of Janaki at all, appealed to her to "reconsider your decision to quit politics and agree to take up the presidentship of the unified AIADMK". Janaki declined.

Her exit seemed to put an end temporarily to the merger move. Instead of a single AIADMK, the state spawned two more. P.H. Pandian, former speaker and the lone legislator of the Janaki faction, launched a party all his own, titled AIADMK(Pandian). And Panruti S. Ramachandran, former food minister, who had quit the Jayalalitha faction earlier, launched another.

Pandian's move was not the only one that threatened to sunder the tattered remains of the Janaki faction. A group of six MPs headed by Aladi Aruna stated that they would "work for common objectives with the DMK" and support the Tamil Nadu Government fully.

As their leaders battled and realigned forces, the 17-lakh members of the two parties looked on wondering whether a merger would come through in time for the March 11 elections for the assembly seats deferred by the Election Commission earlier. Even if it does, the merged party may not succeed in besting the DMK. Still, it stands to gain in other ways. It will have access to the income from MGR's Satya Studio. In his will, MGR had stipulated that the money should go to that faction of the party that has the support of 80 per cent of the party's primary members. For the AIADMK, the money could prove useful in its battle to replace the DMK. Whether it gets the money is uncertain. What is certain is that the battle to dislodge the DMK will be long and difficult.

—LALITA DILEEP

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UTTAR PRADESH

Brewing Revolt

Faction feuds deepen

THE distant rumblings can now be heard. Uttar Pradesh which is often touted by political pundits as the state where the fortunes of the Congress (I) are made or marred, has started sending out signals which are not too encouraging for the party in the year of the elections.

The Congress(I) which shied away from putting up its own candidates for the important elections to the local bodies (INDIA TODAY February 15), received another jolt at the elections for mayors of the municipal corporations and municipal boards. Of the five municipal corporations, the Congress(I) nominee became mayor only in Kanpur whereas the BJP captured Agra and Bareilly. In Varanasi, Mohammed Suhel Ansari, who had rejected the last minute Congress candidature offer, won as an independent candidate adding to the Congress(I)'s woes. In the 21 municipal boards, 11 independents, who the Congress claims were party nominees, won while nine went to the Opposition—the BJP captured five seats and the BJP-Janata Dal combine won four. The counting for the Gorakhpur seat was stayed by the high court.

The drubbing the Congress Party received from the Janata Dal-BJP combine and in certain places from the BJP alone, has resulted in panic buttons being pressed within the party. It is not just the election results that worry the party leaders as much as the bitter inner-party feud which is very visible at the top—as the Union Communications Minister and former chief minister Bir Bahadur Singh is bent on getting the Chief Minister Narayan Datt Tiwari removed—and has percolated to the grassroots level.

After being appointed the UPCC president in August last year, Balram Singh Yadav initially avoided any exercise to settle the differences in the party at the lower levels. But since December the party office has seen a lot of activity. Though Yadav is still hesitating to constitute the executive committee and the parliamentary board of the UPCC, he has convened more than a dozen important meetings of the district level party functionaries in an attempt to establish a rapport between the lower level leaders and the big bosses.

But the major drawback has been the lack of understanding between the Government and the party organisation, as shown by the intense dislike of Tiwari and Singh for each other. Tiwari not only received tremendous support from the lower rungs of the Congress for announcing the elections to the local bodies—much against the wishes of Singh and Yadav—as these elections not only meant a lot to the district and town committee leaders, but also put the party's state leadership to a test which it had been avoiding for years.

Meanwhile Bir Bahadur Singh has been working hard at strengthening his hold through regular meeting with his supporters. Recently when one of his admirers asked him to make attempts to return as chief minister, he said with a seemingly innocent smile: "*Kya baat karte hain?*" (What are you saying?)

If Bir Bahadur Singh's intentions are to give a helping hand to Yadav, he has achieved some success but if his plans are to destabilise Narayan Datt Tiwari, they have not yet worked out as he wanted them to. As a minister who was sidelined by Tiwari says, "Tiwari is a political heavyweight in today's Congress and there is nothing much that we can do about it."

To add to the party's growing list of problems is the unconfirmed report that seven prominent MPs from the state, including two former AICC general secretaries, have sent feelers to V. P. Singh for joining the Janata Dal on the condition that they would be given party tickets in the next elections. In fact measures to be adopted to prevent a possible deluge of desertions were discussed at the party convention in Lucknow which significantly was attended by the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. In an obvious attempt to sense the mood of the partymen from all levels, block level office-bearers, the newly elected pradhans, zilla parishad chairmen and members and chairmen of the local bodies were invited—something never done before.

Whether such shows will help in injecting vigour into a demoralised and lethargic set-up has to be seen. In the battle of one-upmanship that is being waged by the leaders, the only loser will be the party.

—DILIP AWASTHI

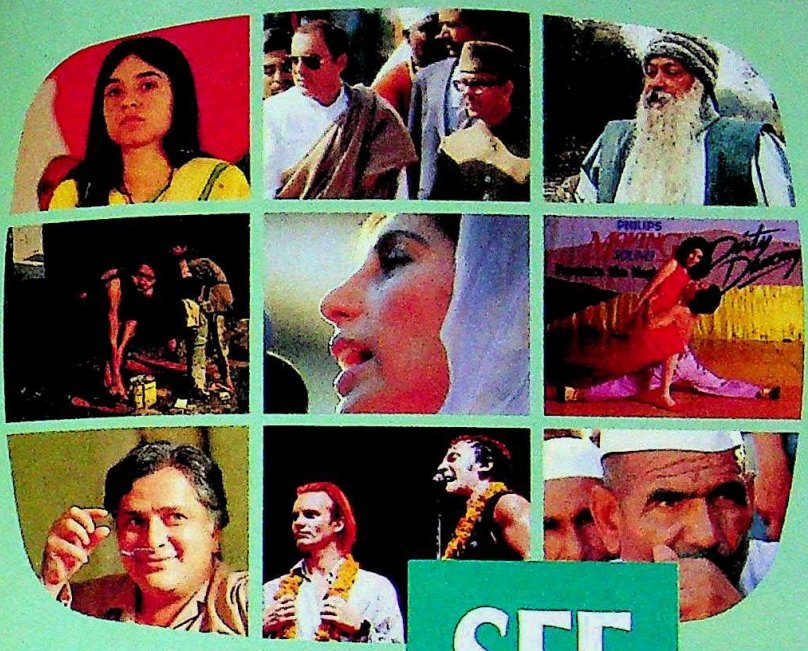
R.K. GUPTA

A UPCC(I) meeting, (right) Tiwari and (left) Bir Bahadur Singh: widening rift

Bir Bahadur Singh's plans to unsaddle Tiwari have not yet worked out as the chief minister is a political heavyweight.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



SEE IT ALL

INDIA TODAY
Presents
NEWSTRACK
The newsmagazine to watch

sy

e crises

edents. Most of these controver-
mming from the politicisation of
of governors have given a new
y to the demand made by the
Desam in 1983 for the abolition
nstitution of the governor. The
Assembly has passed an unprece-
esolution against the governor's
chancellor. But both Joshi and
ontinue to march on with the
lance and confidence of generals
hreshold of triumph.

a three-man commission with
of probing corruption charges
prominent public persons since
he issue has been hanging fire for
three months. Finally, last fort-
aders of the BJP, Janata Dal and
M) suggested to Rama Rao that
y way to humble Joshi was by
g her of the power to give her
o the appointment of the Lok
—the amendment might be
the next session.
i chose Republic Day for her next
In her address she dwelled on a
topics but omitted mention of
ment works in the state—some-
e state's ruling party had wished
emphasise. She added political
o injury by stating: "Andhra
can proudly speak of the con-
n and the role played by great
like Durgabai Deshmukh,
Naidu and Padmaja Naidu."

Rao with Joshi: troubled times

The major grouse that the Government has against Joshi is that she is using the facade of social work to rally Congress(I) supporters.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

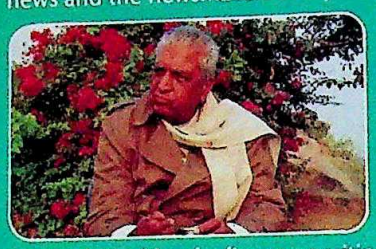
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GO NEWSTRACKING THROUGH FEBRUARY

Newstrack, the country's first newsmagazine on video cassette, spells 90 minutes of excitement from the moment you press the 'play' button.

People, places, events, ideas, issues and trends come alive and reveal details like no other medium has done before. Taking you behind the news and the newsmakers every month. No wonder Newstracking is already a popular habit. The February cassette is now available.

Build your own library of *Newstrack* to get a complete picture of the important issues facing the country, any time you want. Your personal library will captivate friends, neighbours and relatives with a video experience - too good for words.



Devi Lal: Profile of a fiery opposition don; surrounded by controversies.

Hashmi: The brutal murder of a cultural activist shocks the nation — including an exclusive interview with his alleged killer.

Indian Airlines: Why is Indian Airlines in such a mess?

AIDS: The tip of the iceberg — the killer disease is too close for comfort in India.

Knock-out Advertising: Competing brands go for the jugular in advertising.

Kabir Bedi: His loves, his life and his career.

Available on subscription. See page 151 for special offers.

UTTAR PRADESH

Brewing Rev

Faction feuds deepen

THE distant ru
can now be hea
Pradesh which
touted by politi
dits as the stat
the fortunes of
gress (I) are
marred, has started sending ou
which are not too encouragin
party in the year of the electio

The Congress(I) which shi
from putting up its own candi
the important elections to t
bodies (INDIA TODAY February
ceived another jolt at the elec
mayors of the municipal corp
and municipal boards. Of the fiv
ipal corporations, the Congress(
nee became mayor only in
whereas the BJP captured A
Bareilly. In Varanasi, Mohamm
Ansari, who had rejected the las
Congress candidature offer, w
independent candidate adding
Congress(I)'s woes. In the 21 m
boards, 11 independents, who
gress claims were party nomin
while nine went to the Opposit
BJP captured five seats and th
BJP-Janata Dal combine wo
four. The counting for the Go
rakhpur seat was stayed by th
high court.

The drubbing the Congres
Party received from the Janat
Dal-BJP combine and in certai
places from the BJP alone, ha
resulted in panic buttons being
pressed within the party. It is no
just the election results tha
worry the party leaders as much
as the bitter inner-party feud
very visible at the top—as th
Communications Minister and
chief minister Bir Bahadur Sing
on getting the Chief Minister
Datt Tiwari removed—and ha
lated to the grassroots level.

After being appointed the UPCC president in August last year, Balram Singh Yadav initially avoided any exercise to settle the differences in the party at the lower levels. But since December the party office has seen a lot of activity. Though Yadav is still hesitating to constitute the executive committee and the parliamentary board of the UPCC, he has convened more than a dozen important meetings of the district level party functionaries. Besides, he has started to hold through regular meeting with his supporters. Recently when one of his admirers asked him to make attempts to return as chief minister, he said with a seemingly innocent smile: *"Kya baat karte hain?"* (What are you saying?)

If Bir Bahadur Singh's intentions are to give a helping hand to Yadav, he has achieved some success but if his plans are to destabilise Narayan Datt Tiwari, they have not yet worked out as he wanted them to. As a minister who was office-bearers, the newly elected pradhans, zilla parishad chairmen and members and chairmen of the local bodies were invited—something never done before.

Whether such shows will help in injecting vigour into a demoralised and lethargic set-up has to be seen. In the battle of one-upmanship that is being waged by the leaders, the only loser will be the party.

—DILIP AWASTHI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GOVERNORS

Courting Controversy

Ram Dulari Sinha and Kumudben Joshi create crises

The two women did nothing spectacular to distinguish themselves from other run-of-the-mill politicians during their undulating years in politics. But their appointment as governors seemed to transform them. Ram Dulari Sinha, governor of Kerala and Kumudben Manishanker Joshi, governor of Andhra Pradesh have crossed swords with the chief ministers of these states often creating serious administrative impasse. From trivial issues like the appointment

of the Lok Ayukta in Andhra Pradesh to those with constitutional ramifications like the role of the governor as chancellor, Joshi and Sinha have created dubious precedents. Most of these controversies, stemming from the politicisation of the role of governors have given a new currency to the demand made by the Telugu Desam in 1983 for the abolition of the institution of the governor. The Kerala Assembly has passed an unprecedented resolution against the governor's role as chancellor. But both Joshi and Sinha continue to march on with the nonchalance and confidence of generals on the threshold of triumph.

ANDHRA PRADESH

FOR N.T. Rama Rao, who delights in chewing up his opponents with a voracious appetite, the 54-year-old Governor, Kumudben Joshi, has proved to be a bone in the proverbial *kebab*. She came to Hyderabad in November 1985 promising: "I shall extend all cooperation as a governor." Instead, she has made every attempt to embarrass the Telugu Desam Government. Rama Rao's usual tactics—a blend of rhetoric and theatrics—has left Joshi unfazed.

The major grouse that the Government has against Joshi is that she is using the facade of social work to herd together Congress(I) supporters. Soon after she took over, Joshi advertised in leading newspapers with her picture appealing for Red Cross flood relief funds. She rallied Congress(I) sympathisers including film star Krishna, arch-enemy of Rama Rao, for the effort.

Even as the Government watched in bewilderment, Joshi formed the National Institute of Social Action, a club of 100-odd voluntary organisations in the state to take up common programmes. And she roped in the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity (DAVP) to put up a sound and light show "Bharatratna Indiramma". Said Butchaiah Chowdhury, the state planning board vice-chairman: " The interest she took in the sound and light shows made it clear her sympathies were with a political party and not the people."

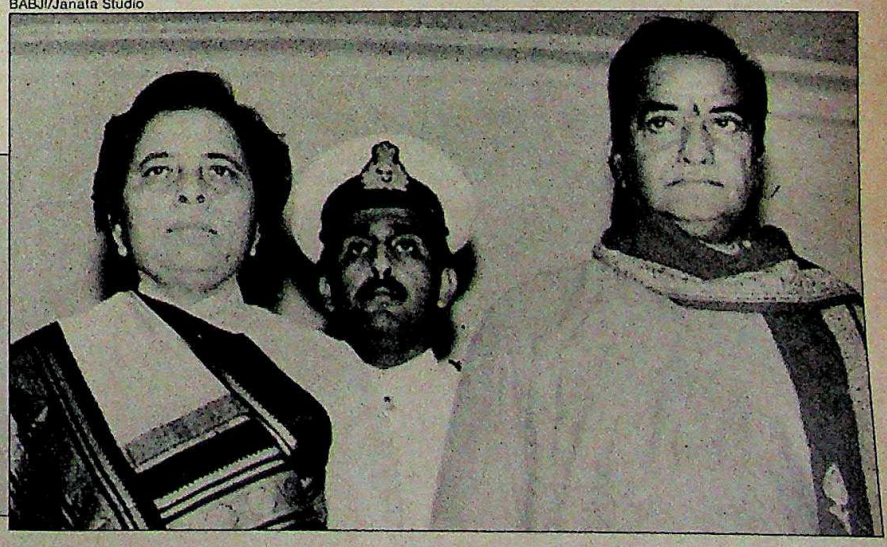
The chief minister and the governor have been snorting at each other ever since but they locked horns only late last year when the governor refused to clear the appointment of a new Lok Ayukta on the grounds that the information about Rajendra Nath Aggarwal, the nominee for the post, was not accurate. Said a highly placed official: "There were gaps in the information we gave to her and she was within her rights to ask for more details." The Government was, however, not keen to heed the governor's queries on whether Aggarwal was a legal adviser and close associate of the chief minister and whether he was the head of a three-man commission with the task of probing corruption charges against prominent public persons since 1956. The issue has been hanging fire for the last three months. Finally, last fortnight leaders of the BJP, Janata Dal and the CPI(M) suggested to Rama Rao that the only way to humble Joshi was by divesting her of the power to give her assent to the appointment of the Lok Ayukta—the amendment might be made in the next session.

Joshi chose Republic Day for her next attack. In her address she dwelled on a host of topics but omitted mention of development works in the state—something the state's ruling party had wished her to emphasise. She added political insult to injury by stating: "Andhra Pradesh can proudly speak of the contribution and the role played by great women like Durgabai Deshmukh, Sarojini Naidu and Padmaja Naidu."

The major grouse that the Government has against Joshi is that she is using the facade of social work to rally Congress(I) supporters.

Rama Rao with Joshi: troubled times

BABJI/Janata Studio



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rama Rao was later to complain that Joshi had no right to behave in this manner considering "all her expenses beginning with the morning coffee was picked up by the state Government".

Her style has also caused some concern in Congress(I) circles. Said a former Congress(I) minister: "Joshi is helping the Telugu Desam. Her actions help Rama Rao to attack us convincingly. Her failure to speak about the state's progress strengthens the chief minister's argument that the self-respect of the Telugus cannot be protected by the Congress(I)."

Many Telugu Desam ministers have decided to boycott her and the Government tries to keep her out of as many functions as possible. But Joshi, undeterred sets off on tours at the slightest provocation. And even some of Rama Rao's detractors now believe that the chief minister and his party cannot be faulted for feeling that the acerbic Joshi is a political burden they cannot afford to bear for long.

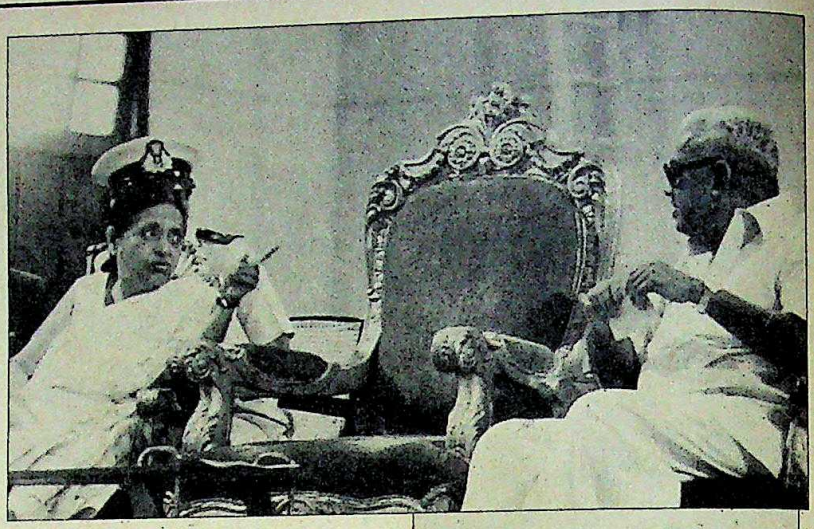
KERALA

SHE seldom smiles. Her face reflects a rare determination hardly associated with battle-weary politicians sent out to spend the rest of their careers in the majestic splendour of chandelliered Raj Bhavans, rubber-stamping bills.

Ever since she moved into the sprawling governor's mansion in February 1988, Ram Dulari Sinha, 66, has been on a collision course with the CPI(M)-led Left Democratic Front (LDF) Ministry in Kerala. She clearly signalled her intentions even before she got used to the spicy food and the late evening sea breeze that often blows across Trivandrum—she refused to shake hands with the chief minister and his cabinet colleagues after being sworn in.

Just before the opposition-sponsored Bharat bandh a month later the governor rang up the chief minister asking him to ensure there was no danger to life and property. Worse, she ensured her directive—governors can talk to chief ministers on such matters—was leaked to the press. E.K. Nayanar fumed: "It was in bad taste. There is nothing wrong in talking to me in private, but it is a different issue if she makes it public even before I reach home." The bugle had been sounded for another governor-government confrontation.

Sinha who by now had gained enough courage to confront the Marxist lions in their own den, got the chance for the next lance-thrust in October 1988.



Sinha and Nayanar: ruffled feathers

She returned unsigned the university act amendment ordinance seeking to give the Government special powers to remove the Vice-Chancellor of Calicut University, T.K. Ravindran, who had announced University Grants Commission (UGC) scales for the faculty without even consulting the state Government. But it did not create a deadlock because the vice-chancellor relented. He promised not to implement the UGC scales without the Government's consent.

The reprieve was shortlived. The LDF Government was soon provoked into fresh battle when Sinha, as chancellor of Kerala and Calicut universities, nominated persons of her choice to the senates ignoring many names submitted by the Government. Said Justice Krishna Iyer: "The move is reprehensible and unconstitutional. Not only Kerala but the country's Constitution is the victim of her misdeeds."

This time the Government decided to hit back. On February 2 the Kerala Legislative Assembly passed an unprecedented and historic resolution which all but censured the governor, for her "authoritarian" role as chancellor of the two universities. The Congress(I)-led Opposition walked out after vain attempts to stall the resolution.

The resolution threw-up significant constitutional issues like the gossamer-thin dividing line between the powers of governor and that of the chancellor. According to the Speaker of the Assembly, Varkala Radhakrishnan, the chancellor could be criticised by the Assembly and maintained that the legislature even had the right to request the President to recall the governor. Many opposition members felt that the governor and chancellor were a single entity.

The Kerala Assembly passed a historic resolution which all but censured the governor for her "authoritarian" role as chancellor.

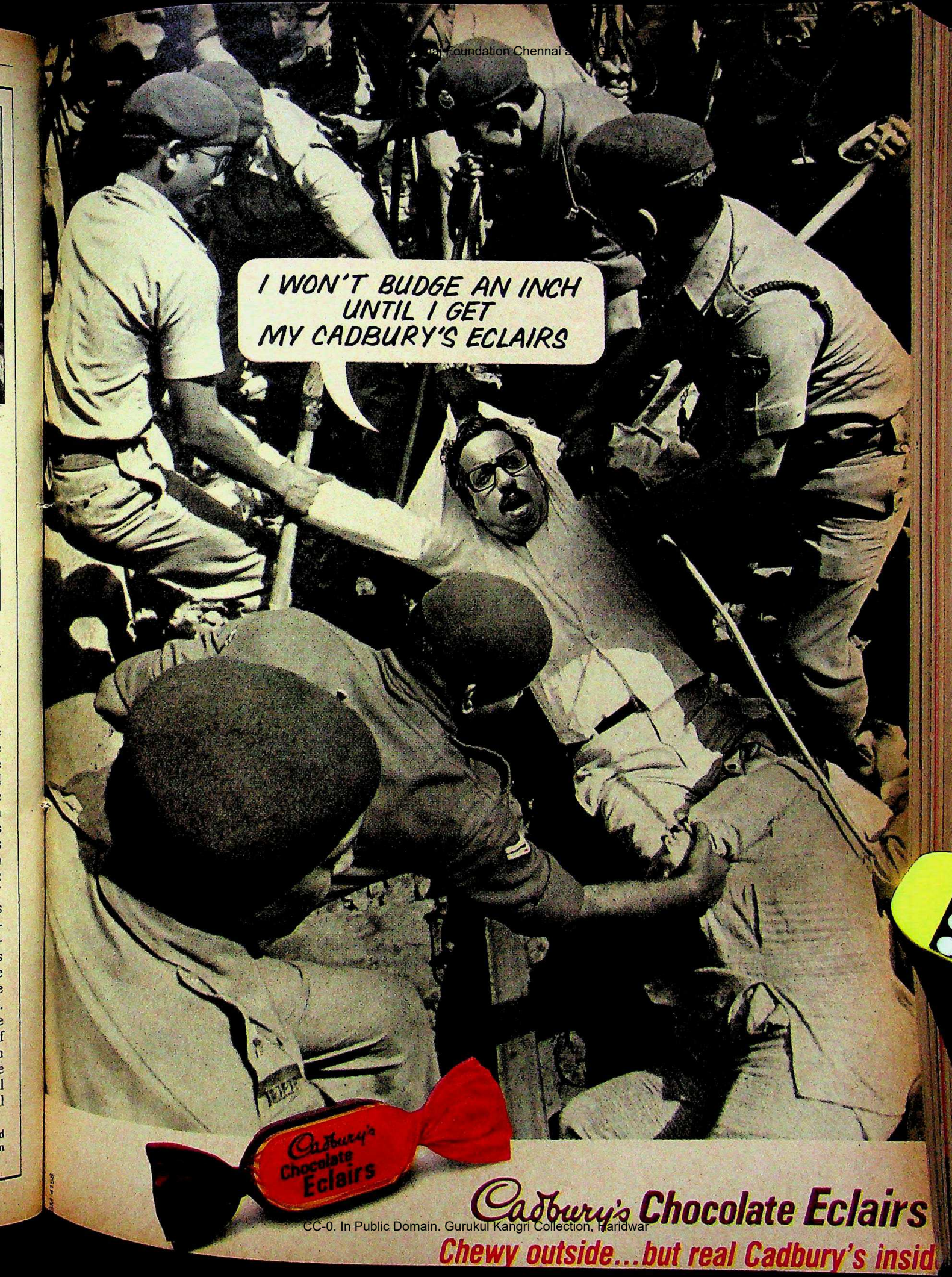
What is however intriguing in the governor's modus operandi is that she has been meeting the opposition leader and Congress(I) strongman K. Karunakaran more often than is considered circumspect. Said Chandrasekharan: "Sinha unknowingly played into the hands of Karunakaran who I believe pressured her not to sign the ordinance in order to embarrass us." Retorted Karunakaran: "I am the leader of the Opposition and at certain times I am expected to brief her about the problems which the state is facing." Sinha has made no secret of her views. She told a Students Federation of India delegation: "All those who oppose me are Marxists."

The Government, in retaliation, has been trying to prevent Sinha from delivering her second address to the Assembly. In December, a two-day session was convened and after a 12-day recess the Assembly met again, thus avoiding the necessity for a governor's address. Sinha's chance, however, will come when the budget session is convened. If she insists on changes in the speech which is bound to be anti-Centre, there will most probably be a constitutional deadlock the repercussions of which will resound through every state capital.

—AMARNATH K. MENON in Hyderabad and SREEDHAR PILLAI in Trivandrum

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Cadbury's Chocolate Eclairs

Chewy outside...but real Cadbury's inside

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"There's something new in the air.

To make your heart race, your pulse pound and your will power wilt.

Yes, it's my all new menu!

Where the wine list reads like a vineyard of the world.

Vigorous Riesling from the Saar.

Fresh, fruity Mosel wines and Rhine vintages.

Burgundy and Rosé.

All from the wine cellars of Frankhof Kellerai.

Where cheeses come from the famed house of Androuet.

Valençay, Reblochon, Camembert and Fourme d'Ambert.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Come, let me spoil you."

Where main courses are a blend of Continental and Oriental magic.

Malossol Caviar, pâté de foie gras, fish mousse, smoked salmon and asparagus canapés.

Light meals specially created in consultation with Steigenberger, internationally renowned restaurateurs.

And traditional Indian cuisine.

Methi puree, mutton kallaunji, shahi tukra, murgh biryani Hyderabadi, saunte pakodi.

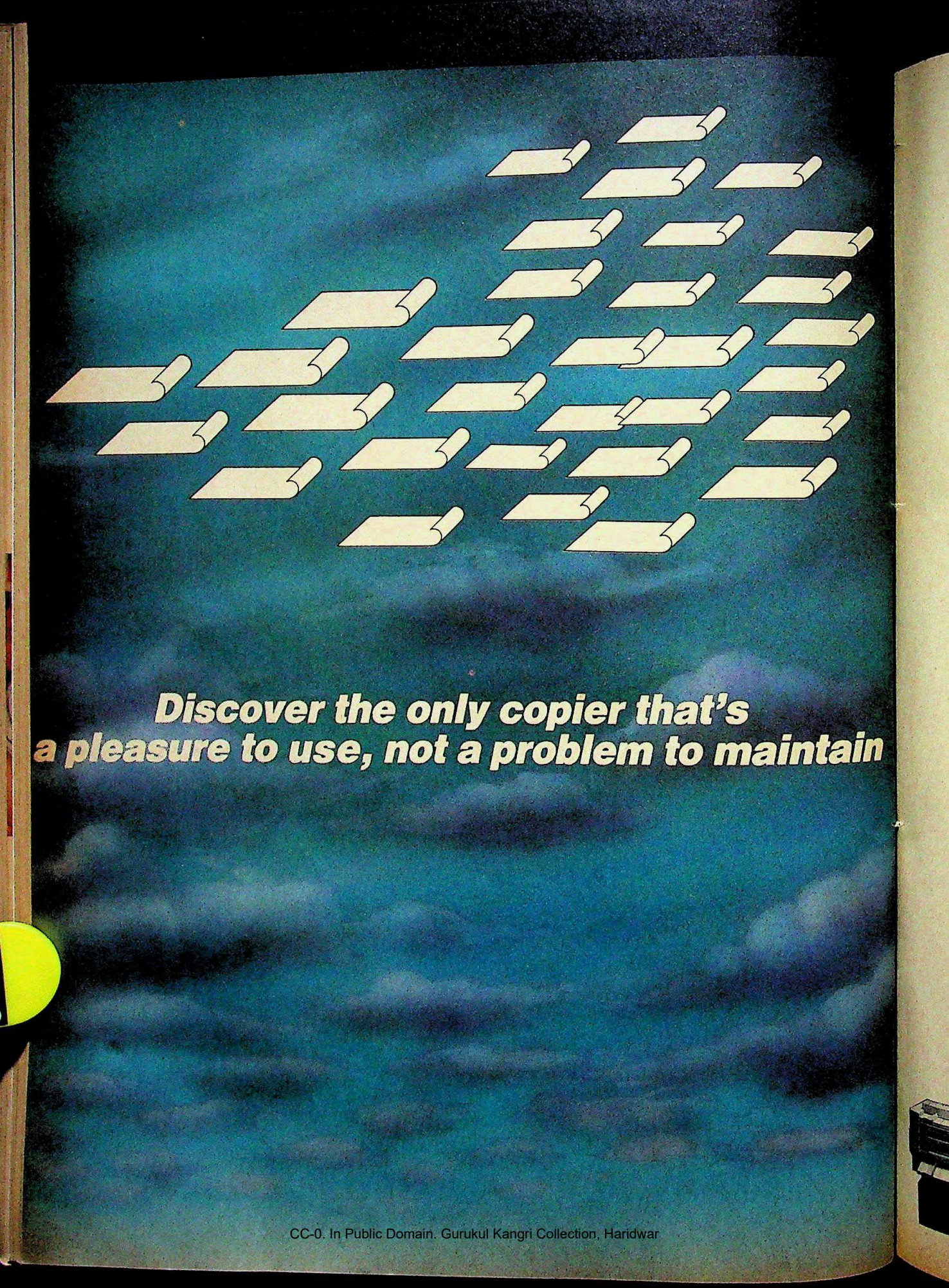
Where every single item on the dessert trolley is a pièce de résistance.

Just a piece of advice when you come aboard. Loosen your seat belt."

Cuisine for the connoisseur now on – **AIR-INDIA**

HTA 2325

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

The copier is a modern day convenience. However, you'll never fully realise how convenient a copier can be until you own a Modi Xerox!

For Modi Xerox not only saves you valuable time and money, but also frees you from the bothers and delays of maintenance.

For example, you're offered the option of a unique 'Full Service Maintenance Agreement' at most locations in the country.

An agreement that entitles you to free spares, free service and free consumables (except paper). All you pay is a nominal charge per copy which remains fixed whether you make one copy, a hundred or more per original.

And, to ensure regular availability, Modi Xerox copiers and consumables are manufactured to international Xerox standards at our highly sophisticated plant in Rampur, U.P.

Above all, you have the assurance of the strongest service support in the copier industry – a team of highly trained people spread across 65 locations in the country, dedicated to copier service alone.

In fact, at Modi Xerox customer service begins well before the purchase. Team Xerox, a unique group of experts, study your office requirements and then recommend a copier system that best suits your needs and your budget.

All this is a result of a technical and financial collaboration with Rank Xerox, U.K. A collaboration that speaks volumes of the faith vested in Modi Xerox and its capabilities.

So if the thought of maintenance and service is worrying you, invest in a Modi Xerox.

Fill in the coupon and post it today to :
Modi Xerox Limited
Marketing Division
33 Community Centre
New Friends Colony
New Delhi 110 065

Yes, I want to know how Team Xerox can improve the efficiency of my office

Name : _____

Designation : _____

Company : _____

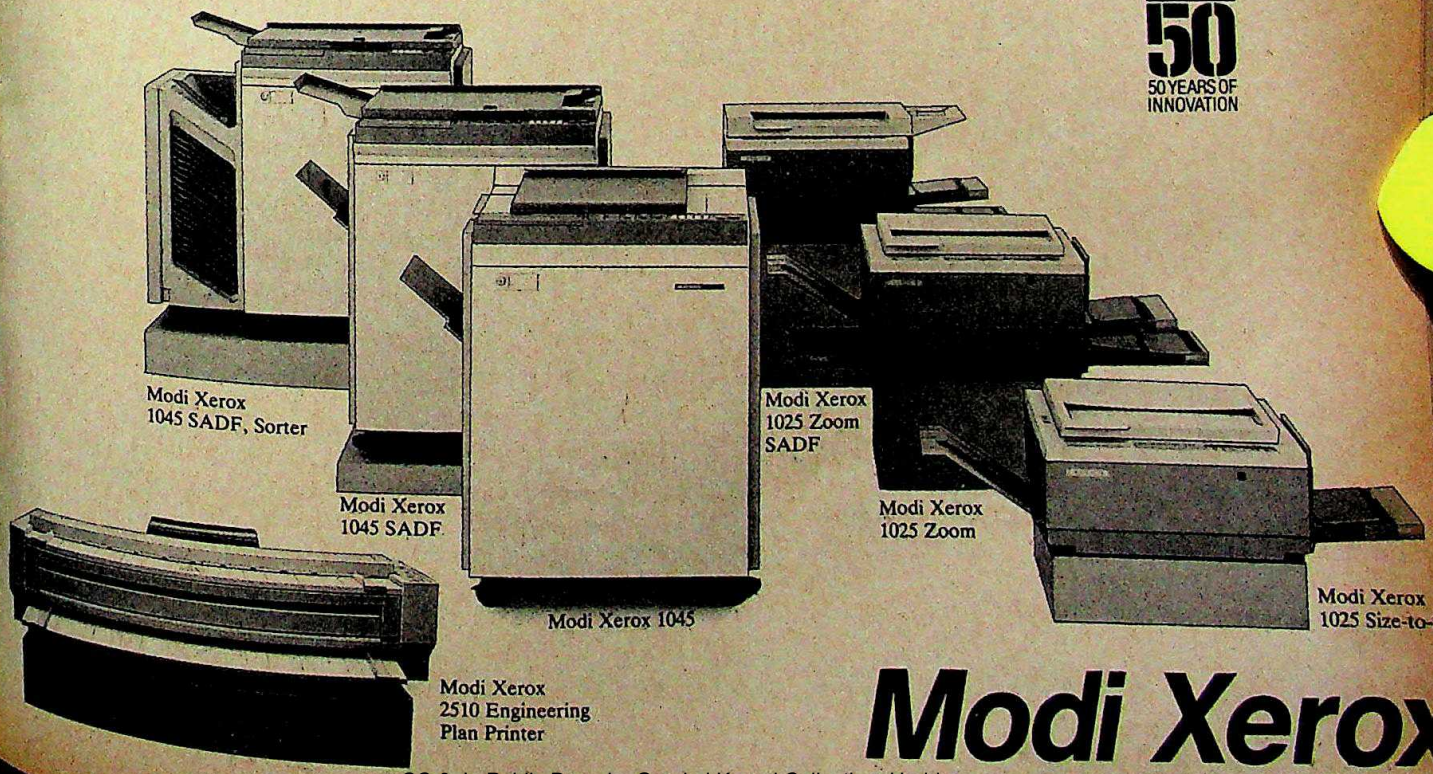
Address : _____

_____

Tel : _____

Call Team Xerox **today!**

XEROX 50 50 YEARS OF INNOVATION

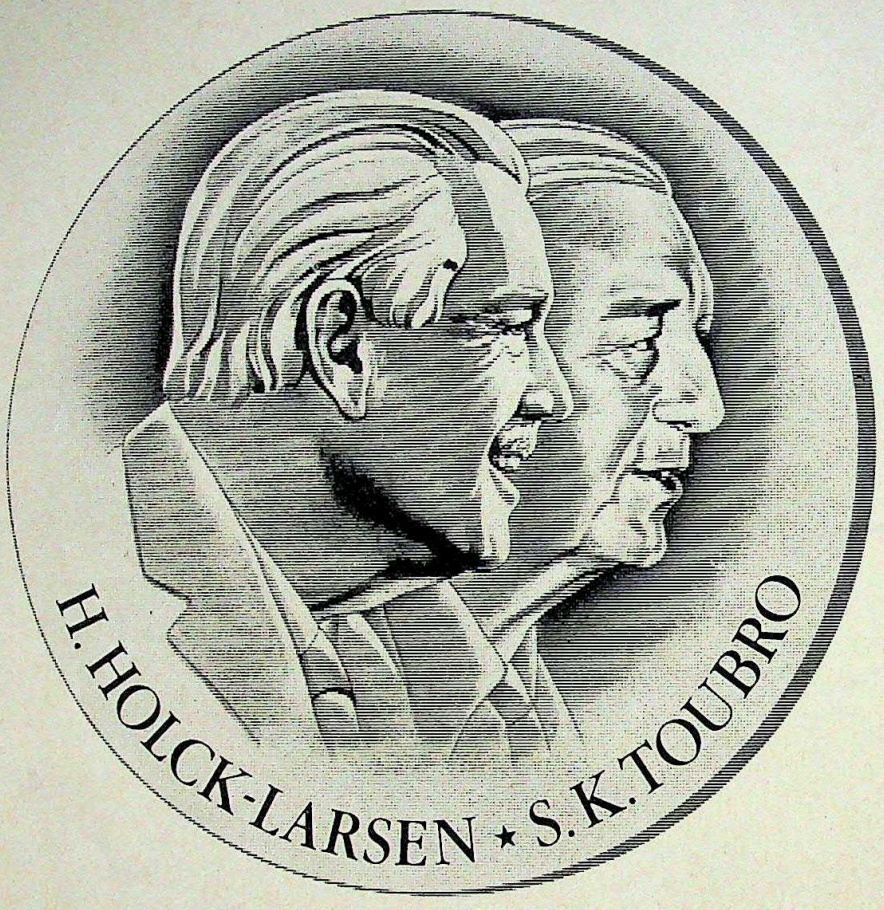


Modi Xerox

Setting the standards for others to copy!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



All they had was a dream. And the courage to dare.

A spirit of enterprise and innovation.
An obsession for quality & customer service.
A ceaseless effort at building confidence
through proven performance.
These values still hold good.

GOLDEN JUBILEE
1938 - 1988

LARSEN & TOUBRO LIMITED

L&T/ADV Dept INS 901

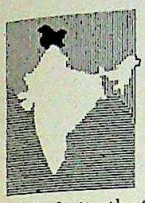
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JAMMU RIOTS

A Paralysed Administration

Suspicious government apathy



JANUARY, Friday the Thirteenth, will probably live in infamy as one of the blackest days in the history of Jammu. Though the city is now free of the violence that rocked it that day, the continuing nightcurfew under paramilitary supervision is a grim reminder of the stampedes, lynchings and arson that swept through Jammu for six blood-curdling hours, starting at noon. It is also the latest and most compelling testament to a serious governmental breakdown in the state.

Jammu had always stood out as a rare example of Hindu-Sikh amity (the city has about 60,000 Sikhs in a population of about 4 lakhs) on the borders of one of Punjab's most disturbed districts, Gurdaspur. The city had remained relatively peaceful through five horrendous years of the Punjab problem that had bloody repercussions in other parts of the country. In fact, no incident of murder, loot or arson occurred in the state after Mrs Gandhi's assassination in 1984, except for a bomb blast at Riyasi, about 40 km from Jammu city.

That is why the nation was shocked when Jammu began to burn last month. For it was there that the tinderbox of resentment following the hangings of Satwant Singh and Kehar Singh—contained elsewhere in the country—finally caught fire. And as the flames leaped up from shops set ablaze in the bustling Purani Mandi, the stadium area, the bus stand; and as Sikh youth were bludgeoned to death with iron rods in retaliation for incendiary activities; the administration came to a horrifying full stop.

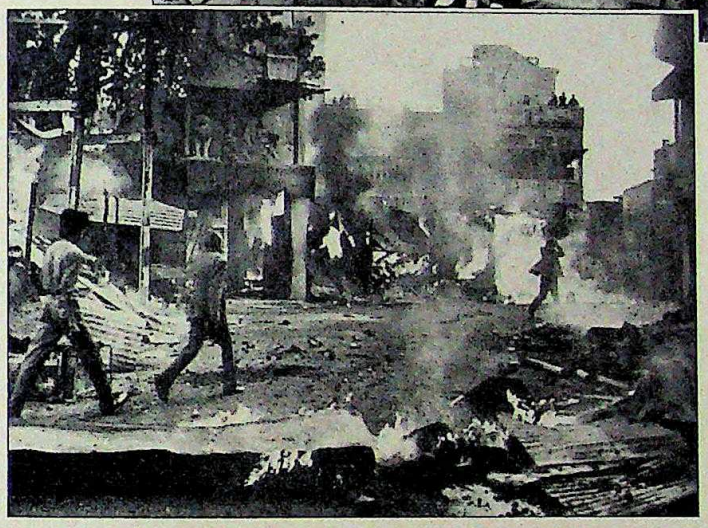
Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah, who was barely a mile away in his secretariat office—and did not even know that a riot was occurring—was later to say, shame-facedly, that his administration had failed him. His top civil service brass were quick to admit in private that what had occurred was perhaps a preventable disgrace. What ultimately stopped the mayhem from degenerating into even more bloody anarchy was no decisive action taken by the Government. Instead, it was the good sense of the people—both Hindus and Sikhs—who began to shield one another in their homes. Says Rangil Singh, Congress(I) MLA from R.S. Pura: "It was really the maturity shown by both communities that helped in the long run. I'm sad to say that the Government, of which I am a part, did nothing."

During the day, when curfew is relaxed, Hindus and Sikhs still socialise. They commiserate with each other. They thank God, as real estate businessman S.P. Bhalla said, "that the affair did not degenerate into another Delhi of November 1984." But it could have. And it has left a gnawing hurt in both communities. The question most people are asking is, why was it not prevented when it could have been? Why did the administration give the Sikhs permission to take out the 10,000-strong Gurpurav procession which sparked off the violence?

A commission of inquiry has been appointed to answer these and other troubling questions. But so far what remains inexplicable—and this has fuelled bazar gossip that there may have been a political vested interest behind the rioting—is the paralysis of the administration as the free-for-all spread across the city. Says Rishi Kumar Kaushal, former BJP MLA: "This was a game played by the National Conference. This was done to drive a wedge between the two communities who were united in making demands for more autonomy and equal distribution of the state's resources for Jammu. I blame none other but the chief minister."

Abdullah's aides vehemently deny any such crass motivation. And, perhaps, Kaushal's view is an example of the suspicions that are spawned in the wake of the kind of madness that was allowed to sweep unabated through

Photographs by RAJU KERNI



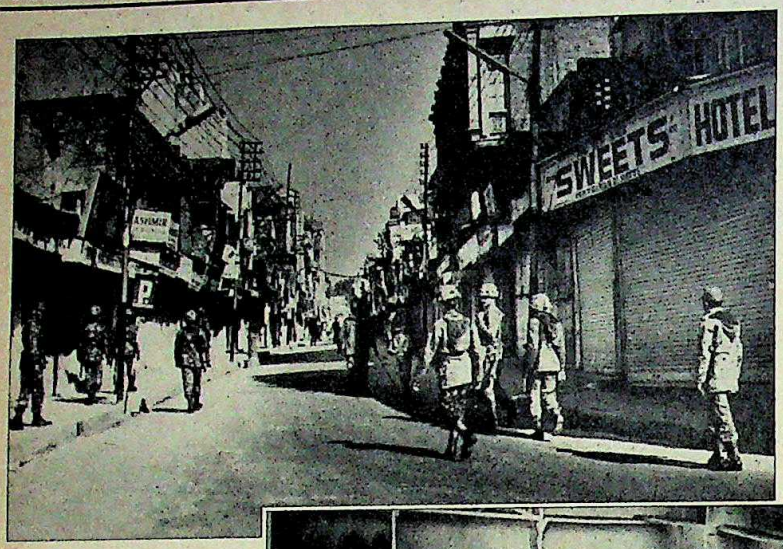
The Government slept while the city burned. For two hours after violence erupted, the chief minister did not know about the riots.

The procession that triggered off the violence; and scene of mayhem

L&TIADV Dept INS 901

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Jammu had always stood out as an example of Hindu-Sikh amity. But now, the recent riot has left a gnawing hurt in both communities.

Army patrolling the curfew-bound city; a Sikh woman in her ransacked shop

Jammu. But the events bore an eerie microscopic resemblance to November 1984, when the Delhi Police stood by and watched as violence spread.

What has shocked citizens and government officials alike is that for more than two hours after the rioting began, the chief minister—who was holding a press conference at which top police officials were present—was not even aware that major violence was shaking the winter capital of his state. It was only after he noticed smoke rising from various parts of the city at about 2.30 p.m., that he asked if anything was wrong. For an hour he could not even contact the police control room on the phone.

Said a senior secretary to the Government: "There was a total communication failure. The phones seemed to have gone dead all over the city including the secretariat. And there seemed to be no police reinforcements." The army, called in by District Magistrate P. Chakravarty at 2.45 p.m., arrived to restore order at 6 p.m.—from the cantonment no more than 6 km away. But by then, the damage was done. Thirteen dead, hundreds injured, 145 vehicles and hundreds of shops burned.

THE official line of investigation—why the procession was allowed a week after the Satwant-Kehar hangings—could be a red herring. Section 144 was not in force in the city and under the law, therefore, no permission was necessary for a procession. Reports coming into the collectorate from the local intelligence units, the CID and various intelligence agencies, did not indicate any cause for alarm.

What was even more curious is that word had been received by local officials that Abdullah himself would participate in the procession. He later changed his plans. But as a police officer remarked: "If the chief minister himself had indicated that he would participate, it obviously means that the various state intelligence agencies had reported that there was little likelihood of any untoward incidents. And the police had cleared the route and even agreed—with certain strictures—to let the processionists use loudspeakers."

The violence was apparently triggered off by slogans raised by a dozen or so extremist youth in the procession, extolling Mrs Gandhi's assassins. Shiv Sena activists retaliated with brickbatting from rooftops. The police, according to every eyewitness who has talked, simply looked the other way or ducked for shelter.

Admits one of the seniormost officials in the state: "Not a lathi was raised, not a teargas shell fired. It almost seemed as if the police were encouraging the show." As sad testimony to this, a large shop adjoining the wall of the police headquarters was burned down. Buses, matador vans and cars were set ablaze in the parade ground area, close to the central police control room.

Also unexplained is the dismal lack of police deployment. In all, about 18 platoons were deployed throughout the city—less than half the number normally assigned to cover just the route of the procession. And, mysteriously, police reinforcements could not be found as the riots raged for some six hours.

On the 5 km-long route earmarked for the procession, trouble built up in the 1 km stretch between Ragunath Bazar and Purani Mandi—where there are three police stations. Had the police been alert the tension-ridden procession could easily have been stopped or diverted at this point. Despite the presence of a senior superintendent of police, two deputy superintendents of police and six sector magistrates, nothing was done.

Whether the riots were preplanned by vested interests, aiming to gain political or communal mileage, is still a matter for investigation. What is clear is that the six terror-filled hours in Jammu were the sharpest indication of the state of collapse of the Farooq Abdullah Government. As one top police official said: "There is no direction, no chain of command. The IAS and IPS are regularly described as the East India Company in the state Assembly. These services are

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"There's an irresistible magic to a cool winter's evening."

"Something we really enjoy is a quiet evening in our garden. The soft shade of green trees, birds softly calling.... And for a final touch to this lovely setting, there's Gwalior Suiting — casual, yet always impeccably elegant."

— M.A.K. PATAUDI

GRASIM GWALIOR SUITING

IN A CLASS OF ITS OWN

A PRODUCT OF GRASIM INDUSTRIES LTD.

MAPP-GR-88-578

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kirloskar Neoplan....
The comfort and efficiency of air-travel, on land.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

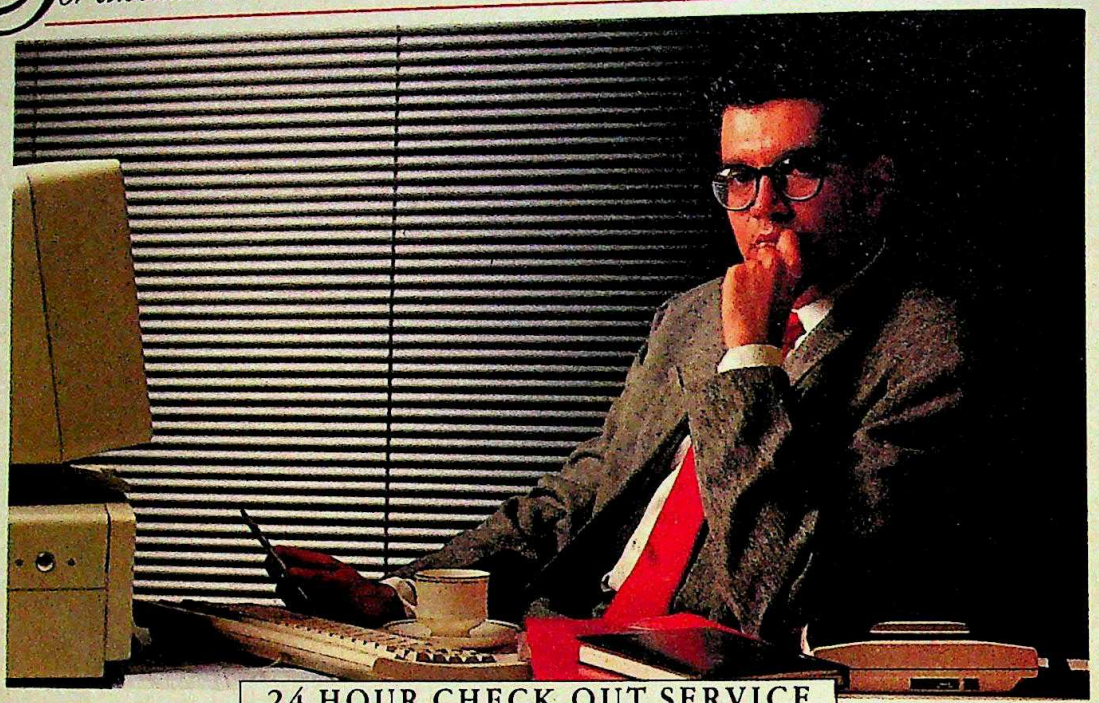
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Kirloskar Cummins Limite

Kothrud Pune 411 029 (INDIA)

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

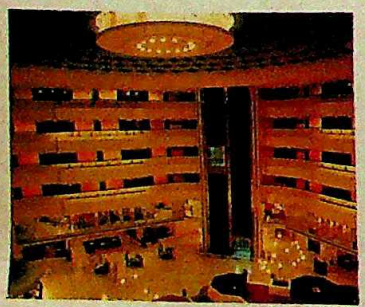
For executives who don't end their day at noon, a hotel that thinks likewise.



24 HOUR CHECK OUT SERVICE

You're a busy executive. And on a business trip the last thing you're looking for is inconvenience. Like carrying your luggage to a meeting. Or waiting in a lobby. Or wasting Company money. All because of a fixed 12 noon check-in/check-out time, Centaur understands. And offers you a thoughtful alternative.

A unique 24-hour check-out: So your check-out time is calculated 24 hours from the time you check-in.

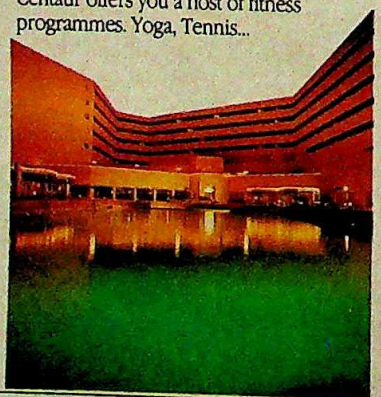


Ideally located: In Bombay, Delhi, Srinagar or Rajgir, Centaur thoughtfulness begins from its location. And carries through in every detail.

In the cuisine, for example: The Centaur Group takes pride in offering you a whole gourmet world. With Continental, Oriental and Indian speciality restaurants. Complemented by live music.

The latest business facilities are yours: Conference and convention halls. Secretarial assistance. Computer and audio-visual facilities. And comprehensive back-up services.

Alert body. Alert mind: To keep you working at maximum efficiency, the Centaur offers you a host of fitness programmes. Yoga, Tennis...



Happily, there are still hotels where you can enjoy luxury tempered with sound business sense.

CENTAUR HOTEL JUHU BEACH, BOMBAY

CENTAUR HOTEL BOMBAY AIRPORT, BOMBAY

CENTAUR HOTEL I.G.I. AIRPORT, NEW DELHI

CENTAUR LAKE VIEW HOTEL, SRINAGAR

CENTAUR HOKKE HOTEL, RAJGIR, BIHAR

For reservations contact your local Air-India office or Bombay – 6126660/6143040; Delhi – 5452223/5481411; Srinagar – 75631/32/33/34

CENTAUR
GROUP OF HOTELS

Luxury that makes business sense.

everest/88/HCI/180 R1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

demoralised and no one wants to stick his neck out. Most of us have become time-servers and want to be posted out of the state. So how do you expect the policeman on the street to have any motivation?"

Feuding at the top levels of the bureaucracy has become the bane of the state Government. Director-General of Police Gulam Jalani Pandit and Home Commissioner O.P. Bhutani are not even on speaking terms. They spend their time countermanding each other's instructions. And Chief Secretary Moosa Raza plays favourites between the supporters of the two, depending on his judgement of who curries favour with the chief minister at any given time.

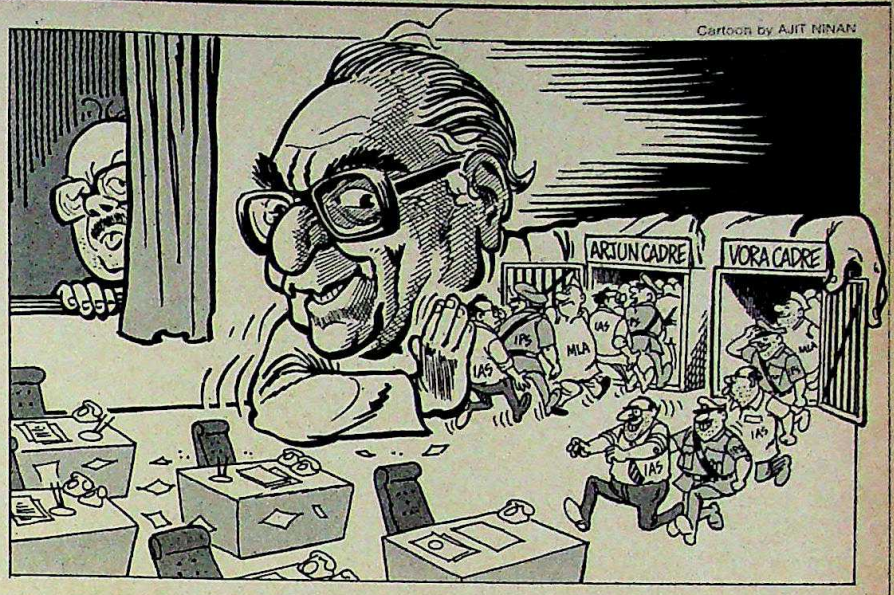
In this seesaw game, said an IAS officer, "We simply duck and make no tough decisions because at our level we function as *chaprasis* (peons), not knowing who is making what decision and for what reason at the top."

In the police and the IAS, officers are riven along Kashmiri versus non-Kashmiri lines. State cadre officers—even when inducted into the IPS and IAS—still maintain loyalties to local politicians under whose patronage they were originally hired, and ignore the regular chains of command and disciplinary procedures. And cadre reviews for promotions that are supposed to be held every three years have not been conducted with regularity. Further confusing the control and command structure is a proposal to appoint a deputy inspector general of police—a post reserved for the division level—in every district.

Says Rangil Singh: "It is during disturbances that the strength, awareness and motivation of any administration are put to a real test. After what happened in Jammu, the results are quite apparent." Several days after the violence, the administration belatedly made 200 arrests. But following a week-long hartal organised by the BJP, all suspects were released—a development that helped the party steal much of the political thunder the Congress(I) had enjoyed in the state. And the Centre—as always nervous of hurting Hindu sentiment—did not even send a message of sympathy or concern for the victims.

So, in a human tragedy in which the administration collapses and lives are lost, the BJP blames the National Conference; the Congress(I) blames the BJP; both blame the chief minister; the chief minister blames his own administration; the administration the politicians. And, as has become usual, the guilty go scot-free.

—INDERJIT BADHWAR
with VIPUL MUDGAL in Jammu



MADHYA PRADESH

Opening Gambit

Arjun loyalists axed

MOTILAL Vora is a changed person. He is no longer the mild-mannered, weak-kneed and nondescript politician he was till last year. The year-long stay in the capital has metamorphosed the man: he is shrewder, surer and more suave. Says he: "The experience I got in Delhi taught me quite a few lessons."

In his second innings as the chief minister of the country's largest state, Vora is brimming with confidence. Not only has he quickly formed his ministry—a task he could not complete in the three years of his last tenure—he has also purged it of most Arjun Singh loyalists. And within 48 hours of taking charge, he overhauled the entire administrative set-up, shunting out his predecessor's men and bringing back his loyalists.

With the high command backing him to the hilt, Vora is out to finish Arjun Singh, whom he had replaced last month in a typical Congress(I) game of musical chairs. Within a week of his dramatic return, Vora stormed Churhat, Arjun Singh's home town, and addressed a rally. Roared Vora: "Those in the Government should be honest so that people do not raise their fingers. We will not allow corruption to grow."

The message was clear. And so was the battleline. Cornered, humiliated, and still licking the wounds he received during last month's power struggle, Arjun Singh is gasping for breath. Still, he remains the master manipulator, capable of springing a surprise. "I am certainly not fading away," he declared. As if to prove his point, in the second week of February, a number of Arjun Singh's supporters rushed to New Delhi to enlighten Rajiv Gandhi as to how Vora's come-back would spoil the ruling party's chances at the hustings.

Vora too is certainly not letting the grass grow under his feet. He is busy trying to put back the clock to February 13 last year, when he was shunted to New Delhi. All the political aides and officials, who manned key posts during his earlier stint, have been resurrected.

In the 22-member Vora Ministry, there are barely two or three Arjun Singh supporters. Most are his die-hard opponents. For instance, Jaipal Singh, the bete noire of the previous regime, has been rewarded with the home ministry and promotion to cabinet rank.

Other prominent former dissidents like Vithalbhai Patel, Rasool Ahmed Siddiqui and Chitrakant Jaiswal—who had been axed by Arjun Singh—find themselves back in the ministry. Janata Legislature Party leader Narbada Prasad Srivastava aptly described the scenario as "the re-run of an old movie".

The sense of deja vu extends to the bureaucracy. One of the first acts of Arjun Singh was to remove the chairman of Harda Special Area Development Authority, a Vora nominee. One of Vora's first acts was to bring him back. And Madhav Vishwanath Tamaskar replaced Anand Mohan Mathur as the advocate general once again as he had done during Vora's first stint.

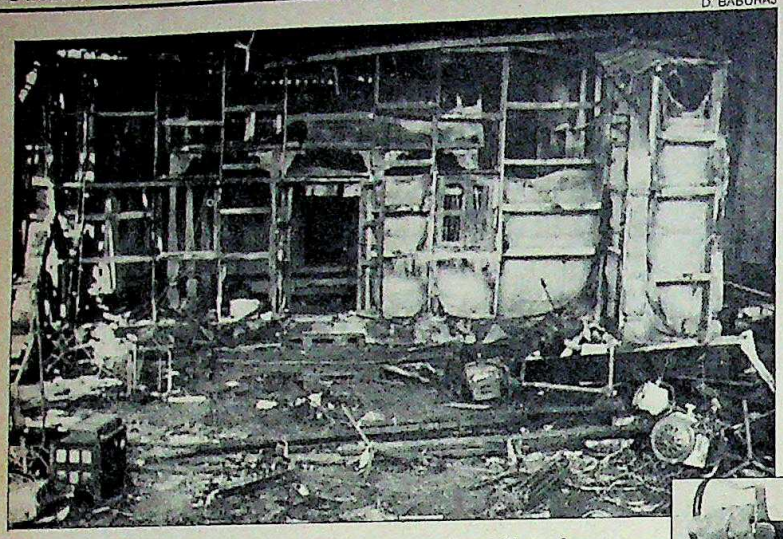
Clearly Vora would like to wipe out the Arjun Singh chapter from Madhya Pradesh's history.

—N.K. SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

D. BABURAJ



Burnt studio (left); and Khan as Tipu

KARNATAKA

A Gory Mishap

Studio fire kills more than 40

THE 18th century warrior king lived and died by the sword. But for the crew and cast who were working to bring him to life in a TV serial, it ended in a different, more horrifying ordeal: fire. Last fortnight, a devastating blaze swept through Premier Studios in Mysore, where actor-director Sanjay Khan was shooting a tele-serial based on Bhagwan Gidwani's historical novel *The Sword of Tipu Sultan*. The toll: 42 dead and at least 25, including Khan, seriously injured.

The *mahurat* for the 52-part serial—estimated to cost over Rs 4 crore—was held on October 2 at the Lalit Mahal Palace and everything about the serial was done in epic proportions. More than 100 artistes and crew were brought in from Bombay to help the local talent. *Tipu Sultan* would have had a running time of 40 hours, over five months.

The fire broke out late in the evening of February 8 when Khan had just commenced shooting the second episode. The scene was that of the wedding of Tipu Sultan, and was being shot in what is called the 'C' room of the studio, a cavernous 60 ft by 120 ft enclosure which was set up as a *durbar* hall. According to the studio employees, Sanjay was to take shots of fireworks that accompanied the wedding. Several 'flower pot' crackers were lit. Within seconds, the spurt of flame from the pots had torched the inflammable ceiling and spread across the entire room. The blaze spread rapidly in the room which had been 'damped'—made sound proof—with a padding of inflammable materials: paper, coir and matting besides wooden sets. Said M.N. Basavarajaiah, proprietor of the studio: "It was over in a matter of minutes."

The speed and intensity of the fire gave little chance to the 100-odd crew who were on the spot. The large room had only two exits and one of them was blocked by shooting equipment. Sanjay Khan himself was trapped in the fire and like a true captain waited for most of the crew to rush out before he himself staggered out— his body badly burnt. Most of the victims were unit members from Bombay and the dead included four junior artistes. Though no major artiste besides Khan was present on the scene when the fire broke out, actress Neena Gupta had a fortuitous escape from the inferno: she had just stepped out of the sets to feed her three-month-old child.

Krishnamurthy Rao, 19, an engineering student who resides on the premises of the studio was just returning home after eating outside when he saw the studio go up in flames. "It was a terrifying sight. there was only one exit and people were rushing out in single file, their clothes ablaze." Rao saw at least seven screaming victims stumble out and jump into a water fountain just outside the studio. When fire personnel went in a few hours later after dousing the fire, they found 27 charred bodies on the floor of the set.

For Khan, the gory mishap could not have come at a worse time. The aging actor already had the Tipu project cleared by Doordarshan and the episodes were scheduled to go on the box from April 26. Khan had already shot a pilot of the serial which had received excellent notice in the press. He was also fighting to establish himself as a director of merit after some set-backs in the film world. An ongoing production, *Sar Zameen* starring Vinod Khanna was stuck due to a problem with the dates and his previous film *Kala Dhanda Gore Log* was a flop. But with Tipu Sultan, everything seemed to be going Khan's way. In an extraordinary gesture the Karnataka Government even lent Tipu's original sword—it was not in the studio when the fire broke—to Khan for the shooting. Said Khan's wife Zarine: "Sanjay was really passionate about the project—he was confident of making the best serial ever—one that matched world standards. The pilot itself was gorgeous."

The serial however is the last thing on anyone's mind. According to the doctors, Sanjay Khan suffered 60 to 65 per cent burns—which means a high risk of infection. As and when he recovers, Khan will also have to answer questions about how the fire started. Though some of Khan's friends claim that it was a short circuit, several eyewitnesses have told police about the fireworks scene.

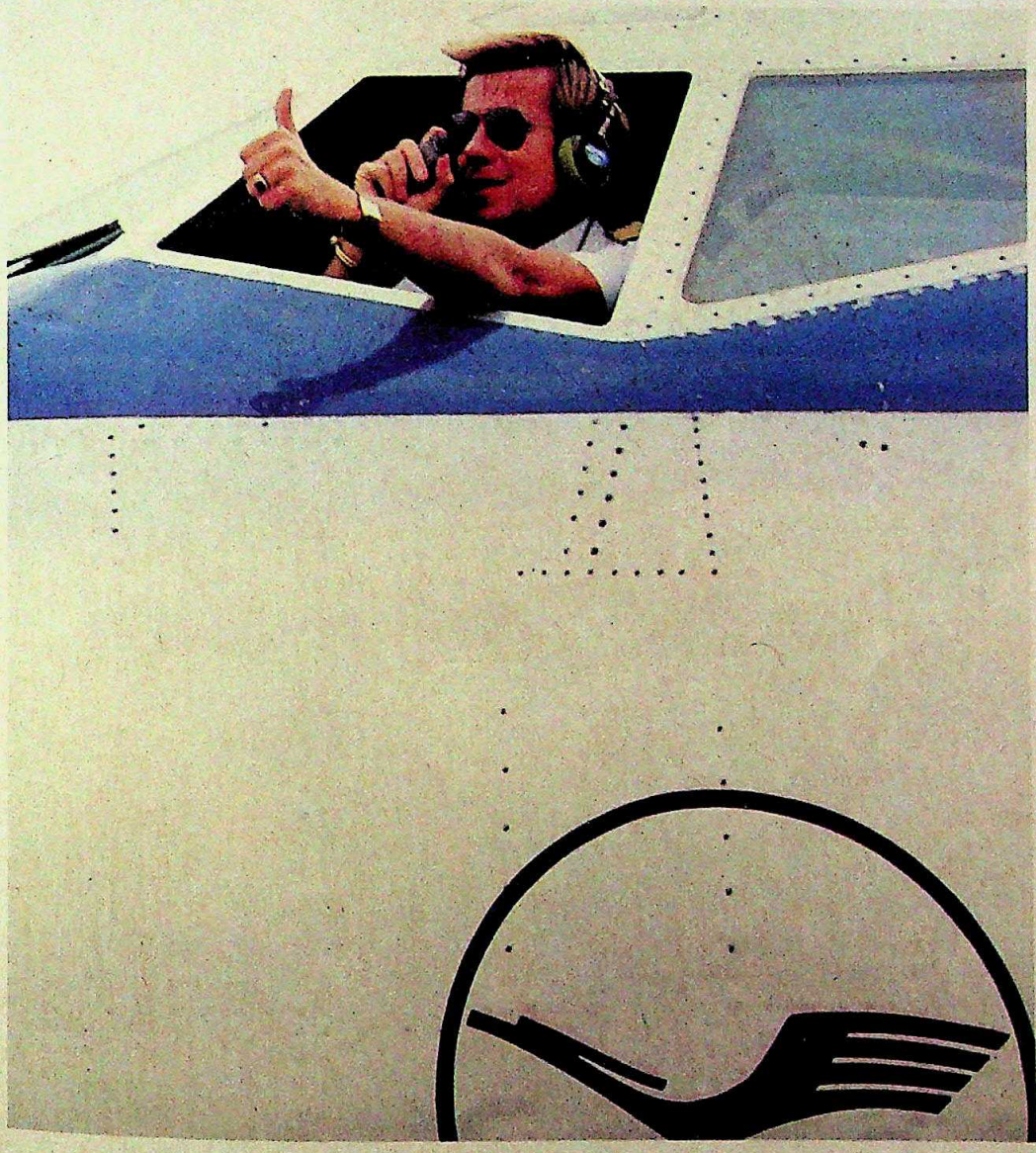
The latest accident also stirred memories of other mishaps in the state in the last few years. In 1981, a circus top caught fire in Bangalore killing 85, mostly children. A year later, film star Amitabh Bachchan almost paid with his life for an accident during a stunt sequence while shooting for the film *Coolie*. There have also been other, minor incidents: a few months ago, a smaller fire broke out in Bangalore's Chamundeswari Studio during the shooting of a Kannada film. Earlier, a wall had collapsed in the same studio injuring people. The ever superstitious filmdom, has already begun talking in whispers about the portents.

—CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The more important the meeting, the more important the airline.



Lufthansa

LH 5707-2 DEL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

For high-profile men, a fabric that gives a distinct edge.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fabric Silver Oak **Blend** Extra fine Merino Wool + Polyester **Season** All year round
Occasions Courtship days • Ritzy restaurant dinners • Whenever you wish to be in the limelight

Silver Oak from Raymond's
Exotic Range

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Thapar Group

YOU CAN TAKE OVER A COMPANY ON NEW EXECUTIVE BOND PAPER

HAMPTON CHEM...
Express Towers, Nariman Point, Bombay-40...
Tel : 2026884, 2023922

M.K. Shah
Managing Director

November 25, 1988

To
Mr. A.D. Gupta
President,
Forward Investments Pvt. Ltd.,
World Trade Centre,
Cuffe Parade
Bombay - 400 005

Dear ADG,

I've gone through your report on company X. I think your assessment is correct. It does fit rather nicely into our plans.

As far as buying them out is concerned, I prefer plan A.

It's the cleanest !

Regards,

M.K. Shah

M.K. SHAH

Introducing New Executive Bond Paper. It's so special that top management will find it specially suitable for all their communication – from takeovers and technical collaborations to new product launches.

And what makes it so special is the look. It's rich, pure white, with a distinctive but discreet watermark. And the feel. Crisp, of course and entirely expensive. *(Imported D.O. Paper is not even remotely near).*

NEW
Executive Bond

A speciality paper from Sailarpur Industries Limited

Regional Offices : Bombay : Ph. 2023876 Calcutta : Ph. 443173 Delhi : Ph. 3328811 Madras : Ph. 474564.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

B. RATNAKAR

Suspect Probe

CBI charges former bank chief

HE was a high flier, an audacious innovator who used ingenious financial devices to transform the regional bank he headed into a national presence. Yet barely four months after B. Ratnakar voluntarily bowed out of Canara Bank last September, he was back in the headlines. Reason: the CBI claimed to have stumbled upon evidence that Ratnakar was corrupt.

He promptly suffered a heart attack in Delhi and was hospitalised. Now on his way to recovery, Ratnakar, 52, said last fortnight that he had not been asked a single question, and that he was "being hanged without being judged". Producing a voluminous file of letters, Ratnakar pointed out that he had informed the Government every year of his assets. Says he: "I am a broken hearted man."

The CBI enquiries began months ago, after the Government offered him plum posts—first the chairmanship of Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd, then the secretary's slot in the department of banking, and finally the common chairmanship of public sector trading giants State Trading Corporation and Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation. Ratnakar declined the first offer, the second fell through, only the third was a distinct possibility.

That's when reports about the enquiry appeared in the press. The CBI routinely vets candidates for senior Government jobs, but its sources in Bangalore found that Ratnakar's acquisition of wealth warranted further investigation. Among the areas of enquiry:

- Ratnakar's construction of a house in Bangalore worth Rs 25 lakh.
- The conditions under which the house was rented to a foreign national, William Scrivens, for Rs 25,000 a month.
- His role in Canara Bank's backdating of letters of credit for Reliance Industries.
- Irregular advances to industrialists whom other banks had blacklisted.
- Inflated claims about Canara Bank's financial performance.

The CBI has already filed a preliminary report with the Central Vigilance Commission, the finance secretary, and the department of banking. On December 12, it also sent out a confidential circular to various banks seeking details of bank deposits held by Ratnakar, his wife, his three sons and other relatives.

Yet the remarkable purposefulness—and timing—of the CBI investigation has led to doubts about its objective. Some believe that it was meant to tar Ratnakar's reputation at a time when he was a candidate for a top job.

Ratnakar says his borrowings over the last 32 years were from banks other than Canara Bank (with one exception) and that he commuted his provident fund to buy property—a plot on the outskirts of Delhi, two plots and a flat in Delhi, and plots in Bangalore, among others. He used his property as security to obtain fresh loans and sold some of his assets for a profit. For instance, he purchased land in Madras for Rs 38,000 in 1972 (paid for over five years) and sold it in 1978 for Rs 85,000. He put the money in fixed deposits in Syndicate Bank and used this as collateral to borrow Rs 1.5 lakh. "My net assets are Rs 12.71 lakh. I have nearly Rs 17 lakh to repay," says he. "If you have assets, what you're concerned with is how you acquired them. I have submitted my income tax returns for the last nine years."

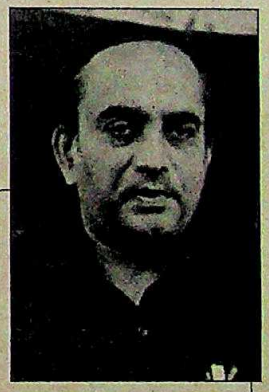
About the Bangalore property, Ratnakar explains that he bought it from the Bangalore Development Authority in 1982. To build a house his wife borrowed Rs 10.75 lakh from two banks and the Housing Development Finance Corporation. Scrivens, managing director of Ashok Birla's 3M, wanted to move in as a tenant. Ratnakar asked for a rent of Rs 25,000 a month, but struck a deal—3M would pay a refundable deposit of Rs 15 lakh and a monthly rent of Rs 7,000, the difference between this and Ratnakar's initial demand of Rs 25,000 being met by the interest on the advance.

On the charge relating to Reliance's letters of credit, he asks: "How do I come into the picture? The bank's foreign department amended the letter of credit and an individual was charge-sheeted. I was cleared by the Reserve Bank." As for the allegation that Canara Bank lent money to undesirable customers, he points out that the Reserve Bank inspects the bank's accounts annually. Says he: "In any case, no bank can have a perfect record."

Finally, Ratnakar says that Canara Bank's reserves soared more than 13 times and profits more than doubled in the six years of his stewardship. "How much manipulation can you do? It's an insult to the bank directors, the external auditors and the Reserve Bank," he exclaims.

Even as the bureau pursues its enquiries, it's clear that a fine record has been tarred beyond repair. In 1981, the CBI's Bangalore unit raided three bank executives and reportedly unearthed assets of Rs 34 lakh. Two of the executives were exonerated three years later. The third executive, it was discovered, had Rs 80,000 after 39 years of service. That's not quite the case with Ratnakar, but it does say something about the way investigative agencies function in this country. Only the Government knows who's right now—the CBI or Ratnakar. Unfortunately, it's not talking.

—PALAKUNNATHU G. MATHAI and CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA



Letter explaining fund sources; (inset) Ratnakar

The Additional Secretary,
Ministry of Finance,
Department of Eco. Affairs,
(Banking Division),
Jeevan Deep Building,
NEW DELHI - 110001.

Attn.: Shri S.S. Hasurkar
Director

Dear Sir,

I have started construction of my house in Bangalore on the plot allotted by Government in 1982 (changed in 1985) in Rajmahal Vilas Extension, Bangalore to my wife Mrs. Prema Ratnakar. My wife has taken a lonn of Rs.7 lacs from Grindlays Bank and cleared the liability of Vijaya Bank of over Rs.2 lacs against the plot. Balance of Rs.5 lacs is being used for construction. She is now getting a rental of (from May '87) Rs.7200/- p.m. In addition to this rent of the new constructed house will also be available for repayment.

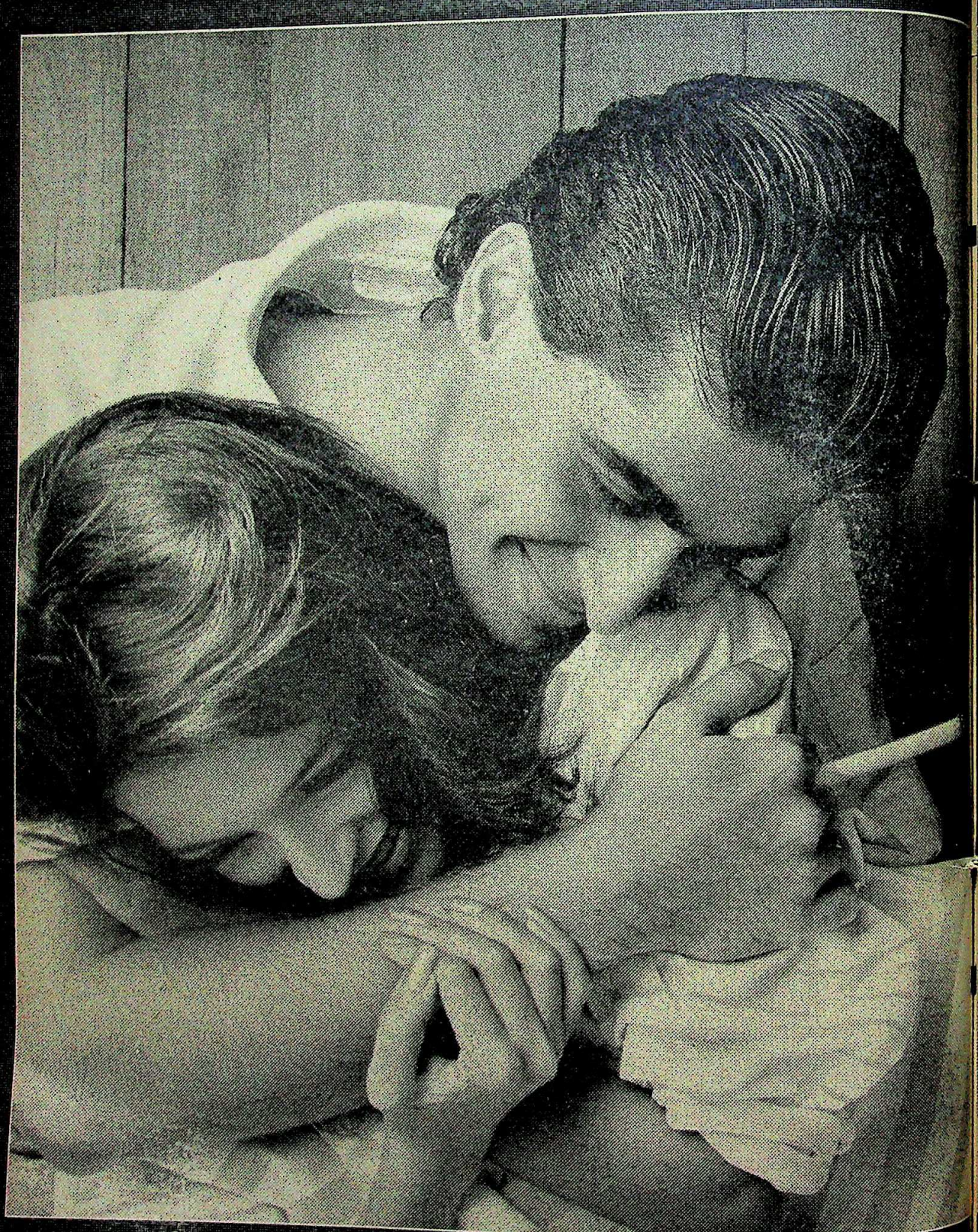
I also intimate that in view of construction of the house I will dispose off substantial portion of shares of myself, my wife and my son in the next 6 months. Of course whenever amount exceeds Rs.5000/- I will intimate as usual.

Yours faithfully,

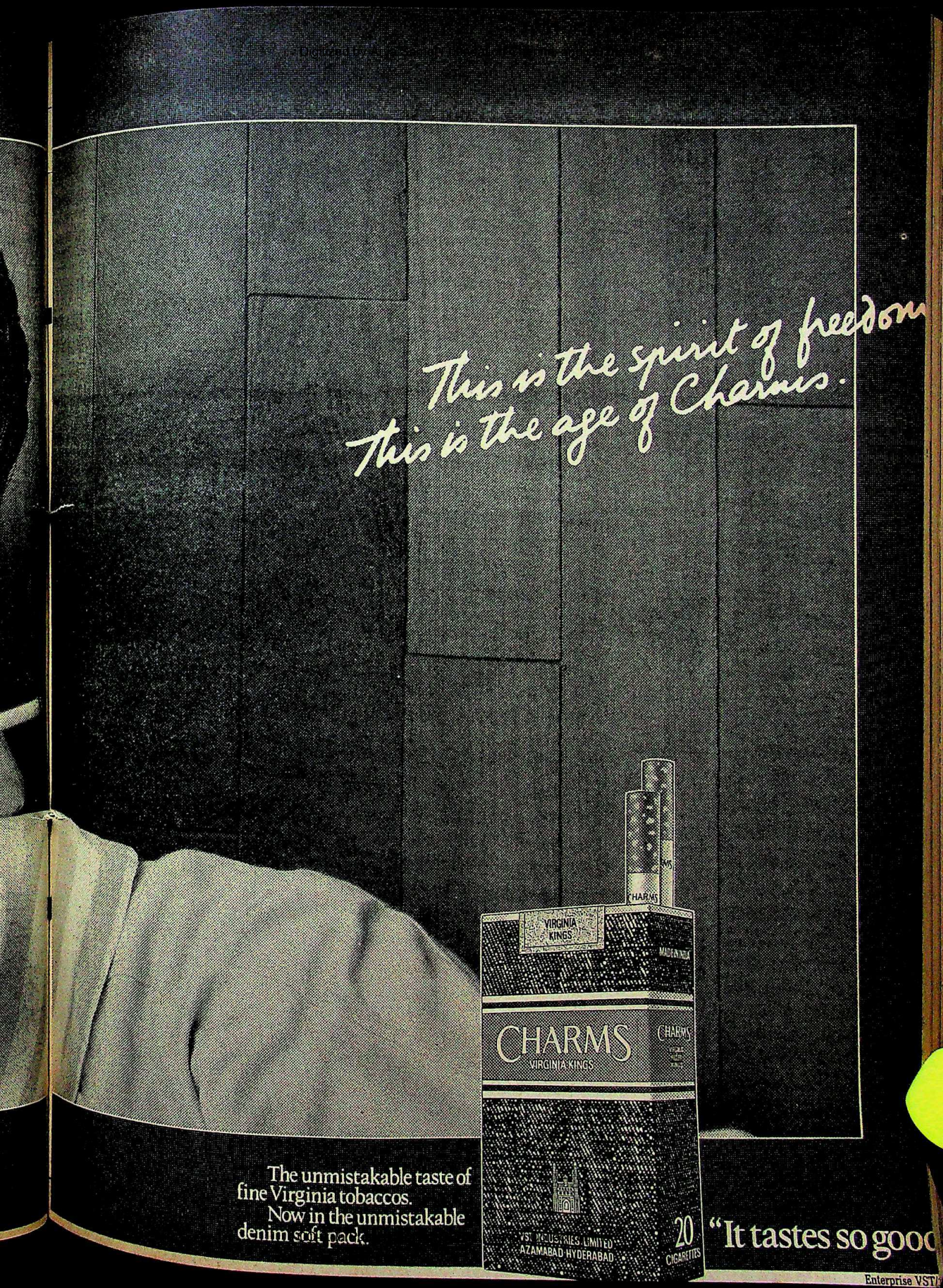
(B. RATNAKAR)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



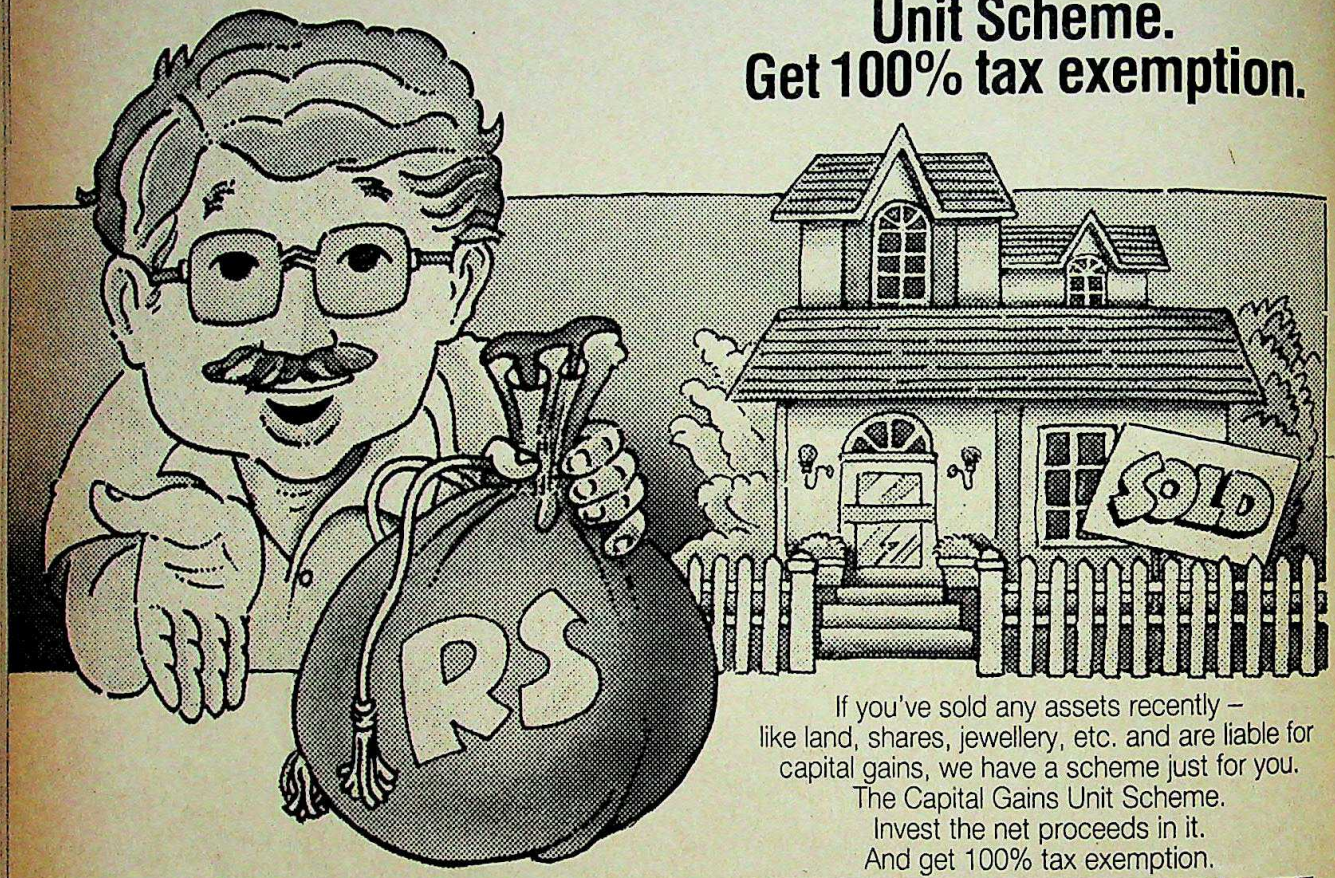
CIGARETTE SMOKING IS INJURIOUS TO HEALTH


This is the spirit of freedom
This is the age of Charms.
CHARMS
VIRGINIA KINGS
MADE IN INDIA
CHARMS
VIRGINIA KINGS
CHARMS
VST INDUSTRIES LIMITED
AZAMABAD HYDERABAD
20
CIGARETTES
The unmistakable taste of fine Virginia tobaccos.
Now in the unmistakable denim soft pack.
"It tastes so good
Enterprise VST

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sellers keepers!

Keep all your capital gains. Invest in Capital Gains Unit Scheme. Get 100% tax exemption.



If you've sold any assets recently – like land, shares, jewellery, etc. and are liable for capital gains, we have a scheme just for you. The Capital Gains Unit Scheme. Invest the net proceeds in it. And get 100% tax exemption.

Here are the highlights of the scheme:

- You get total exemption from capital gains tax under Section 54 E.
- The annual dividend is declared in June every year. Last year it was 9.60%.
- The minimum investment is 500 Units. While the face value of Units under this scheme is Rs.10/–, Units will be sold at the prevailing sale price.
- There will be no repurchase of Units for a period of three years. However, in case of death or dissolution, Units may be repurchased at the prevailing repurchase price.
- Transfer or pledge of Units is not allowed.

The Scheme is open to everybody – individuals (including minors), H.U.F., companies, bodies corporate, eligible trusts, partnership firms, etc.

So, with a scheme like this, be sure to make capital out of it.

UNIT TRUST OF INDIA

Public Sector Financial Institution)

l the coupon to:

mbay 400 020, Post Bag 11410, Tel: 2863767/6201995
lcutta 700 001, Post Bag 60, Tel:209391/208795
adras 600 001, Post Bag 5063, Tel: 587433/580938
w Delhi 110 002, Post Bag 5, Tel: 3318638/3319786

Please send me free literature on CGS.

Name: _____

_____

Address: _____

_____

_____

other convenient facility! Payments can also be made by bank drafts — minus the commission. Drafts will be accepted at any Unit Trust office.

Sista's – UTI – 489/88 R

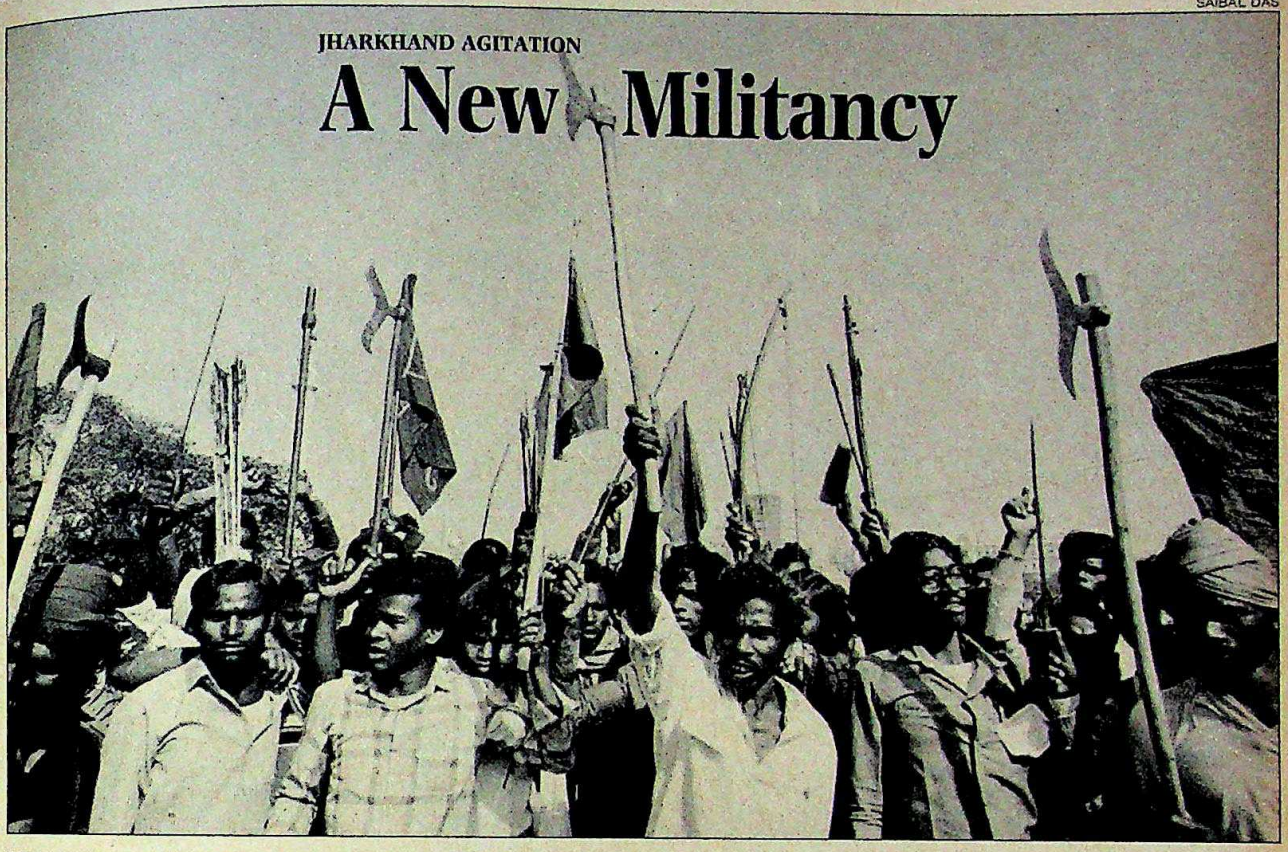
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SAIBAL DAS

JHARKHAND AGITATION

A New Militancy



Tribals carrying traditional weapons at the rally: defiant mood

THE strange spectacle took even the city of processions by surprise. Clogging the streets of Calcutta were thousands of Jharkhand supporters, armed with bows, arrows and other traditional weapons and flaunting green scarves and flags symbolic of the forests. The rally last fortnight was a warning to the Government: the year-and-a-half-old Jharkhand Coordination Committee (JCC) meant business.

This time the JCC appeared determined to translate its threats into action, in pursuit of the 50-year-old demand by Jharkhand groups for a separate state comprising the tribal regions of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. At a meeting convened at Calcutta's famous Shahid Minar Grounds, the Jharkhand leaders vociferously stressed that they would not tolerate discrimination any longer. Said one of them: "Our problem is not of development but of nationality. We will not rest till we achieve our goal." What raised the Government's fears was the threat that it would launch an "armed rebellion" if the demand was not conceded.

The Calcutta rally was preceded by its share of controversies. Jittery about the JCC's decision to bring in more than 50,000 supporters for the rally, Chief Minister Jyoti Basu convened a cabinet meeting where it was decided to impose a ban on the carrying of traditional weapons. A special cell headed by Chief Secretary T.C. Dutta was formed to deal with the situation and the police warned the supporters not to enter the city with arms. Incensed activists pointed out that the CPI(M) encouraged its tribal supporters to carry traditional arms to rallies. Said Naren Hansda, JCC leader: "If Sikhs can carry *kripans* and Gorkhas their *khukri*, why can't tribals carry bows and arrows which are a part of their lives and have religious significance?"

The Calcutta High Court, however, upheld the police directive and said it saw no connection between religious symbolism and the rally. The JCC supporters relented and advised the cadres to hand over their arms to the police. Even then a fair number of bows and arrows found their way into the rally.

And so brandishing a bow and arrow on stage in defiance of the directive was All Jharkhand Students' Union President Suraj Singh Besra who was forthright in his criticism of the Marxist Government. Said he: "Their strategy is to pave the way for an armed conflict with CPI(M) cadres, much in the way the Gorkhaland agitation was countered." But, he warned: "The tribal people are very simple by nature. If provoked, however, they can adopt the process of annihilation of their opponents."

Meanwhile, the show of strength has left Basu puzzled. Says he: "I fail to understand why they insist on holding rallies in Calcutta. They should go to New Delhi if they are serious." Conceding that the Jharkhand groups may have genuine grievances, Basu points out that tribals comprise merely 4 per cent of the population in the state's Midnapur district, 8 per cent in Bankura district and 17 per cent in Purulia district.

Observers have been quick to note a qualitative change in the movement over the last few years—a greater emphasis on cultural regeneration and a separate linguistic identity. In the course of time, this could prove to be the cementing factor for the two crore and odd tribals in the tribal belt. Much of the credit for the agitation's new focus goes to Dr Ram Dayal Munda, a charismatic tribal leader who was once vice-chancellor of Ranchi University.

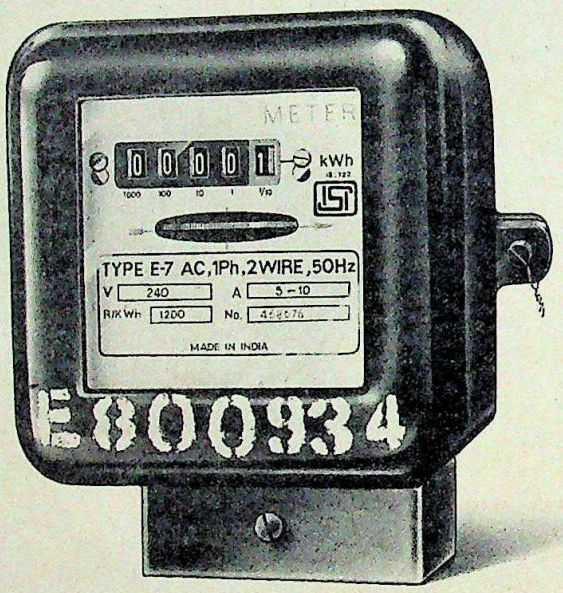
And the new direction was emphasised once again when a delegation of the JCC handed over a memorandum on the day of the rally to West Bengal Land and Land Reforms Minister Benoy Choudhury which demanded, besides the creation of a Jharkhand state, introduction of tribal dialects in educational

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MAURYA SHERATON, DELHI, SPENDS VIRTUALLY NOTHING ON AIR-CONDITIONING.

NEITHER SHOULD YOU.



THERMAX INTRODUCE ABSORPTION CHILLERS FOR AIR-CONDITIONING AND PROCESS COOLING THAT RUN ON THERMAL ENERGY. NOT ELECTRICITY.

Absorption Chillers from Thermax are manufactured in collaboration with Sanyo of Japan, the largest manufacturers of absorption chillers worldwide.

A product unique in both concept and design. Because it provides chilled water for air-conditioning and process cooling, with an operational input of thermal energy. Instead of electricity.

So whether you generate heat through a boiler, or use waste heat, Thermax Absorption Chillers run at a fraction of the cost when compared to conventional compression chillers.

Next-to-nothing electricity bills. Noiseless, almost maintenance-free operation. Massive tax savings through 100% depreciation. With these kinds of advantages, it's easy to see why Thermax Absorption Chillers are so popular.

Ask Maurya Sheraton, Delhi. Or Garden Silk Mills, J.K. Synthetics, Nutrine ... or any other satisfied user!

Absorption Chillers are yet another value-added product from Thermax.

The company with a keen sense of professional commitment towards product innovation and development. Each of our products bearing this out ... in its design, functionality and total reliability. Right from quality-assured manufacturing, to after-sales service.

That's what makes every Thermax product an invaluable asset. For years to come.

FOR BUSINESS ENQUIRIES, CONTACT:
THERMAX PRIVATE LIMITED,
HEAT RECOVERY DIVISION,
FERGUSON COLLEGE ROAD,
1216/7 SHIVAJINAGAR,
PUNE 411 004.
TEL: 51041, 51056
TLX: 0145 364 TULS IN

THERMAX

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Rediffusion/T/7085

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

institutions. Basu's reaction to the demand for introducing tribal languages as a medium of instruction was typically cold. Said he: "I do not know how feasible the idea is. What I do know is that one cannot get a medical education even through the medium of Bengali."

Still the lessons of the turbulent Gorkha agitation and the one in Assam have not been lost on Jharkhand supporters. They have gradually veered round to the view that the Government is far too insensitive to take note of peaceful movements. Earlier, it served the Union Government with a deadline to start a dialogue on their demands by the end of 1988. And once the deadline passed, the JCC felt it had no option but to launch an aggressive stir.

The Jharkhand groups have frequently threatened to block the movement of minerals and forest produce from south Bihar. Says an activist: "We do hope that the Government will not force us to go for the jugular. We realise that Jamshedpur and Chaibasa railhead (in Singbhum district of Bihar) virtually constitute the neck of the Indian industrial sector, controlling the movement of important minerals to other parts of the country."

While the Jharkhand leaders may not have the confidence to resort to a stir similar to the one by Gorkha leaders, the idea of a mineral blockade is ominous. At the same time they have ruined their case by resorting to headline-grabbing gimmicks like displaying black flags on Independence Day, holding parallel functions on Republic Day and declaring that they would form an interim government in January this year and then beating a hasty retreat.

The Government, on the other hand, is playing with fire. The lack of a specific policy to deal with the demands of the agitationists has succeeded in alienating the tribals. Asserts Munda: "Jharkhand will be a reality and every Jharkhandi will give the last drop of his blood to achieve this goal. We have reached the point of no return." The Government would do well not to ignore the writing on the wall.

—UTTAM SENGUPTA and
KAMALJEET RATTAN

BOTTOMLINE BY D. BUNKER

The Fire Brigade

What with trying to beat out dissident brush fires, win elections single-handedly, grace the festival of France, worry about Pakistan's nuclear programme, change chief ministers and run the country at the same time, Rajiv's lot is, well, a lot.

Fortunately, he has an inner cordon of political black cats, battle-scarred fire-fighters who are only too willing to take some of the load. After all, with the Punjab terrorists on the run (for the 35th time), Home Minister Buta Singh must have a lot of spare time on his hands to deal with more serious issues of state, or rather, states. So is the case with the other members of the brigade, M.L. Fotedar, Bir Bahadur Singh and Sheila Dixit. Here's how the fire-fighting operation is actually run.

Cartoon by AJIT NINAN

Chief Fireman, R. Gandhi: I've got to fire Arjun Singh. Send fireman (first class) M.R. Scindia to Bhopal. I want that fire out before it spreads and becomes a burning issue.

Fireman Scindia: Sir, the special fire-fighting aircraft has been hijacked by Arjun Singh and his men.

Chief: Ask Satish. He'll find you one fitted with Italian fireproof tiles. What about the Bihar fire?

Deputy Chief Fireman, Buta Singh: Sir, fireman (second class) Fernandes is already there. If it's Tuesday it must be Bihar. But he has sent a message on his walkie-talkie saying the dissidents no walkie and no talkie. He has asked for extra firemen to tackle the conflagration.

Chief: Send fireman Bir Bahadur Singh. It looks like a communication problem anyway.

Deputy Chief: Sir, he has been sent to stoke the fire in Uttar Pradesh.

Chief: What in blazes is going on? Send fireman Fotedar then.

Deputy Chief: Sir, he is trying to stop the undermining in Gujarat. The entire structure might collapse. Fireman Fotedar is the right choice. He has steel and mines his business.

Chief: Send Firewoman Sheila then. She doesn't have much work in the PM's office except to fire small fry like Romi Chopra.

Deputy: Sir, she is in Rajasthan. We have a small fry, I mean small fire there. Nothing to worry about.

Chief: Nothing to worry about? How do you think I've got this bald patch on my head? I want somebody to monitor this whole operation. What we need to do is set up hotlines. Where's Fireman Buta. He was here just a minute ago?

Fireman B.B. Singh: Sir, he had to catch the flight to Patna. The fire in Bihar is getting out of control. Fireman Fernandes has been beaten up by the occupants of the house he was trying to save. But Fireman Buta has taken some specialised equipment, snorkels for underwater dealings, extendable ladders for the dissidents to climb on and sand bags and asbestos gloves if he has to get tough.

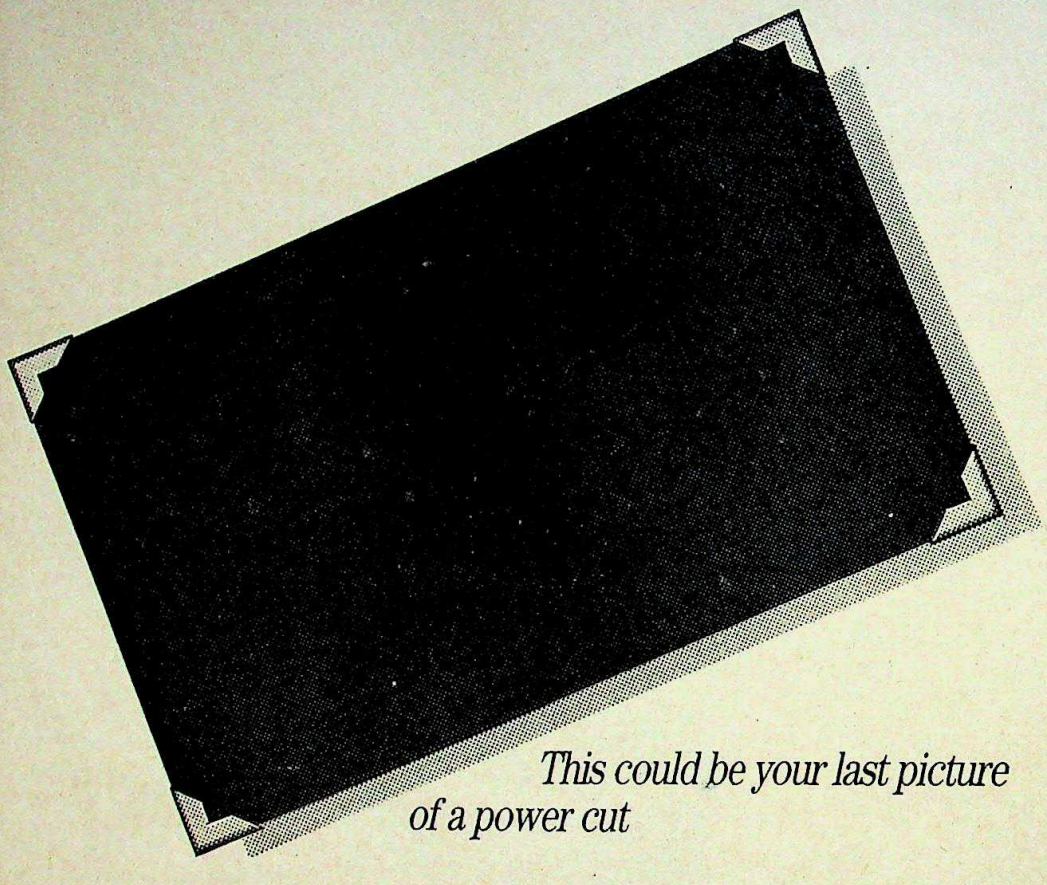
Chief: Isn't there anybody else? What happened to all the fire-fighters we had?

Fireman B.B. Singh: Sir, Firemen Moopanar and Chidambaram are still recovering from the third degree burns they received in Tamil Nadu.

Chief Fireman Gandhi: There's only one solution when things get too hot. Pass me my fiddle.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



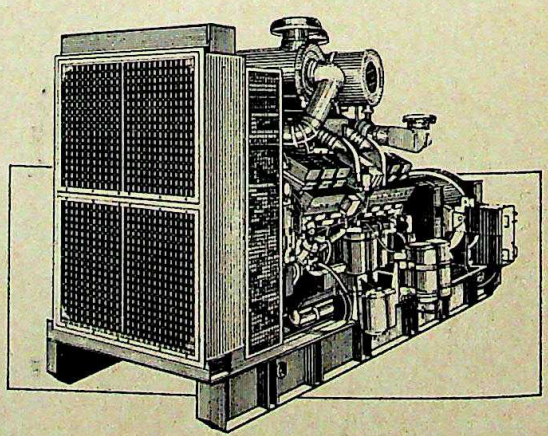
This could be your last picture of a power cut

Switch on instant power with Gensets from Batliboi

Hundreds of installations all over the country have switched to Batliboi to stay ahead in the power game.

The reasons:

- ☐ Batliboi's time-tested design, application and engineering expertise, experience and capabilities right from concept to commissioning
- ☐ Availability of any configuration. Single sets of upto 1000 KVA. For higher ratings, sets in parallel
- ☐ Perfectly matched, rugged and fuel-efficient diesels and fail-safe alternators for optimum performance
- ☐ Prompt and efficient countrywide after-sales service, just a telephone call away.



OBM/2029/Rev. 1

BATLIBOI

For a century, the engineers' engineers

For further details, contact:
Batliboi & Company Limited, Apeejay House,
Dr. V. B. Gandhi Marg, Fort, Bombay 400 001.
Telex: 011-2284/4852. Offices: Ahmedabad • Baroda
Bangalore • Calcutta • Coimbatore • Delhi • Ernakulam
Indore • Jaipur • Jamshedpur • Lucknow • Ludhiana
Madras • New Delhi • Patna • Pune • Secunderabad
Vijayawada. Manufacturing Division: Udhna (Surat).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Share prosperity with

KESORAM

FULLY CONVERTIBLE DEBENTURES

Kesoram's forthcoming Issue of Fully Convertible Debentures is an opportunity for you to share the success of one of India's leading multi-dimensional conglomerates. The Debenture Issue is to partly finance the Company's new venture **to manufacture Automobile Tyres and Tubes in collaboration with world renowned PIRELLI.**

The Company's financial performance for the year ended 31st March, 1988 reveals its immense strength and solidity. **Turnover exceeding Rs.178 crores; Gross Profit of Rs.12.66 crores; Gross Block of Rs.224 crores and Reserves (excluding revaluation) of Rs.52 crores against a low equity base of Rs.8.85 crores.**

The Company has always shared its prosperity with the shareholders. This is aptly reflected in its **uninterrupted dividend record of over four decades; the last dividend being 23.5%.**

KESORAM INDUSTRIES LIMITED
Regd. Office : Birla Building
9/1, R.N. Mukherjee Road, Calcutta 700 001

Chairman : Shri B.K. Birla

SALIENT FEATURES

- ☐ **Fully Convertible**
- ☐ **Phased Investment**
  Rs.35 on application, Rs.35 on allotment and balance Rs.40 on call
- ☐ **Attractive Conversion Terms**
  - ★ 1st Conversion into 1 Equity Share of Rs.10 on expiry of six months from the date of allotment at a premium of Rs.25
  - ★ 2nd Conversion into 1 Equity Share of Rs.10 on expiry of one year from the date of allotment at a premium of Rs.25.
  - ★ 3rd Conversion into appropriate number of Equity Share(s) of Rs.10 between 1st April 1991 & 1st April 1992 at a price to be decided by CCI
- ☐ **Good Capital Appreciation**
  An excellent opportunity to acquire 2 Kesoram Shares at just Rs.35 each on first two conversions, against market price of Rs.61.50 per share (as on 17.1.1989 in the Calcutta Stock Exchange)
- ☐ **Fully Secured**
- ☐ **Easy Liquidity**
  Listing at Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi Stock Exchanges

Managers to the Issue

The Industrial Credit & Investment Corporation of India Ltd.
Merchant Banking Division
2B Gorky Terrace
Calcutta 700 017

SBI Capital Markets Ltd
202 Maker Tower 'E'
Cuffe Parade
Bombay 400 005

Advisers to the Issue

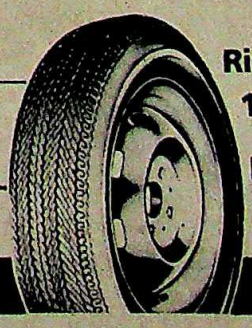
Mackertich Consultancy Services (P) Ltd
3B Lal Bazar Street
Calcutta 700 001

Stewart & Co.
14 India Exchange Place
Calcutta 700 001

Shyamsundar Daimia
7 Lyons Range
Calcutta 700 001

Financial Advisers to the Issue

Lodha & Co.
14 Government Place East
Calcutta 700 001



Rights Issue opens on 17th February, 1989

Public Issue opens on 22nd February, 1989

KESORAM ... A solid investment

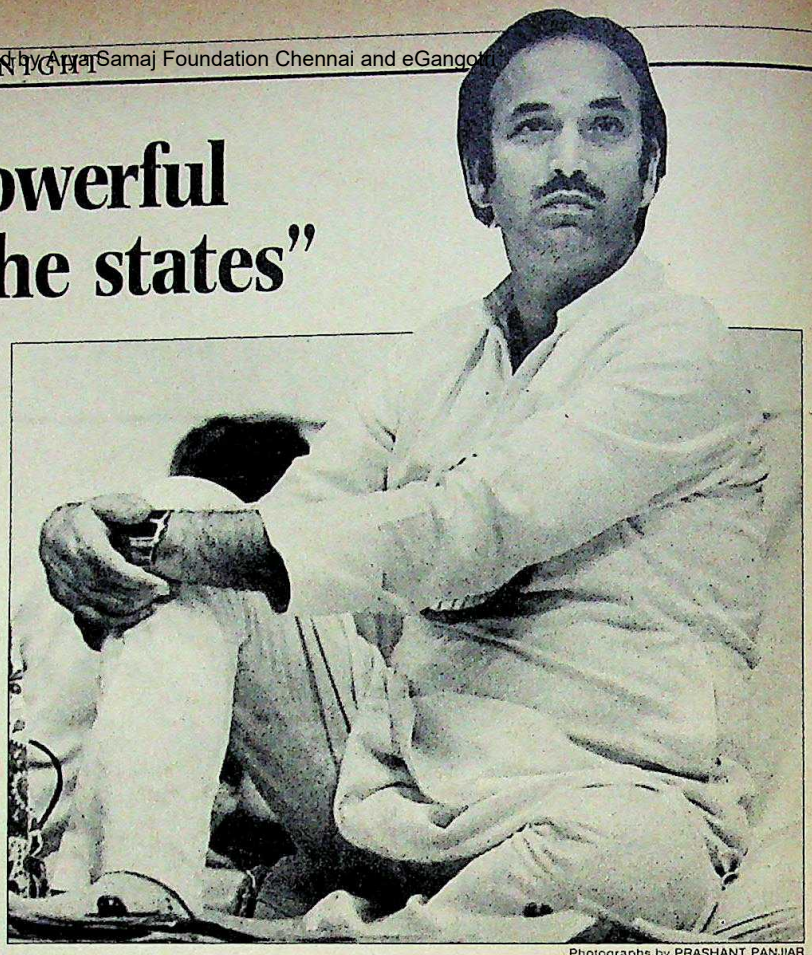
PRESSMAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GHULAM NABI AZAD

"We lack powerful leaders in the states"



Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR

AT 40, Ghulam Nabi Azad, the lanky, six-footer Kashmiri with the Maulana Azad cap, has emerged as the youngest and most active general secretary of the ruling party. The Lok Sabha member from Maharashtra has become one of Rajiv Gandhi's chief political trouble-shooters, rubbing shoulders with veterans such as Buta Singh and Makhan Lal Fotedar. Symbolic of his importance is the fact that he now occupies the same room in the AICC(I) headquarters that Rajiv did when he was general secretary. During the past two years Azad has been used as a point man for trouble spots in Uttar Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and recently in dissidence-ridden Madhya Pradesh. But he was not always successful. In Uttar Pradesh, for example, he was placed in charge of the Congress(I) electoral strategy in the prestigious Allahabad by-election in June 1987. The outcome was a disaster for the ruling party and Azad bore the brunt of the resultant flak. His own partymen attacked him of being arrogant and not heeding the political advice of seasoned Congressmen. But he continued to curry favour where it mattered most—with Rajiv Gandhi. His strength within the party derives from his being easily identifiable as the quintessential organisation man and team player. He has risen to his present post from a block-level presidentship and he was rewarded for his loyalty—his most visible trait—by Sanjay Gandhi who made him Youth Congress(I) general secretary. Rajiv, too, treats Azad as one of his most loyal henchmen. In 1987, at the height of the Bofors controversy, Azad—then a minister of state—was chosen by the prime minister to attack the AICC(I) and the PCC(I) chiefs for their failure to effectively counter the V.P. Singh onslaught. Azad's diatribe was also used to justify the total purge of the AICC(I)—in which he was appointed a general secretary—and the accompanying cabinet reshuffle. Even after the poor showing of his party in the recent elections, and the damage caused to its image by dissident activities in various states, Azad exudes a confidence and aggressiveness that seems limitless. He discussed the state of his party in a lengthy interview with Senior Editor PRABHU CHAWLA:

Q. *Why is there a sudden spurt in dissidence in your party?*

A. It is not a new thing. Ours is the only democratic party which allows dissent and encourages intra-party democratic dialogue and discussion.

Q. *This time it seems to have become a revolt hasn't it?*

A. I don't agree with you. This is not dissidence against the Central leadership and is confined only to the state level.

Q. *Doesn't the recent behaviour of dissidents in Bhopal and Patna indicate that they hardly care for the Central leadership?*

A. But they all passed a resolution accepting the prime minister's leadership. They were unhappy with the style of functioning of the local leaders and they expressed their views quite violently. Unfortunately, we don't have strong leadership at the state level. There is none who really commands the respect of all the groups and factions. This situation has developed over the last 20 years.

Q. *Isn't the high command responsible for not allowing any leadership to emerge? And why are you afraid of strong state leaders anyway?*

A. No one is afraid of anybody. Leaders could not emerge in states because they could not face the opposition leaders who indulged in regionalism.

Q. *But that is again your problem and you have failed to solve it.*

A. I agree with you. While at the national level we have a leader who is 20 times higher in stature than any other leader in the country. At the state level we just lack that kind of charismatic leaders.

Q. *Don't you agree that Rajiv's charisma is fading fast and therefore people are revolting?*

A. That is absolutely false propaganda. He is still the most popular leader and also the largest crowd puller in the country. All the opposition leaders put together can't attract even one tenth of the crowd which comes to listen to him all over the country. It is a God-given gift to this family that the people still adore them whether in power or out of it. The public goodwill towards him has to be seen to be believed. He has been able to identify with people's problems. He has become their darling.

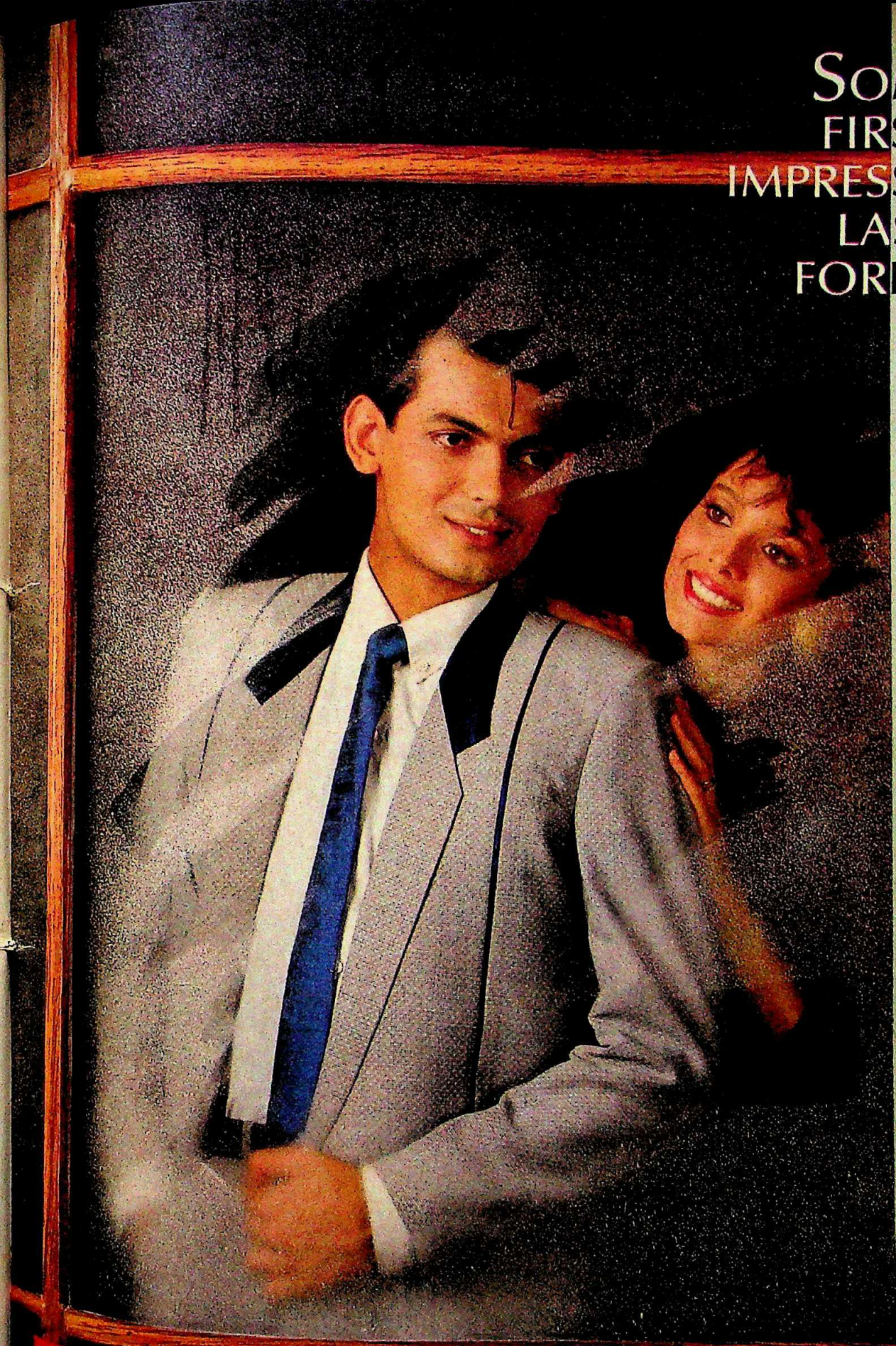
Q. *If this is so how come the goodwill is not being converted into votes?*

A. The parliamentary elections are far away. Let the time come and we will prove it.

Q. *But it failed in Tamil Nadu and West Bengal where he attracted large crowds?*

A. This is the failure of party cadres and local leaders whose job it is to bring

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



SOME FIRST IMPRESSIONS LAST FOREVER

"A PROMISING PERSONALIT

M A Product of Mahendra Suitings Ltd., Ahmedabad.

Mahendra SUITING

CC-0. In Public Domain. Sarabhai Foundation

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ANYONE CAN ENTICE YOU WITH THE 'BODY'...

BUT WHEN IT COMES TO TOTAL RELIABILITY IT'S THE 'BRAINS' THAT COUNT.

Special features offered by the 'Director' PBT

Fully electronic Peizoceramic transducer for receiver, transmitter, ringer. Single board integrated ringing, dial, speech circuits. Choice of two signalling methods to suit different switching systems. And more...

When it comes to push button telephones (PBTs), the marketplace is crowded nowadays with a lot of look-alikes. But beware ... before you buy make sure what's inside.

Because it takes minimal time, effort and money to invest in making the casings only, for these PBTs. That's what many are doing.

But not GCEL. We have many years of sound experience in telecommunications and a proven track record in professional electronics. That's why PBTs made by us stand head and shoulders above the rest.

GCEL—the Company that actually manufactures the critical components to Siemens' international standards. And helps to train other licencees of Siemens as per standards set in West Germany.

Every PBT is 100% tested by sophisticated testing equipment, that GCEL possesses.

Every set ensures millions of fail safe operations ... decades of reliable service ...

Making GCEL PBTs not only more reliable but streets ahead in terms of quality and performance.

Reason enough for GCEL bagging the lion's share of a 4 lakh PBT tender floated by Mahanagar Telephone Nigam, in the face of stiff competition from 25 other companies. And, for the 'Director' and 'President' PBTs to be referred to as industry norms today.

Because all the special features offered by these PBTs add up to 'brains' – not just a 'body', when it comes to selecting the PBT of your choice. Make it a GCEL.

GCEL

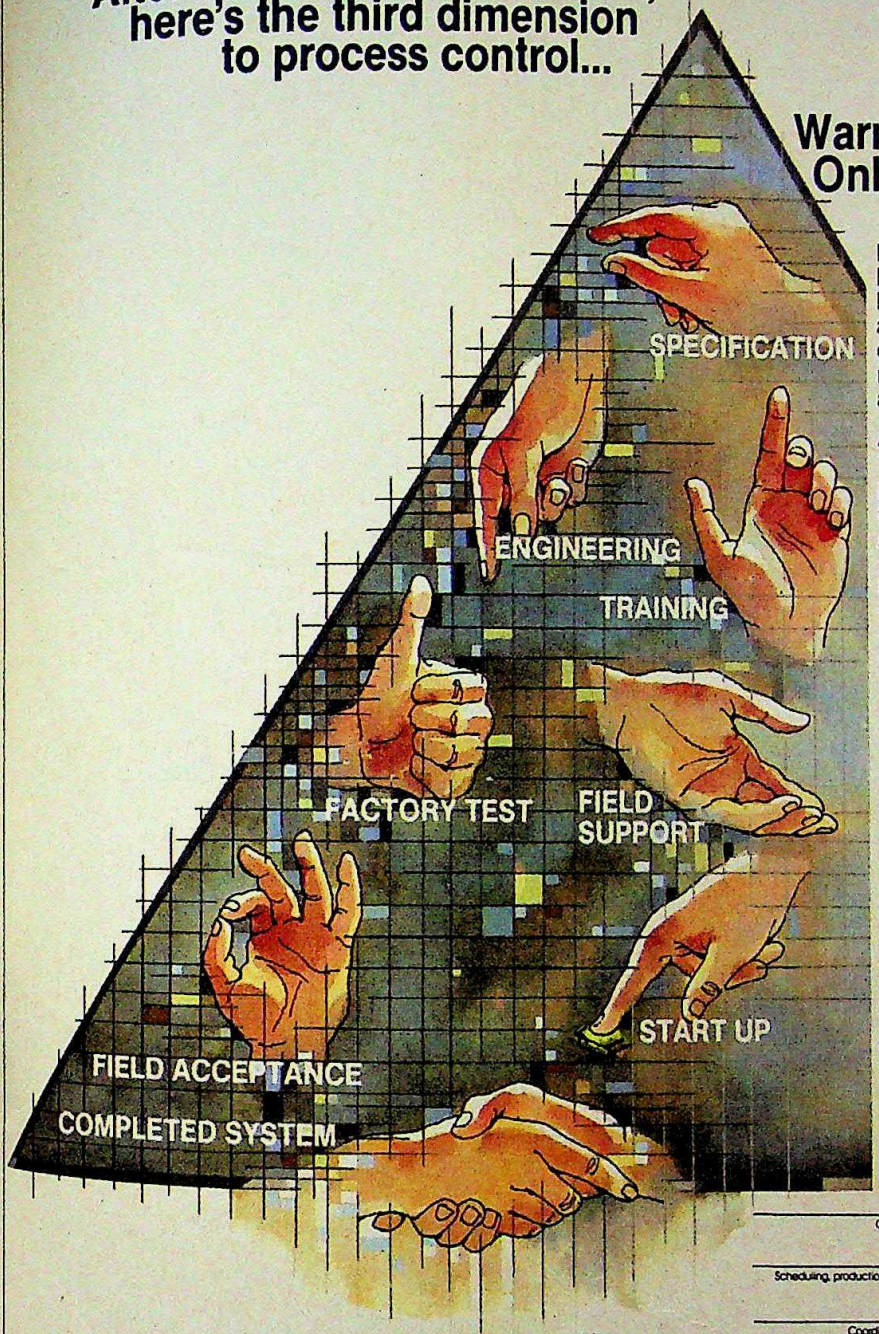
GUJARAT COMMUNICATIONS AND ELECTRONICS LIMITED
Electronics Estate, Sector 15
Gandhi Nagar-382 015 (GUJARAT)
Phone: 21629/21630

Dealers at: • **AHMEDABAD:** T.E.C.S., Phone: 446100; Telecare, Phone: 20089; Trinity Marketing, Phone: 401318 • **BANGALORE:** Micronova Corporation, Phone: 602915; United Telitronics, Phone: 645495 • **BARODA:** Anil Thakor, Phone: 325650, 320597 • **BOMBAY:** Ajmera Brothers, Phone: 310591, 315962; Chandramauli Corporation, Phone: 6494330, 6147626; Veerasons, Phone: 258940, 258704 • **CALCUTTA:** Market Creators, Phone: 454717 • **HYDERABAD:** Mythri Marketing Pvt. Ltd., Phone: 223147 • **IMPHAL:** Manipur Electronics, Phone: 20555 • **JABALPUR:** Gulecha & Co., Phone: 22342 • **JAIPUR:** B.S. & Co., Phone: 66109 • **JORHAT:** D.R. Brijmohan, Phone: 20051 • **KANPUR:** Orison Electronics, Phone: 243343, 214953 • **NAGPUR:** Sudhir Electronics, Phone: 32853 • **NEW DELHI:** Ankay Associates Pvt. Ltd., Phone: 606128, 663056 • **RAJKOT:** Maruti Electronic & Electricals, Phone: 32124; Modern Radio House, Phone: 26024.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

After hardware and software, here's the third dimension to process control...



Warmware. Only from Allen-Bradley.

A unique concept from Allen-Bradley, 'Warmware' is the vital human factor that complements hardware and software in industrial automation. It comprises the best quality support services and training necessary to keep your equipment and plants operating productively.

A global partnership for life

For the last 80 years, Allen-Bradley has been the leader in this field. Now 'Warmware' gives you access to this rich experience and rare expertise. Whatever your industry, big or small, there is a relevant solution that we can offer for your specific needs. Right from feasibility study, concepts and designs, logistics, support requirements and total responsibility of the project right upto commissioning, start-up, training and beyond. This ensures that you get maximum benefit from industrial automation. At each level of our unique approach to plant automation — the Productivity Pyramid.

What's more, our responsibility towards you does not end with the installation of PLCs, AC & DC Digital Drives and provision of software for your needs today, but will continue in future too! 'Warmware' ensures that your installation always remains state-of-the-art, with relevant enhancements from time to time. Not to mention on-going maintenance and field-service support whenever you need it.

For solutions relevant to your needs, get in touch with...

PLC / Industrial I/Os / Data Acquisition / AC Drives / Digital DC Drives / Colourgraphic Systems / CNC / Software Products

AB ALLEN-BRADLEY
A ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL COMPANY

ALLEN-BRADLEY INDIA LTD.
C-11, Industrial Area, Site 4, Sahibabad - Ghaziabad - 201010.

CIMple solutions for productive automation... your competitive edge.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

More than 80% of the IIT JEE Top 100 All-India rankers in the last five years were Agrawal students.

Shouldn't you rank among them?

When you come to Agrawal, you get the benefit of coaching skills that have been fine-honed through 34 years in the field.

You learn under teachers who are firmly committed to their vocation, and have a deeper appreciation of the challenges of academics.

We can better empathise with each individual. We can identify his strengths and weaknesses. And we can give him the edge to compete more effectively.

You needn't take our word for it.

Just check the record.

ADMISSIONS TO OUR CORRESPONDENCE COURSE FOR THE IIT JEE (1990) BATCH HAVE NOW STARTED.

We're also offering a course for CBSE's All-India PM/PD Entrance Exam.

Requests for admission must be accompanied by a Xerox copy of the Std. X (Board) marksheet.

Agrawal Classes

Wallace Apts. 3, N. Bharucha Marg, Bombay 400 007.

Dattaram-AC 17/A/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

out the vote. You cannot expect the prime minister to stand in a queue and take people to the polling booths.

Q. Are you implying that your local leadership has become weak and ineffective?

A. I agree with you 100 per cent. But not all over the country.

Q. Do you really feel that the prime minister is capable of winning elections for your party?

A. Why not? Two hundred per cent.

Q. There are people within your party who have begun to say in private that the prime minister is no longer an asset to the Congress(I).

A. All those who feel that way are themselves a liability to the party.

Q. These people have also been asserting that they can save the party by sacrificing Rajiv Gandhi.

A. I have not come across such Congressmen. But if they are talking that way they are enemies of the party and cowards. They owe their own survival to Rajiv Gandhi. It is because of the hard work put in by him that the party still commands the largest following in the country. He is doing it even at the cost of his own health at the age of 44. At his age he is not supposed to cover 600 km a day in hot dusty villages and deserts with his wife. He is doing so for the survival of the Congress Party.

Q. Hasn't this track record so far been dismal in both the by-elections and the assembly polls?

A. That is an unfair assessment. In 1962 after the parliamentary poll Jawaharlal Nehru lost all the three by-elections to the Lok Sabha and people predicted doom for him. Yet the party ruled the country for the next 15 years.

Q. Aren't things different now since half the country is ruled by the Opposition? In a sense aren't you slowly being reduced to a regional party?

A. While these parties are confined to their own states we are the only party to have a following in all states from Kashmir to Kanyakumari.

Q. Don't you attribute your losses to the fact that you had neither effective national leadership nor clearly enunciated programmes?

A. On the contrary we ran our campaigns on concrete programmes and policies. The Opposition won because it resorted to gimmicks and lies. If we had resorted to gimmicks we could have wiped out the entire Opposition from the country. People like Karunanidhi, Rama Rao, and Devi Lal sacrificed the national interest for petty regional interests.

Q. But your party does not even have any effective or catchy slogans to counter those of the Opposition?

A. Yes, I admit that's true.

Q. Nor does your party have any regional-level leaders to compete with the people you have named.

A. That's true. But we believe in collective leadership while the regional satraps are dictatorial and their parties will collapse as soon as these so called leaders disappear from the political scene.

Q. But couldn't the opposite be true. After all the opposition leaders have been elected by their MLAs. But your regional leaders and chief ministers are imposed upon the states by the Centre.

A. We select the chief ministers on the basis of consensus rather than group pressures.

Q. Then why do you change your chief ministers so frequently? Sixteen have been changed since Rajiv Gandhi came to power.

A. Some have been changed because of court strictures and we honour judicial pronouncements unlike the Opposition. In other cases we have shifted people to give them different responsibilities.

Q. But aren't you responsible for creating instability within your own party and the states with these moves?

A. That may be the general impression based on the number of chief ministers changed. But in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan the same people have gone back. So we have ensured continuity.

Q. Isn't one of the reasons of instability in your party your failure to hold party elections?

A. The prime minister has been consistent in his desire for holding elections. As party general secretary he was the one to order the elections but the local party leaders were the ones opposed to elections. We could not hold the elections on the basis of the kind of membership drive undertaken at that time. I must admit that in some states membership drives were not fair and influenced by certain individuals for grabbing party posts. These membership drives were conducted with the help of powerful ministers and MLAs and not with the cadres.

Q. With all your weaknesses—lack of party elections, rampant indiscipline and dissidence—is your party capable and organised enough to take on the challenge of V.P. Singh?

A. V.P. Singh is the least of our problems. He will be demolished by his own people. He changes his colours, equations, and partners everyday, and one is not sure what kind of colour he will have when we approach the elections.

Rajiv with Azad: the loyal henchman

"Rajiv has been able to identify with people's problems. He has become their darling."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DEFENCE FORCES

Heading for a Crisis

After a decade of growth, India's ambitious defence plans have come to a dangerous pass. A resource crunch is seriously hampering modernisation and maintenance, and in desperation, the Government is even planning to export arms.

JUST a year ago it seemed nothing could stop the march of the mighty Indian military machine. The world's most prestigious strategic think-tanks were rudely waking up to the arrival of a new pretender to the coveted title of a regional power. World defence journals were struggling to keep pace with the fancy new equipment, with fancier price tags, being off-loaded at the country's ports. Combined with an adventurous military leadership, the hardware spearheaded a new, activist foreign policy to establish India as the greatest military power along the arc stretching from the Himalayan crest to the North Sea.

Now the retreat has begun, even before the assault could gather momentum. As defence planners scan armouries and account-books to see where they went wrong, the stark reality stares them in the face: there's just no money for the ambitious plans. Indeed, there's barely enough to pay for wages, transport, rations and maintenance, besides repayment of credits on earlier armament purchases.

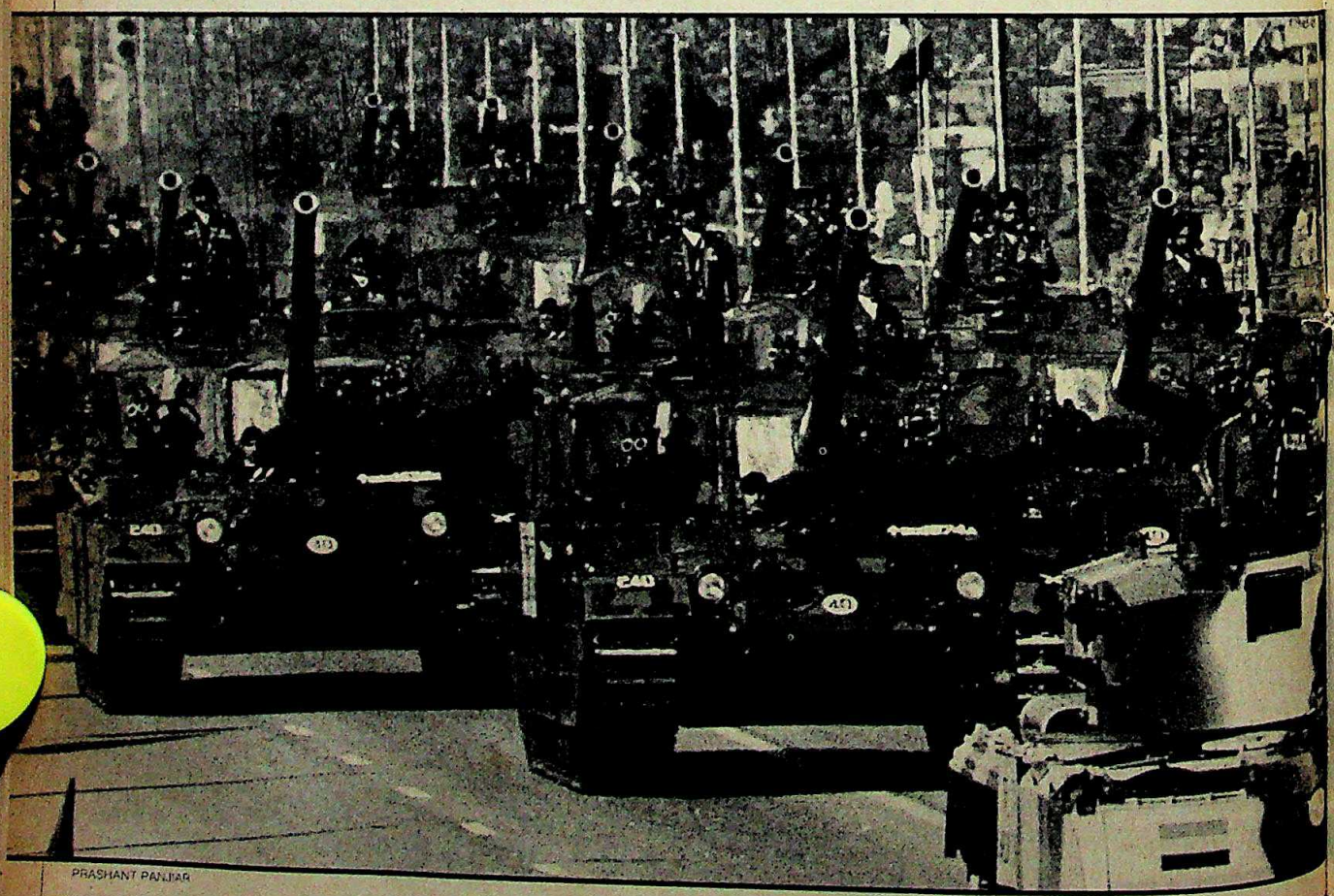
The last two months have seen a series of crisis meetings in the services headquarters and the Prime Minister's Office. In desperation, the Cabinet Committee for Political Affairs gave the nod last month to a long-pending proposal to export arms.

Tanks on display: crucial shortages

Defence Minister Krishna Chandra Pant also told INDIA TODAY that the Government is setting up a new public sector company to lead the drive (*see interview*).

The service chiefs have been told at least thrice recently to tighten their belts. Committees are being set up to identify areas of wasteful expenditure. Some already underlined are military farms, static formations like sub-area headquarters and low-productivity ordnance factories.

For the outgoing year, the defence budget touched an all-time high of Rs 13,000 crore (minus Rs 1,100 crore for pensions) and crossed the *lakshman rekha* of 4 per cent of India's gross national product (GNP) for the second time in



PRASHANT PANJIAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As planners scan armouries and account-books to see what went wrong, the stark reality is staring them in the eyes: there is just no money to pay for the plans.

successive years. And last fortnight, as North Block gave final touches to the 1989-90 budget, and defence demanded Rs 17,000 crore, the allocation was bound to go up. Yet the forces were planning to stop, slash and slow down whatever they could. Says Giri Deshingkar, director of the Delhi-based think-tank, the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies: "Whenever defence expenditure in a developing country crosses 4 per cent of the GNP, such pressures are felt."

THE implementation of the fourth pay commission report and operations in Sri Lanka and Siachen have devoured resources. Conservative estimates put the additional cost of the operations at Rs 2.5 crore a day. (So high is the rate of attrition in Siachen that Cheetah helicopters used there are being flown in batches to France for overhauls.) Then, the falling value of the rupee against the Franc, Sterling and Deutsche Mark has inflated scheduled payments this year by Rs 1,400 crore. Says a general: "We're running fast to stay in the same place."

These are not the rantings of olive-green hawks but warnings substantiated by an array of pointers. For example:

► South Block does not have the cash to service old contracts. Some western suppliers have been asked to defer repayments. Embarrassingly there is no money to even serve Soviet bloc rupee contracts.

► The ambitious Army 2000 plan under which the army was to grow to 45 divisions with increased mechanisation by the turn of the century has come to a halt. The army has to scrounge and save to pay salaries and it is impossible to think in terms of such expensive but impressive concepts as Reorganised Plains Infantry Divisions (RAPIDS) and Reorganised Mountain Infantry Divisions (RAMIDS).

► Both the navy and the air force are discovering that while they have bought sophisticated planes and ships, they suddenly do not have the money to buy the weapons and missiles. In case of a sudden war, for example, most air force combat aircraft will not have sophisticated missiles for more than a few sorties.

► The army and air force have told the Government they're dangerously short of battlefield electronic counter-measures, an area in which Pakistan has an edge.

► The air force has been told in the near future it is unlikely to get the money to buy an advanced jet trainer that it needs so badly and without which, as three successive air chiefs have asserted, the air force could be virtually grounded by 1992.

► Due to shortage of tanks, an armoured regiment is no longer built on a "brick" of 72 tanks: 45 for active combat, the rest for training, servicing and war reserves. Most regiments are based on a brick of 62, and those fielding the T-72—Indian armour's spearhead—have a brick of just 55. Units are also short of ammunition reserves.

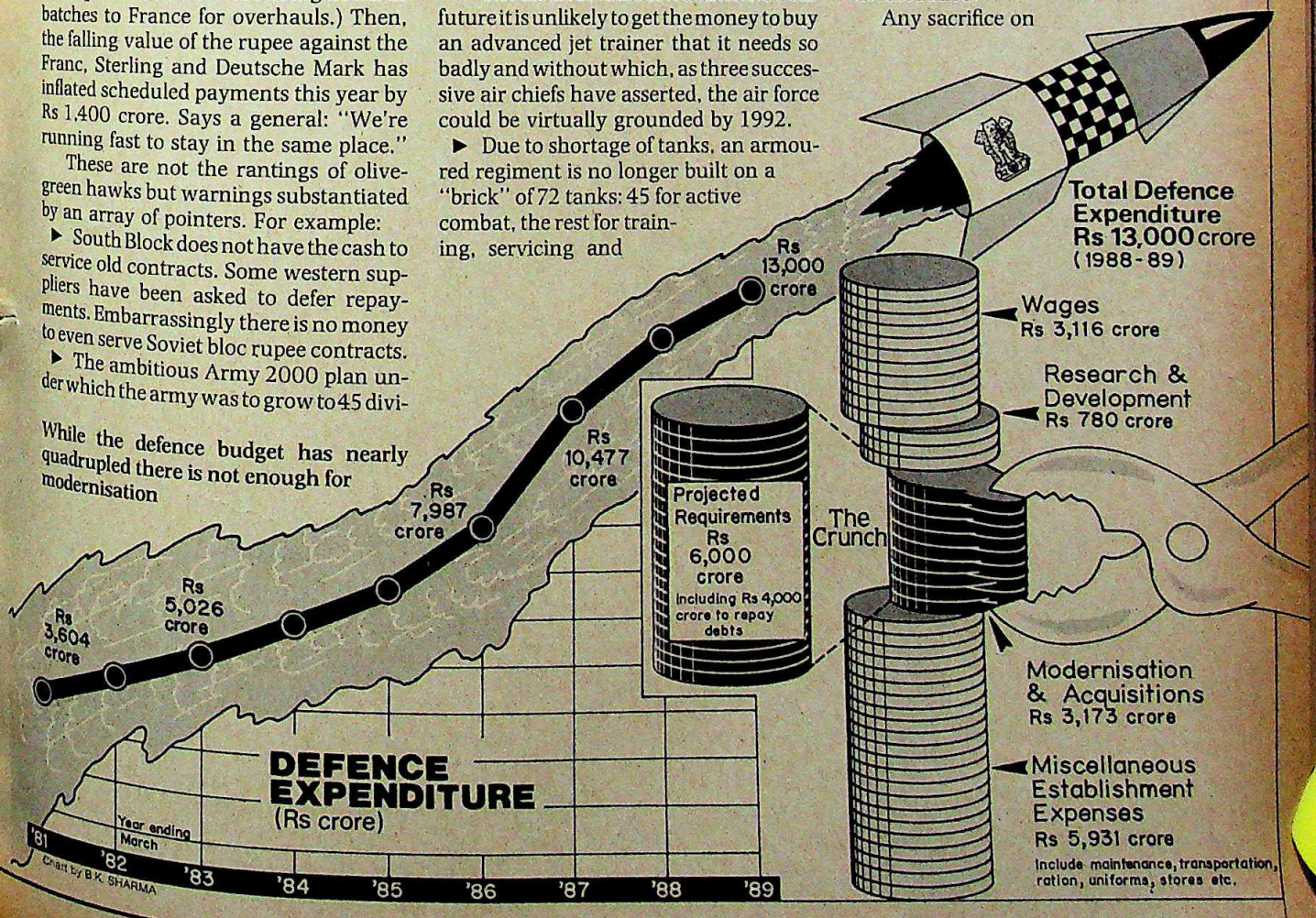
► The proposal to raise an air-mobile division supported by a large new helicopter force has been shelved.

► Several annual visits by defence teams to attend foreign seminars have been stopped. Last month the directorate-general of resettlement was told to avoid sending job cables to retired soldiers. Letters would do.

"The message is clear," says a general. "The party is over." Warns K. Subrahmanyam, former director of the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis: "While personnel will be paid and production and import bills met, the axe will fall on maintenance."

Any sacrifice on

While the defence budget has nearly quadrupled there is not enough for modernisation



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

maintenance will be perilous as a large part of the inventory has suffered heavy wear and tear in Sri Lanka and Siachen. Besides, some of the equipment—particularly tanks—worn down during Operation Brasstacks is yet to be restored to proper working order.

This is happening at a time when Pakistan is modernising its forces in perhaps a more cost-effective way—refitting its Chinese-supplied T-59 tanks and acquiring the F-7M Airguard aircraft. Its navy has acquired more frigates and if 60 new F-16C/Ds are purchased the balance of power, in India's favour for two decades, will begin to even out.

For India the situation gets more complicated as the post-*perestroika* Soviet economy takes root and Moscow asks its armament factories to show profits. As Lt-Gen. P.N. Kathpalia, former director-general of military intelligence asks: "What happens if the Soviets ask us for more realistic prices for their arms?"

ONCE again, Indian planners are facing the classic guns versus butter dilemma. The All India Congress(I) Committee's poverty-removal resolutions are competing with the forces for the meagre crores and a demand for defence outlay cuts is growing. The doves have found an unlikely supporter in K. Natwar Singh, minister of state for external affairs. Still, the forces are fighting back. As Lt-Gen. Hridaya Kaul, former western army commander said: "You can't have any butter if you don't have guns."

But at this moment of truth the Defence Ministry needs to do some introspection. The question of wasteful expenditure can no longer be swept under South Block's jute carpets. Over the past seven years, as defence expenditure galloped and the forces went on a modernisation spree, sufficient thought was obviously not given to long-term needs and resource constraints. There were purchases of

K.C. PANT

"These are difficult times"

KRISHNA Chandra Pant, 57, must at times feel like a fighter pilot flying deep into enemy territory with his fuel gauge skimming the red zone. The quiet, low-profile defence minister is trying to steer the world's sixth most powerful military machine through its worst crisis in more than two decades, with resources running low and the twin monsters of escalating costs and the falling value of the rupee threatening to devour the ambitious modernisation plans drawn up by his predecessors. Yet, in a 90-minute interview, his first major interview as defence minister, with Features Editor SHEKHAR GUPTA *and Principal Correspondent* PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA, *he opened up on a wide variety of questions. And even though he jocularly blamed the non-availability of tea in his office to the cash crisis he made significant statements on how the Government planned to deal with the situation. Excerpts:*

Q. *How has the resource crunch affected you?*

A. In 1987 we managed with Rs 12,000 crore. This year the budget is Rs 13,000 crore. Now, perhaps, one will get a little more than that. With the price rise taken into account this is a tight budget for us. So for the last few months we have been carrying out various exercises to see how the essentials of defence can be met within our resources and nothing of importance is lost. The exercises are partly short term and partly long term. Short term, for example in POL (petroleum, oil and lubricants), already something has been done. But things such as the inventory system, stocks you hold of particular kinds of ammunition are long-term exercises.

Q. *What about modernisation?*

A. Many modernisation plans are going on, for instance, manufacture of T-72 tanks, infantry combat vehicles, the avionics project, the communications project, the radar project. Foreign exchange has been difficult. Unfortunately, saving somewhere to pay for modernisation in defence is not easy. For example, maintenance, pay, allowances, pensions and rations are things we cannot do without. Modernisation cannot eat into these funds.

Q. *How has the falling value of the rupee affected you?*

A. It does create a problem as you enter into a contract and then costs go up. It makes things difficult.

Q. *But don't you need more money?*

A. Well, everybody needs more money than he is getting, including newspapermen and editors...I do think defence requires modernisation. But the country is passing through a very difficult stage. Just look at the countries that have fallen into the debt trap. There are so many other sectors, poverty removal and employment programmes, which you cannot postpone except at a certain cost.

Q. *So it is guns vs butter again?*

A. It is a question of striking the right balance at each point of time. We have no other resource. It is not as if we can go around with a begging bowl.

Q. *Will arms export help?*

A. Yes, because the balance of payments position is not easy. With all the investments made in the defence sector it would be advantageous to export and earn some foreign exchange. Besides, capacity utilisation will also improve. There is also the question of economy of scale, particularly on highly capitalised items like aircraft. By increasing production you stretch the overheads.

Q. *Can we compete in today's arms bazar which is a buyers' market?*

"Unfortunately, saving somewhere to pay for modernisation in defence is not easy. Modernisation cannot eat into salaries and rations."

◆

"If it was immoral to export arms I wouldn't be doing it....Some of the advantages of arms exports far outweigh the disadvantages."

A. It is not just hardware. There is also software, an area where we are developing strength. So in some areas we are in a good position technologically. But not across the board. Something here, something there. Also, we have to import certain things. So we say why don't you buy back? This has two

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The cuts may force sacrifices on maintenance of equipment which has already suffered wear and tear in Sri Lanka and Siachen.

equipment from several sources, making the Indian arsenal a curious mish-mash of eastern and western technologies.

In the first flush of the F-16 excitement the air force went in for the Mirage-2000 and then realised that the aircraft, though an excellent machine, was in a different category, not exactly an answer to the F-16. And, at roughly Rs 35 crore apiece, it was too expensive for bulk buying. (The Rs 3,000-crore plus import bill for the aircraft was more than the total investment in the cement sector in India so far.) So the programme was stopped, with only 40 Mirages purchased instead of 80.

But India had already paid for the infrastructure to support twice as many. Similarly, in an exaggerated reaction to

advantages. If he buys back he has to make sure of our quality. Also we pay back through exports our import costs.

Q. *So now you are saying it is not immoral to sell arms?*

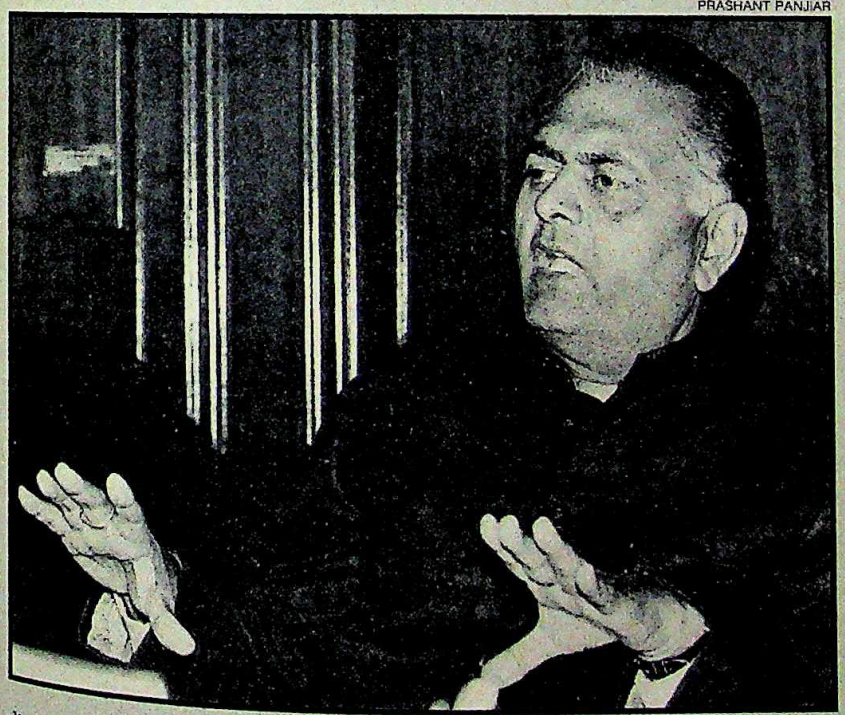
A. If it was immoral I wouldn't be doing it. I can understand not exporting arms to certain countries. We will have to exercise caution. But some of the advantages of export far outweigh the disadvantages. Secondly, we find that China has become a major exporting country. Even Pakistan is exporting a bit of defence items. Maybe we can set up turnkey training institutions, or ordnance factories. I'm not talking of defence in narrow terms of guns and ammunition.

Q. *And will you pay kickbacks?*

A. The Government is not going to go into these details at all. We will set up an autonomous organisation which will take the decisions on where to sell and on servicing. We are setting up a public sector company.

Q. *But aren't we hamstrung by contractual restraints on exports, particularly in case of arms of Soviet origin?*

PRASHANT PANJIAR



A. I know there have been some inquiries about MiG 21 spares, for instance. South-east Asian countries and even East Europeans have asked us. We decided we'd ask the Soviet Union first and then proceed. We've had preliminary discussions.

Q. *Why has the air force been denied an advanced jet trainer that it needs so badly?*

A. The air force does need a trainer. We're yet to take a decision. But the truth is that they are urging us strongly. The air force is very insistent.

Q. *Do you think the light combat aircraft* (LCA) *is a viable project, or will it end like Israel's Lavi?*

A. The important point is that we have not reached production stage yet. Now for the first time we have done work on the air frame, on avionics, on the engine and on the integration of the three. In the process we have developed a team of scientists and engineers who have acquired knowledge in this area.

Q. *Are we reinventing the wheel?*

A. We are not trying to exclude import of technology. They have reached a certain stage of confidence. The decision has to come after the prototypes have been flown. It is not as though we are bungling in this area.

Q. *Now the personnel question. Will the pension budget not become unaffordable by 2000* A.D.*?*

A. I quite agree with that. We have done several studies. There was a suggestion for a seven-year colour service. But the point is if you retire them early you have to absorb them in other jobs. And you are talking about more than 55,000 people every year.

Q. *Surely we can do with a better teeth-to-tail ratio.*

A. Yes, that is the catchphrase which brings out the very basis of manpower planning. It is a neat phrase. We are seeing how the tail can be reduced.

Q. *Finally, what will you do if the budget brought you another Rs 5,000 crores?*

A. I only wonder who'd give it to me.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the F-16s, too many MiG-23 variants were bought without enough thought to spares. Consequently, one MiG-23 MF squadron has been scrapped within five years of its acquisition. The spares from the aircraft will be cannibalised to keep other squadrons flying.

Similarly, the navy stopped halfway in acquiring a full complement of eight HDW submarines from West Germany. Says a former admiral: "The task we had in mind required a complement of eight. Now we have four of one kind, some more of another and a nuclear submarine. The fleet can be an admiral's nightmare."

Likewise, the army has acquired new tanks and artillery but is short on spares, specialised ammunition and helicopters. And it will have no money either for the Rs 2,000-crore Indian Small Arms System (INSAS) programme to modernise personal weaponry or to buy the indigenously built main battle tank (MBT) Arjun—even if it passes all tests.

THUS rather than grow into a mighty military machine that an activist foreign policy requires, India's defence could be left with gaping holes in it. In the Defence Ministry, predictions are dire: "We could be back in the mid-'60s kind of insecurity." Just when the Chinese are catching up with Indian air superiority, and the Pakistanis are bridging the numerical gap with force multipliers, India could be heading for a dangerous backslide from an aggressive posture of deterrence. India had expected to score over its likely enemies through superior mechanisation and mobility. The resource crunch has cut into just that.

Also, India's air defence is still inadequate, particularly in the east and, given the high cost of air defence radars and missiles, this is the first area to be affected. Said a senior officer: "We may have a numerical edge over the Pakistanis. But at this rate, we can't ensure that with 60 more improved F-16s they won't be able to hit almost any target they choose." And if the navy stops getting more money now,

THE ARMY

Flab and Firepower

THIS is the essence of defence planning: how to get the ideal equation of fat and fire, teeth and tail. Or how to organise military manpower to obtain the loudest bang for the taxpayer's buck.

In India the question has become a nightmare. Today, in terms of the average age of men, the army is one of the oldest in the world—with a poor teeth-to-tail ratio (*see chart*). In short, it has too many people who are too old to fight effectively and too many who don't fight.

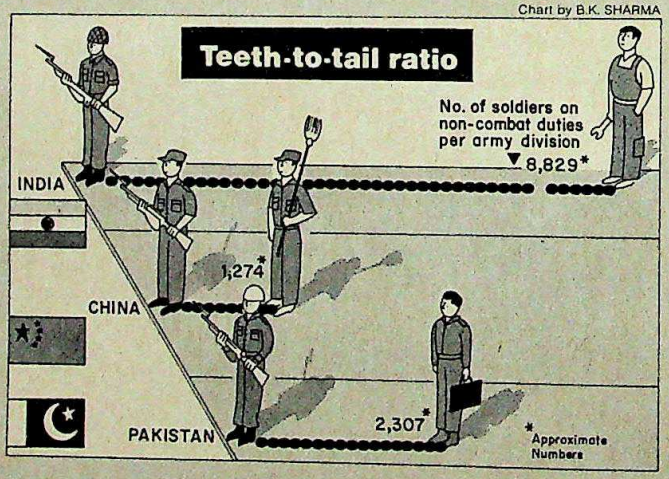
Generals have a ready reckoner: divide the strength of the army with the number of fighting divisions, then subtract the average strength of a division. The remainder should roughly give the fat, or non-fighting element per division. In India's case, 11 lakh is divided by 41, the total number of divisions (taking four independent brigades as a division). The divisional slice thus arrived at is 26,829. If 18,000—the average strength of an Indian division—is subtracted from this, the fatty element comes to a shocking 8,829 for each division. For Pakistan it is 2,307, and for China just over 1,000.

In 1977, the then army chief General T.N. Raina had set up a committee under Generals K.V. Krishna Rao, K. Sundarji and M.L. Chibber to study the question. "We sorted things out till we were down to bare bones," says Lt-General Hridaya Kaul, explaining that pruning had mainly been done from supply, ordnance and medical corps and, with better technology coming in, from signals. But the fact that the army still wags such an unwieldy tail suggests more can be cut. Lard still exists in the army's static formations—sub-area headquarters and regimental centres. Says Sreedhar, an expert at the Institute of Defence Studies and Analysis: "There is a feeling that there is an organisational flabbiness of 60,000 to 1 lakh people."

The crux of the problem is not mere numbers but also ages. Today a large number of jawans are in their 30s and officers are getting command much later than in the past. "The age factor has become worrisome. Ideally, a commanding officer (CO) should be in his mid-30s when he is at the peak of his physical and mental fitness. This is no longer the case with the army," says G.C. Katoch, a former financial advisor to the Defence Ministry and now a prolific defence writer. He points out that earlier a CO, the cornerstone of the combat wing, was 35-38 years old. Today they are closer to 45. The consequences are evident from the army's own analysis of the operations in Sri Lanka—where many older COs were found wanting.

Ageing COs leading ageing jawans into battle is not a prospect to enthuse any commander. Says Lt-General K. Balaram, a former adjutant-general: "So far we haven't come adrift. But things are not very good." He points out that smarting under the Himalayan debacle of 1962, India expanded its forces from 2 to 8.5 lakh between 1963 and 1967. Consequence: the troops were

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



India won the 1971 war with a younger force. But now the greening of Pakistan's army is coinciding with the greying of India's.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

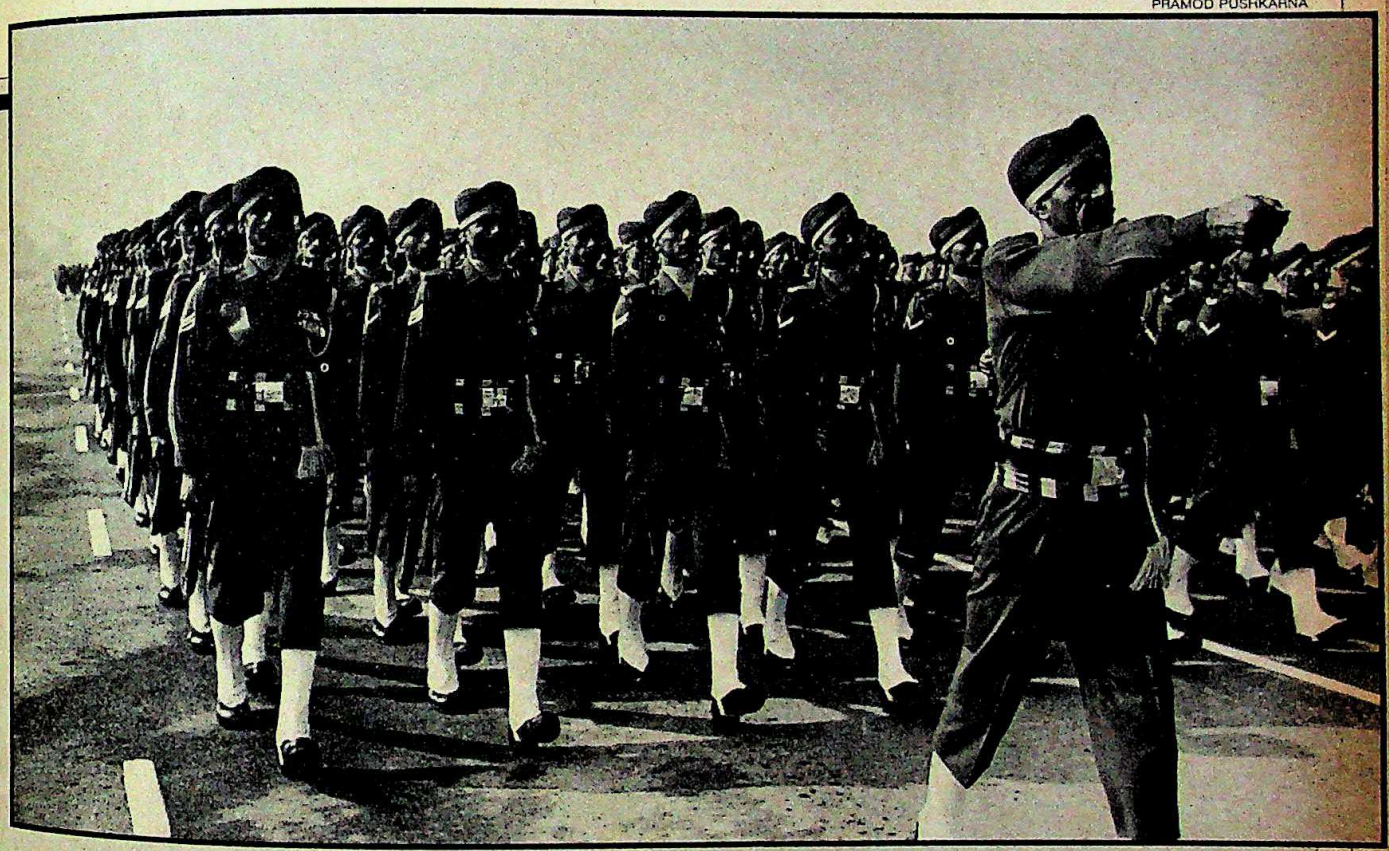
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The crisis is accelerating the setting up of a public sector company to identify buyers and the wares India could hawk in the $35-billion a year arms bazar.

continuing plans will be blocked leaving the fleet floundering in the doldrums: with neither a full ocean-going capability nor a foolproof defence. Indian off-shore installations, whose number is growing, are far from secure as yet.

Thus after fighting unsuccessfully with North Block for more money, the Defence Ministry has come to the conclusion that it must make defence pay for itself. It looks at China, selling hardware ranging from the ubiquitous Kalashnikov to Silkworm missiles and financing all arms imports with its $2 billion worth of exports. Pakistan too is heading for the

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



Soldiers marching past: ageing army

in the prime of youth when war began in 1971. Contrarily, the Pakistani Army had undergone expansion in the late '50s. If then India won with a younger force, the equation has reversed today. Pakistan's post-Bangladesh expansion began in the late '70s. So the greening of the Pakistani Army is now coinciding with the greying of India's.

The real problem remains the 1963-67 recruitment spree. The bulge was perpetuated as the Government progressively increased the jawans' retirement ages from seven years in the pre-1965 period to 17. As a result not only has the proportion of older jawans gone up, the number of soldiers retiring every year has suddenly shot up in the '80s, steeply increasing the pension burden.

The brass is worried. It is already reconsidering a proposal first made in 1985 that:

- recruits in the combat units would serve for seven years, roughly till the age of 25;
- those recruited for technical, skilled jobs would serve till 55;
- of the combatants who complete seven years, roughly half would be re-absorbed in semi-skilled technical grades as drivers and radio-operators.

The problem is assuring re-employment to soldiers who retire at the age of 25-26 because it would be dangerous to let loose on the streets thousands of jobless young men with military training. But that is not the only reason why the Home Ministry has opposed the scheme. Ultimately these men could only be absorbed in paramilitary forces. And North Block is not inclined to lose that avenue of patronage.

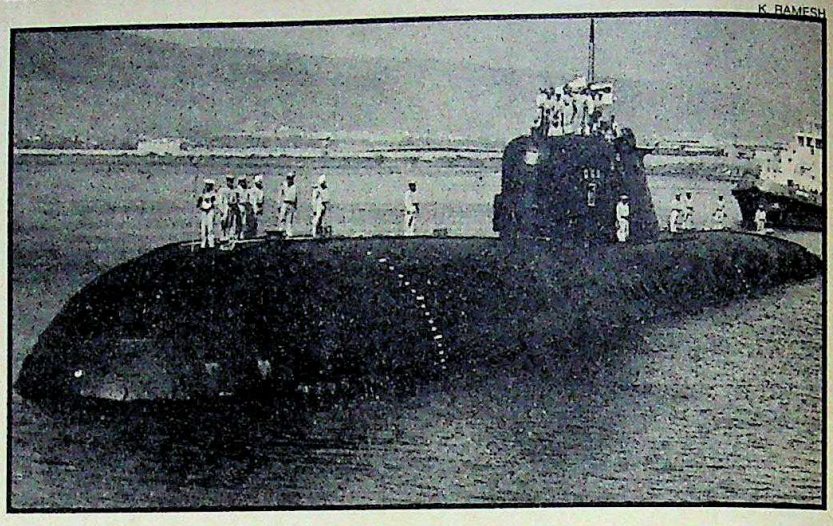
However, the current situation calls for hard decisions. For the fighting ability of an army does not depend only on the kind of weaponry it wields. Ultimately, it is the man behind the machine that counts.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

K. RAMESH



Nuclear submarine Chakra: ambitious strides

big league in the developing world, its ordnance factories making a concerted bid to sell small arms and munitions. Combined with indirect exports through training and manpower services, Pakistani exports are poised to cross the $310 million peak achieved in 1983.

In comparison India only had a high of $ 50 million in 1977 and that too because of the embarrassing sale of Centurion tanks as scrap that ended up in South Africa. In fact the latest report of the US State Department's Arms Control and Disarmament Agency ranks India 38th in the world in terms of arms export, one notch above Afghanistan. Says G.C. Katoch, a former financial advisor to the Defence Ministry: "Our generals are yet to learn the joys of earning."

The basic fault lies with the Government which had always shied away from giving clear policy directives. In the past India achieved limited success in exporting patrol boats, Allouette helicopters and some second-hand artillery pieces. But there was nothing systematic. Recently Thailand made inquiries for Jaguars. And Burma has been asking for army trucks and, after much dilly-dallying, Rangoon has been referred to TELCO and Ashok Leyland. Admits Pant: "So far there was no clear policy on arms exports."

The crisis is providing an impetus to the setting up of a public sector company to identify likely buyers and the wares that

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

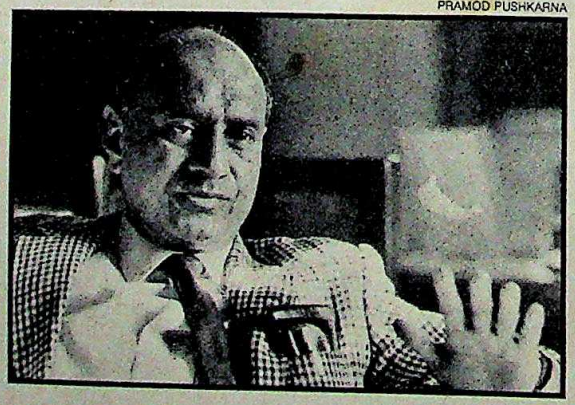
Peripheral Vision

TAKE the world's sixth strongest military machine. Add to that the 11th largest industrial infrastructure. The result, in most places, would be an advanced military-industrial complex. But put a dash of the omnipotent Indian bureaucracy in that recipe and the final product is altogether different—a military-bureaucratic complex, closely controlled by the Government, in which the role of the private sector is marginal.

True, the Government has been making a lot of noise about how it can tide over the current resource crunch only if the defence sector improves productivity. True, Defence Minister K.C. Pant has been stressing the need to step up the private sector's contribution to defence output to save foreign exchange. And yes, senior officials in the ministry have been echoing his sentiments.

Yet, instead of increasing, the participation of private companies in defence production has actually shrunk. This at a time when the private sector has made major progress in technology. Over the last three years, the value of orders placed by the defence authorities with civilian companies—most of it for *ab initio* (pre-production) development of items required by the forces—has plummeted by a whopping 40-per cent from a peak of Rs 277 crore in 1986-87 to around Rs 165 crore in the current year. Officials explain this by stressing on the resource crunch and the need to buy only high-value items—not components but complete assemblies.

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



"If the private sector is looking for quick profits in defence it will be disappointed."

P.C. JAIN
Secretary of Defence Production

The fact, however, is that despite public utterances, as a long-term strategy, the Government believes in keeping the private sector's role in defence production at a peripheral level. "The truth is that the defence bureaucracy continues to harbour a deep-rooted antipathy against private companies," says Giri Deshingkar of the Centre for Study of Developing Societies.

Adds Vinod Doshi, chairman of the defence subcommittee of the Confederation of Engineering Industry and head of Walchandnagar Industries and Premier Automobiles (which supply a range of items for military use): "It seems that the defence services have more faith in the private sector abroad than in India's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To back its activist foreign policy India needs a mighty military machine. The current crunch could, instead, leave gaping holes even in defensive postures.

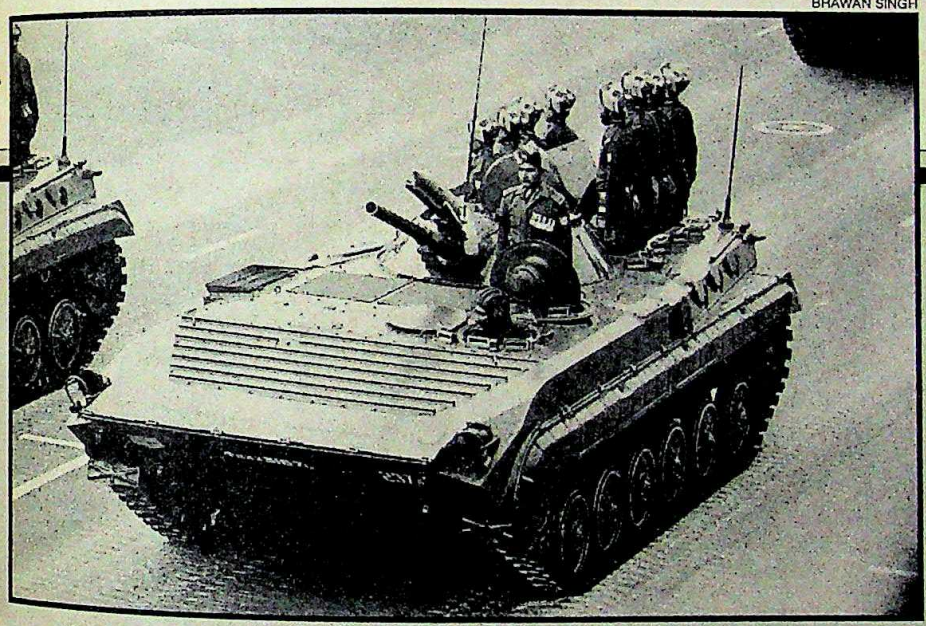
India could hawk in the $ 35-billion a year arms bazar. Says Katoch: "China mounts worldwide advertising campaigns to promote its 'simple, robust, efficient and cost-effective' weapons. If we feel shy the same can be done discreetly."

Unfortunately India's bid to enter the arms business is not well-timed. As the report of the prestigious Stockholm Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) notes, today's arms bazar is a buyers' market. Many Third World countries have already begun manufacturing small arms. And Iran and Iraq, earlier desperate for any kind of arms, have stopped fighting. The medium technology market has been flooded by China, Singapore and South Korea.

"In such a situation it is difficult to see what we can export," argues Kathpalia. He says of Pakistani small arms that "even their hunting rifles" have a better finish than India's. South Korea will undercut India effectively in the grenade market. Given the reputation of the HAL MiG-21 and the mid-'60s vintage of the Vijayanta tank it is unlikely there will be buyers for them. "We can sell the radio sets. Maybe also the 105 mm artillery gun, but are we producing enough of these?" he asks.

Other experts too doubt India's prospects in the arms business. Says Stephen Philip Cohen, professor of political science at the University of Illinois and author of landmark books on Indian and Pakistani armies: "What Mr Pant has said on exports is exactly what Krishna Menon said in 1960. Nothing happened. I think India is too

BHAWAN SINGH



Armoured vehicles: quick indigenisation

private sector." Representatives of the corporate world charge that the Government treats them like "second class citizens", whose patriotism is suspect.

Though the exact breakdown of defence purchases is never made public, senior officials say this marginalisation of the Indian private sector is with justification. They maintain that most private companies try getting away with shoddy workmanship; that the ethos of ensuring the best possible quality is by and large absent.

But if industry is guilty of double standards, so is the Government. "The military is an over-fastidious customer," observes Deshingkar. "What the defence services tolerate in imported equipment, they don't in the case of Indian supplies." Moreover, though the forces raise a hue and cry over the poor quality of products manufactured by the private sector, they are less vocal about the standards of the ordnance and public sector factories. Indeed, at the mere mention of privatisation, unions in ordnance factories go up in arms.

Another pertinent point is made by Baba N. Kalyani, president of the privately-owned Pune-based Bharat Forge Ltd—which sold goods valued at over Rs 26 crore to the defence forces last year. "If we can make complex forgings for nuclear reactors, there is no reason why we cannot make gun barrels," he says, adding for good measure, "while military items have to meet the most stringent quality standards, the fact is that the engineering specifications of some components required by defence can at times be fairly pedestrian."

Still, the private sector slips up too, as the Secretary, Defence Production and Supplies, P.C. Jain, points out. He cites instances of companies reneging on delivery commitments; of suppliers forming cartels in the hope of extracting extra profits—as happened recently when eight parties submitted identical bids for the supply of ammunition carrier boxes. Though Jain warns that, "if the private sector is looking for quick profits, they will be disappointed," he does concede that, "production of certain items can be offloaded to the civilian sector."

Three years ago, private industry had remarkable success in indigenising production of the Soviet-designed T-72 tank (Ajay) and infantry combat vehicle BMP-II (Sarath). Today, 54 per cent of the parts used in the two vehicles are manufactured privately. Both military and private industry gained from that arrangement. That should have set a precedent. Unfortunately, it hasn't as yet.

—PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

For a poor country such as India the question is not merely guns versus butter. It is also what kind of guns and what kind of butter.

nice a country to do well in the arms business." Cohen also argues that Indian ordnance factories are not particularly distinguished for quality or productivity.

Pant accepts that problems exist and said that the initial exports may include software packages. Besides, it is believed that India at some stage may hawk medium-technology avionics and electronic warfare equipment, including the low-level air-defence Indra radar. Efforts are afoot to find buyers for the new range of smaller, 5.56 mm personal weapons developed under the INSAS programme. "I showed the 5.56 mm rifle to a foreign defence minister. He said he liked it," says Pant.

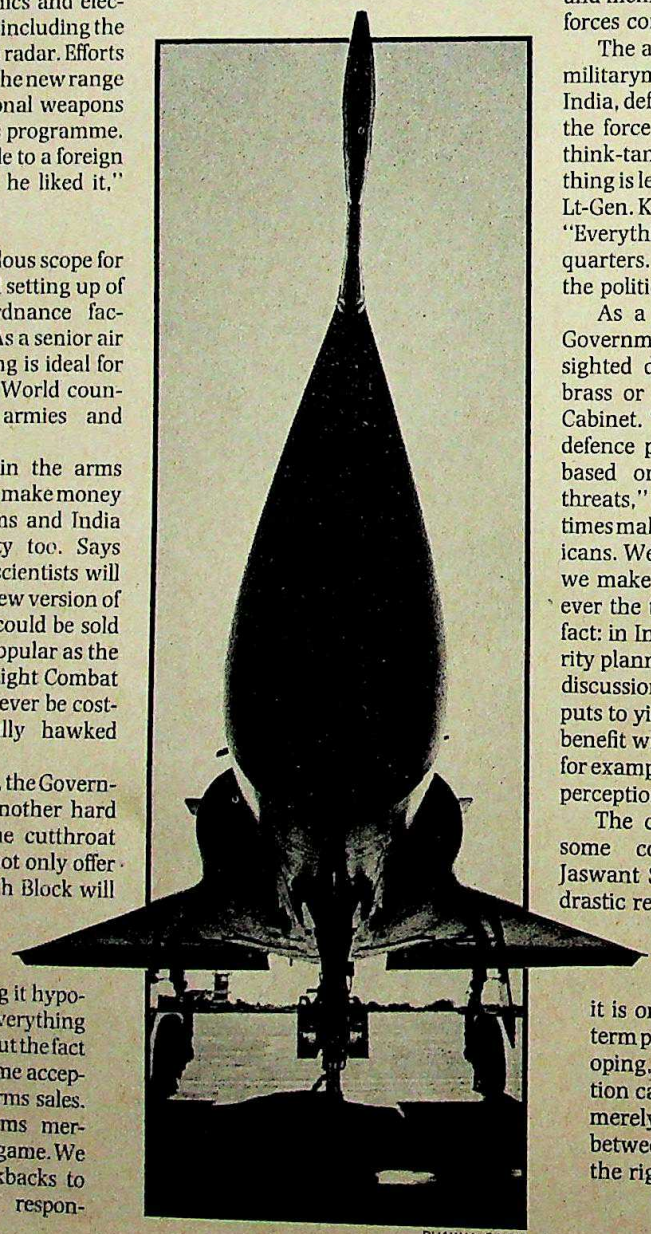
THERE is also tremendous scope for training services and setting up of institutions and ordnance factories on a turnkey basis. As a senior air force officer said, the timing is ideal for this—several small Third World countries are building up armies and indigenising.

But the home truth in the arms business is that you cannot make money without selling lethal items and India has to accept this reality too. Says Katoch: "Perhaps Indian scientists will be able to come up with a new version of the Prithvi missile which could be sold abroad even if it is not as popular as the Silkworm." Similarly the Light Combat Aircraft and the MBT will never be cost-effective unless successfully hawked abroad.

Having accepted all this, the Government will need to make another hard decision. To survive in the cutthroat market India will have to not only offer easy credit terms, but South Block will have to stare the issue of kickbacks in the face again. Pant skirts the question by calling it hypothetical and saying that everything will be left to the company. But the fact is that kickbacks have become accepted as lubricants in most arms sales. As Deshingkar says: "Arms merchandising is a different ball game. We must be ready to pay kickbacks to politicians and generals responsible for making purchase decisions."

Today, while South Block looks for hard options, the defence planners also need to do some hard introspection. If from a seemingly gung-ho position they have suddenly found themselves in a mess it does not speak well of the very process of defence planning in India. "There is no such thing as a long-term security policy. Or you wouldn't have these sharp fluctuations in annual defence budgets which can do to our security what wild fluctuations of temperature can do to a human body," argues BJP Rajya Sabha member Jaswant Singh, a former cavalry officer and member of the Parliament's armed forces consultative committee.

Mirage 2000: expensive indulgence



BHAWAN SINGH

The argument finds support among militarymen and many argue that in India, defence planning is left entirely to the forces. "There are no inputs from think-tanks, no discussion, and everything is left to the generals," says retired Lt-Gen. K. Balaram. Laments Kathpalia: "Everything begins from service headquarters. The IAS does not understand, the politicians do not know enough."

As a result, critics point out, the Government often succumbs to short-sighted demands either from the top brass or from pressure groups in the Cabinet. "I don't think many of India's defence purchase decisions have been based on an evaluation of foreign threats," asserts Cohen. "India sometimes makes defence policy like us Americans. We look at the mirror, and when we make faces it frightens us." Whatever the truth, there's no doubt of one fact: in India the entire process of security planning is too isolated from public discussion and long-term intellectual inputs to yield results. Other democracies benefit widely from free discussion. UK, for example, has a white paper on threat perceptions every year.

The current crunch must lead to some constructive rethinking. As Jaswant Singh says, the system needs drastic restructuring: "Not just a haircut, a trim from the sides and behind but thorough, reconstructive surgery." And it is only through a renewed, long-term process of planning that a developing, yet strategically ambitious nation can find the right balance—not merely between guns and butter but between the right kind of guns and the right kind of butter.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA with PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What did the Skypak Man say to the "Little Boy" at Brussels?

"If you're going to take long ... mind if I hop along to Tehran and New York and be back with you soon?"

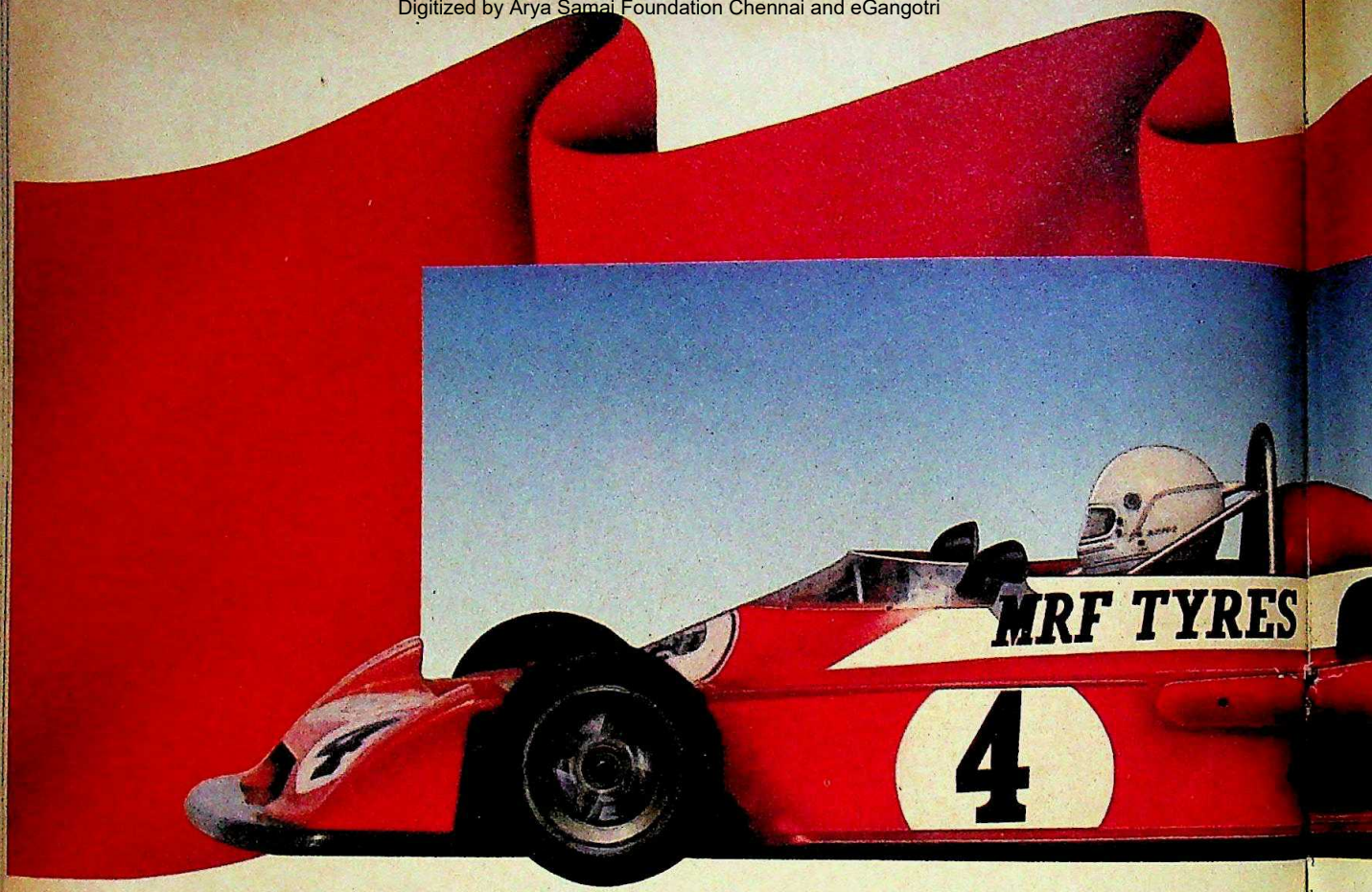
We'll deliver. Wherever on earth. SKYPAK The worldwide couriers.

Skypak House, Off M. Vassanji Road, Marol, Andheri (E), Bombay 400 059.

Avenues:SC:500:89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



HOW THE MRF FORMULA CHANGE THE WAY YOU

The heat is on! Speeds over 280 Kmph. Tyres searing the ground. Temperatures rising. Crisp turns and diabolic curves... adrenalin coursing through...

Blood. Sweat. And Guts. That's what it takes to drive a Formula Car.

But to us at MRF, it is a serious, sophisticated, hi-speed tyre-test machine. A unique way in which to TEST new tyre concepts to build better tyres for you.

At speeds close to 300 kms per hour, hi-performance tyres encounter extreme conditions of heat, temperature, traction and even molecular stablility! To MRF R & D personnel it's an opportunity to test various rubber compounds that can withstand these extreme conditions.

That's why MRF raced forward to be the first in India to make a Formula Car tyre.

To PUSH Rubber and Tyre capability to a real-life TEST. To probe for structural stability in ultra high-performance conditions.

And after each Adventure, that brave, solo Formula Car driver will pull off his helmet to discuss the behaviour of his tyres with on-track MRF R & D technologists.

New knowledge is gained on how Rubber compounds, tyre-structure and technology behave under extreme stresses against gravity.

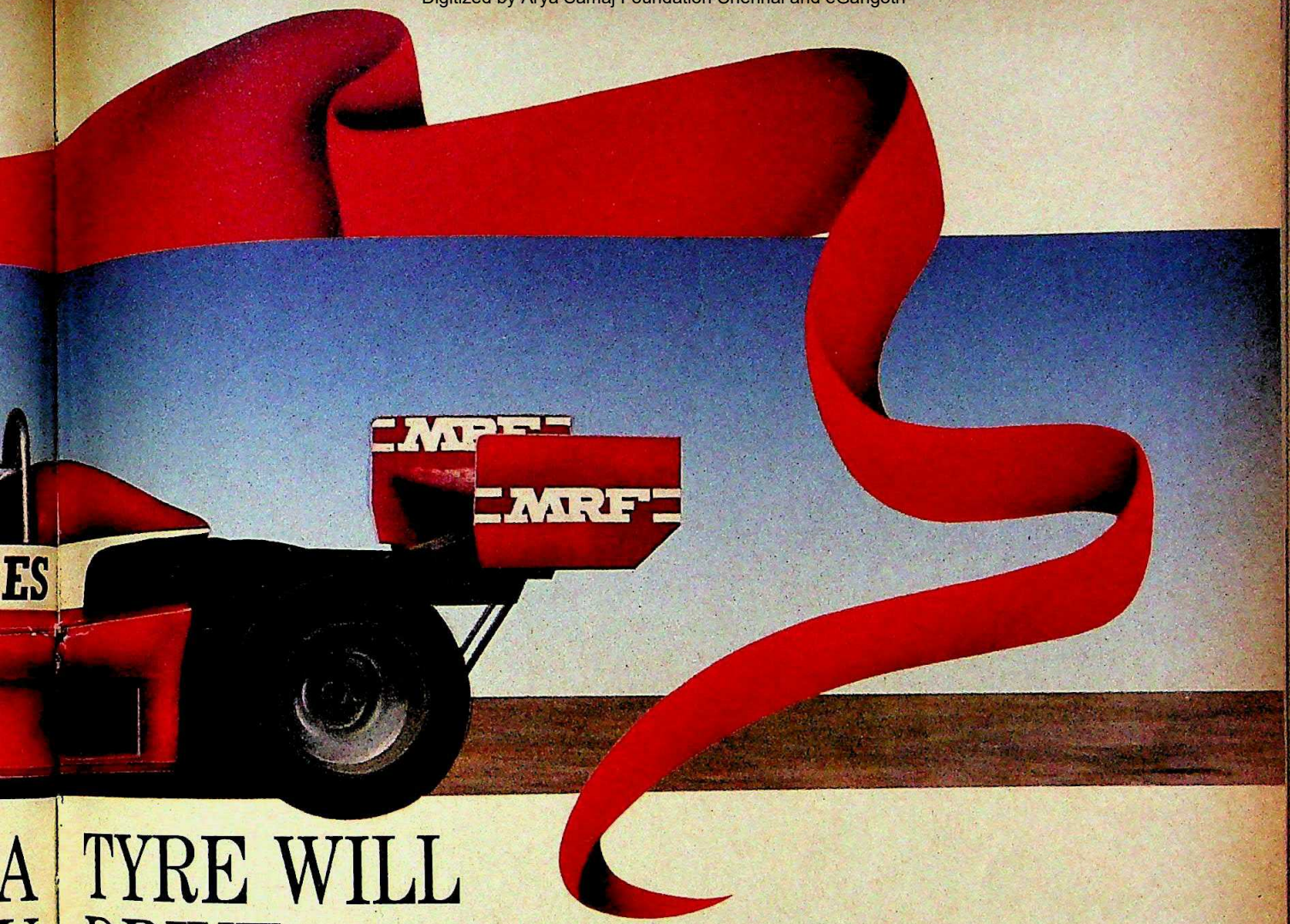
That knowledge is then translated into better materials and processes in the MRF Production-line to build better, safer, hi-performance tyres for your city car.

Another race. One more Adventure towards new levels of tyre-technology. For you.

MRF TYRES: Flying solo to new levels

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



TYRE WILL DRIVE.

Yes. MRF now makes Formula Tyres in India...
On display here is the high-point in Indian Tyre Technology
Another First for MRF.

DESIGN HIGHLIGHTS:
- Ultra Low Profile
- Compound Designed to 'Adhere' to the track
- Slick – No Pattern (more contact – better traction)
- Low Weight

OPERATIONAL FEATURES:
- Wide Contact Patch Along the Axis
- High Stability due to Low Side Wall
- Low Inertia – High Manoeuverability

TECHNICAL CHALLENGES IN TYRE DESIGN:
- High Speed Structural Stability of Tyre Components
- Low Weight
- Absolute Traction

SIZE:
- Front Fitment: 9.0/20.0-13
- Rear Fitment: 14.0/23.0-13

TYPE:
- Pneumatic
- Biasply
- Tubeless

SPEED CAPABILITY: Up to 300 KMPH

MRF TYRES
Tyres with Muscle

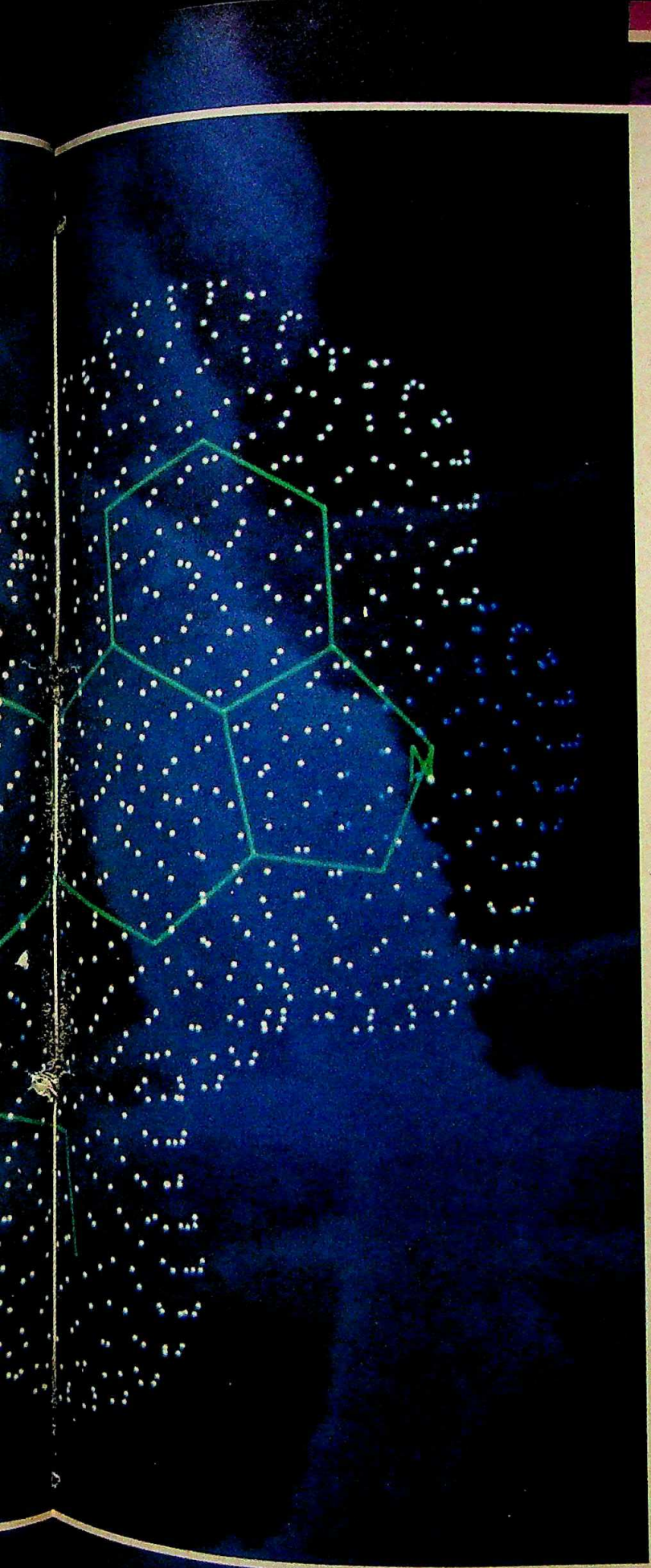
of technology.for you.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

We fight...

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri



... for your health

In the fight against cancer, Farmitalia Carlo Erba (FICE) has been in the forefront of R & D efforts worldwide. In its quest for better drugs, FICE achieved a major breakthrough in the 70's with ADRIAMYCIN, an antitumoral which revolutionized cancer drug treatment. Recently, FICE's research efforts have achieved yet another breakthrough with their second generation anthracycline, PHARMORUBICIN.

Research at Farmitalia Carlo Erba is not limited to cancer alone. FICE made an important contribution to the fight against malaria – a disease which made a startlir comeback in the 70's, with over 40 million cases reported in India alone – by pioneering a very effective antimalarial, METAKELFIN. The fight against cancer and malaria, are but two instances of FICE's commitment towards improving the quality of life for patients the world over.

At the three Farmitalia Carlo Erba R & D Centres in Italy, over 1200 researchers are engaged in innovative thinking on the application of scientific knowledge anc technology to the special needs of disease and health care worldwide.

Italy's largest research based pharmaceutical company, belonging to the Montedison-Ferruzzi Group FICE invests over 14% of sales in research on antitumorals, antibiotics and drugs related to immunology, cardiovascular diseases and the central nervous system.

FICE products are marketed in India under license b Dominion Chemical Industries Pvt. Ltd., an associate of the United Breweries (UB) Group of Companies.

FARMITALIA CARLO ERBA

where the need is greatest

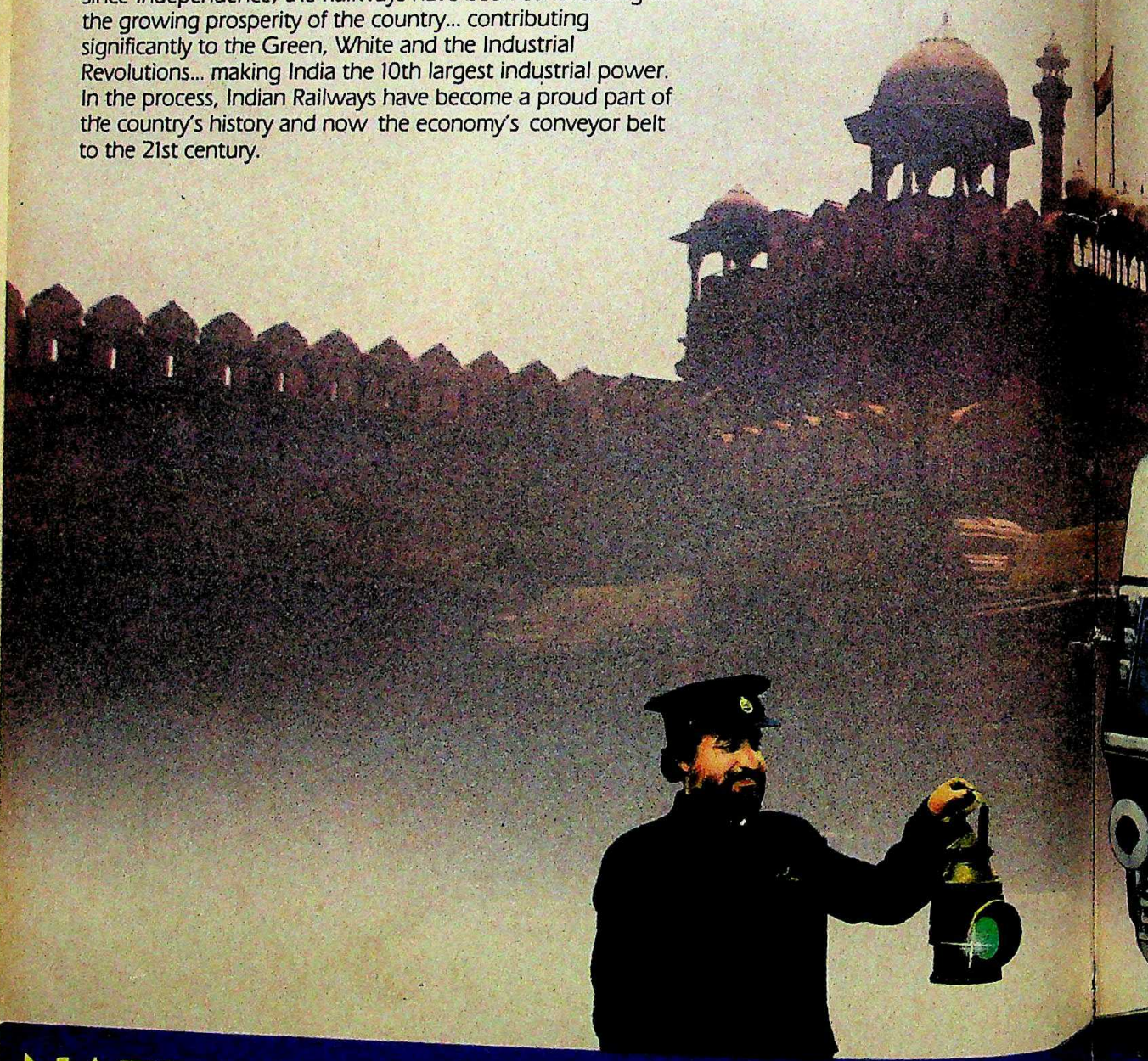
Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian Railways — th
between our h

The iron track that started 135 years ago in Boribunder has today become the nation's golden link... between our proud heritage and our confident advance towards modernisation.

The Railways have seen the country through changing times... participating in the historic struggle for freedom... helping it to become the world's largest democracy. And since Independence, the Railways have been contributing to the growing prosperity of the country... contributing significantly to the Green, White and the Industrial Revolutions... making India the 10th largest industrial power. In the process, Indian Railways have become a proud part of the country's history and now the economy's conveyor belt to the 21st century.



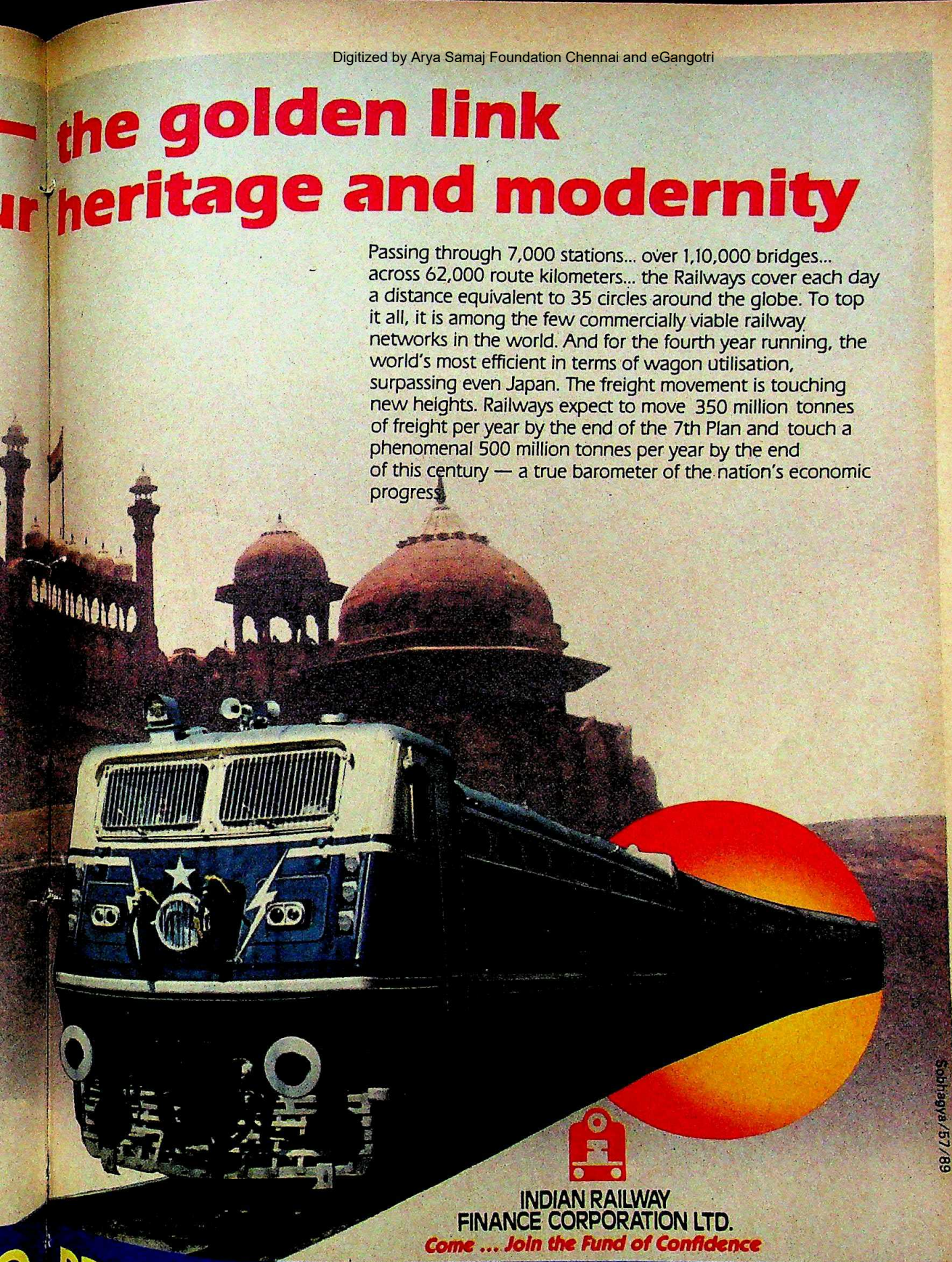
NATION'S CONVEYOR BELT TO PR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

— the golden link
ur heritage and modernity

Passing through 7,000 stations... over 1,10,000 bridges... across 62,000 route kilometers... the Railways cover each day a distance equivalent to 35 circles around the globe. To top it all, it is among the few commercially viable railway networks in the world. And for the fourth year running, the world's most efficient in terms of wagon utilisation, surpassing even Japan. The freight movement is touching new heights. Railways expect to move 350 million tonnes of freight per year by the end of the 7th Plan and touch a phenomenal 500 million tonnes per year by the end of this century — a true barometer of the nation's economic progress.



INDIAN RAILWAY
FINANCE CORPORATION LTD.
Come ... Join the Fund of Confidence

Sobhagya/57/89

O PROSPERITY ... ALSO YOURS !

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When you sign on BYN, you're signing on the expertise of 21 top international collaborators.

When your project needs to keep abreast of the latest technology—both in India and overseas, come where you could avail technical expertise gained from the USA, West Germany, Italy, France, Sweden, Austria, Netherlands, Czechoslovakia & Romania.

Bharat Yantra Nigam. A multi-dimensional Group comprising:

Bharat Heavy Plate & Vessels,
Bharat Pumps & Compressors,
Bridge & Roof,
Richardson & Cruddas,
Triveni Structurals and
Tungabhadra Steel Products.

With the combined resources of these six companies, the BYN Group provides you with one-source expertise in a wide spectrum of industries—in terms of design, engineering, fabrication, construction and project management. In industries as diverse as fertilizers, chemicals, petroleum, oil and gas, power, communications & transportation—to name but a few.

Backed by 21 international collaborators, and a vast manpower resource of 15,000 trained personnel—which includes 3,000 qualified engineers, the BYN Group's products and services are recognised by such leading inspection agencies as Lloyds, Bureau Veritas, Sweco, BARC, RDSO, EIL and PDIL.

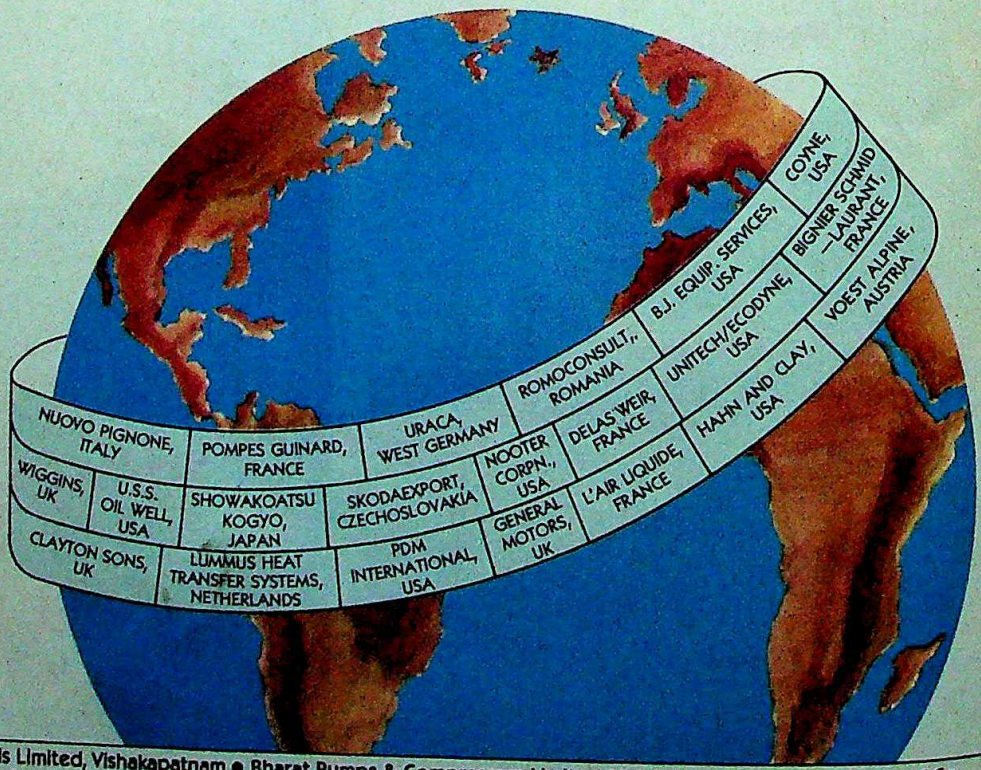
Whatever be your requirements, the BYN Group is well equipped to meet your multiple needs by way of products, services, sub-systems, systems and turnkey packages from concept to commissioning, tailor-made to specific requirements.

Contact BYN.

BYN (byn)

Bharat Yantra Nigam Limited
15/1 Thornhill Road, Allahabad 211001
Phone: (0532) 4584 Telex: 0540-298 BYNL IN

The one source, multi-resource engineering group



• Bharat Heavy Plate & Vessels Limited, Vishakapatnam • Bharat Pumps & Compressors Limited, Naini, Allahabad • Bridge & Roof Co. (India) Limited, Calcutta • Richardson & Cruddas (1972) Limited, Bombay • Triveni Structurals Limited, Naini, Allahabad • Tungabhadra Steel Products Limited, T.B. Dam, Hospet, Karnataka

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Sista's-BYN-87/88-A

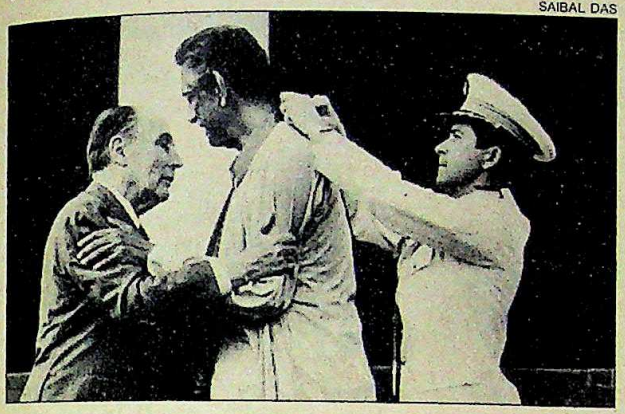
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A Special Honour

ON February 2, French President Francois Mitterrand flew into Calcutta to confer his country's most prestigious honour—Commander of the Legion D'Honneur—on Satyajit Ray, 67, the third film personality to be so honoured after Akira Kurosawa and Orson Welles.

Speaking in French, Mitterrand eulogised Ray for "expressing modern India with the sensitivity of the great poet".

SAIBAL DAS



Mitterrand (left) honouring Ray: happy moment

Moved, Ray expressed his happiness that the honour "came from the land of Jean Renoir, my principal mentor". He added: "With this signal honour, I feel fulfilled as an Indian artiste."

While Ray has often been criticised for selling India's poverty abroad, that's what Mitterrand most appreciated. Said the visiting President: "You are a realist, sometimes a cruel one, in your description of people being torn apart and the depiction of human distress." Soon after conferring the honour, Mitterrand and Ray walked across the lawns of the National Library to exchange glasses of champagne. Ray's 26th film, *Ganashatru*—based on Henrik Ibsen's, *An Enemy of the People*—which he is currently working on, has already received an invitation to be screened in France.

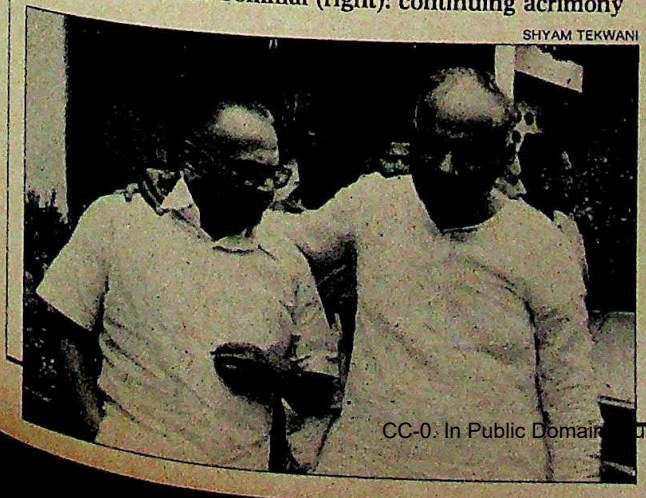
Probing Leaks

WHILE Subramaniam Swamy grabbed the headlines with his attack against Ramakrishna Hegde, Chief Minister S.R. Bommai had different plans. Instead of probing the land deals Hegde was implicated in, he ordered an inquiry into the leakage of documents. This triggered the memory of a press bill Hegde had introduced two years ago which would make procurement of information from the Government easier. Under the bill, anyone could apply to a "competent authority" for information and if no reply came, the application was deemed rejected. There was an unstated catch: would the applicant attract action if he secured the information subsequently? The bill was finally shelved.

Meanwhile, it is known that the person supplying information on the land deals is Hegde's sworn enemy, former public works minister H.D. Deve Gowda. He has scoffed at Bommai's announcement of an inquiry into the document leakage, sneering: "Both of us know how we get documents."

Deve Gowda with Bommai (right): continuing acrimony

SHYAM TEKWANI



Resignation Drama

HIS penchant for drama is irrepressible. And Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao seized the opportunity to indulge in it last fortnight when he secured the resignations of all his 31 ministers. Reason: the leak of budget proposals to Telugu dailies.

In Rama Rao's view the leaks could lead to contempt of the Assembly. So he first called for a meeting with his ministers and told them that he was hurt by the leaks. And when son-in-law and health minister D. Venkateshwara Rao hinted that it would be better for the ministers to give in their resignations, owning collective moral responsibility, they agreed.

BABJI/JANATA STUDIOS

Rama Rao: impulsive act

Andhra Pradesh Congress(I) Committee President N. Janardhan Reddy was not impressed. Says he: "If it was collective responsibility Rama Rao should have been the first to resign."

But the fact is the move helped Rama Rao prove he is still the only one calling the shots in the Telugu Desam. The shuffle of the pack will be one more step to bolster his own image.

Body Blows

The Tamil Nadu verdict and the rebellion by Congress(I) dissidents in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh had its echo in Gujarat last fortnight, leaving Chief Minister Amarsinh Chaudhary literally bruised. On January 27 when Governor R.K. Trivedi began addressing the Assembly on the first day of the budget session, dissidents interrupted the speech by shouting slogans against the chief minister's misrule, while loyalists sat back bewildered. Three days later at the Congress(I) Legislature Party (CLP) meeting Chaudhary was jeered and roughed up. When asked to identify those who had assaulted him, Chaudhary said: "Is it possible to count crows?"

The revolt was plotted at the Delhi house of party MP Raouf Valiullah where Jinabhai Darji, Union Planning Minister Madhavsinh Solanki and PCC(I) chief Ahmed Patel decided to work unitedly for the ouster of Chaudhary.

The dissidents charge that the Chaudhary administration is corrupt, inefficient and that he has been sheltering goondas. Fisheries Minister Hasmukh Patel alleged that student leaders who attacked his house are often seen in the chief minister's house. Dissidents also allege that during Chaudhary's regime two MLAs and three taluka chiefs had been murdered.

The atmosphere became so vitiated that on February 5, rival groups of party MLAs came to blows in the Assembly lounge and the CLP meeting had to be conducted in the presence of armed policemen.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY

The Headline Hunter

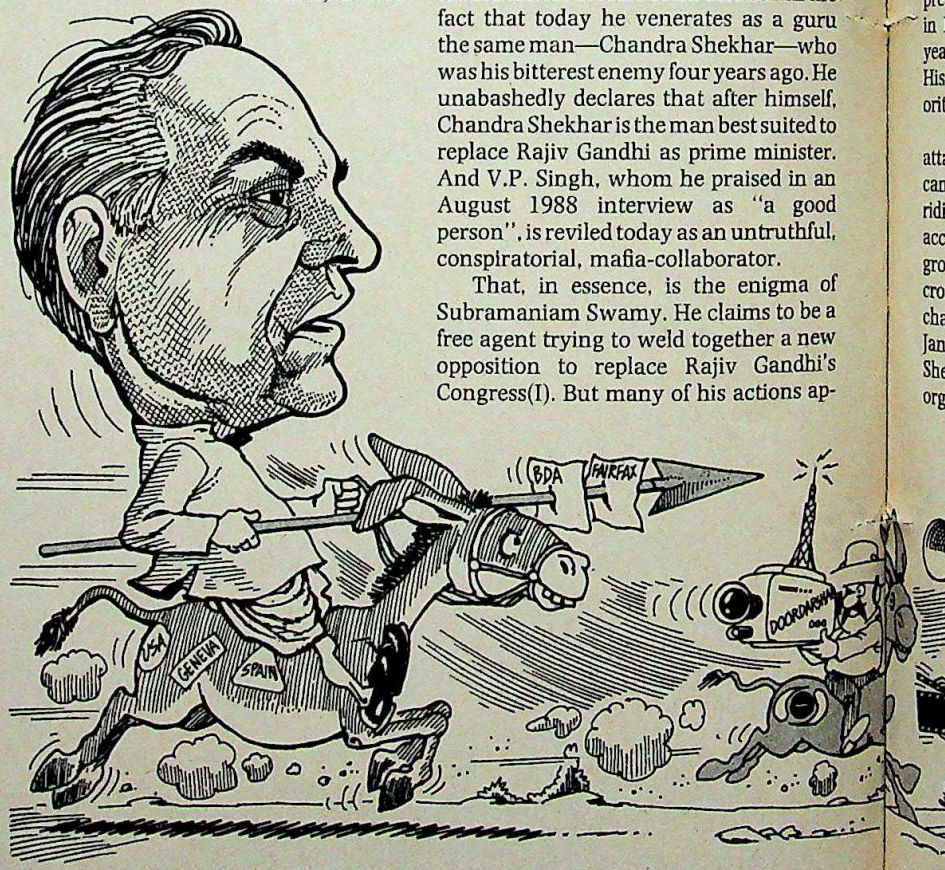
Opposition MP Subramaniam Swamy specialises in exposes. What's different about him is that when everyone else is gunning for Rajiv Gandhi, he is aiming at opposition stalwarts.

CONSISTENCY, it has been said, is a virtue of small minds. Subramaniam Swamy, the *enfant terrible* of the Opposition, would be the first to disagree. First, because he is convinced about the panoramic sweep of his own intellect, and second, because he has been consistent: consistent in finding foes in his own camp without bothering about the larger threat from the enemy outside.

The image is the man. And Swamy, 49, Harvard don-turned-perpetual rebel, has struggled over the years to live up to the heroic image he acquired during the Emergency. A wanted man with a price on his head, Swamy smuggled himself into the country in 1976, slipped into Parliament, signed the Rajya Sabha register and slipped out of the country again making a mockery of the police alert his appearance had triggered off. Daring as that challenge to the Emergency authorities was, it has faded from public memory. But Swamy appears to be fuelled by a compulsive desire to seek out new giants to slay. And in the process, yesterday's hero has, in the eyes of many, been transformed today into a desi, dhoti-clad Quixote. Along the way, his parries and thrusts have killed no giants but wounded many. As a result, the opposition landscape is strewn with his wounded enemies waiting for an opportunity to strike back.

Swamy is a daily presence on the front pages of newspapers and magazines thanks to his disclosures aimed at embarrassing Janata Dal supremos Ramakrishna Hegde and V.P. Singh. But his latest "expose" boomeranged. Swamy had brandished copies of a letter signed by the American detective Michael Hershman to allege that V.P. Singh had hired Hershman, two years ago, to probe foreign bank accounts of opposition leaders. Some leading newspapers warned that the letter appeared to be a forgery: it was typed on an ancient manual typewriter, had some names spelled wrong and included the name of at least one dead person. The letter was dated December 12, 1988 whereas V.P. Singh had left the Finance Ministry in April 1987. He insisted the letter was genuine: the facsimile copy, he said, carried the number of Hershman's office. Swamy flew to the US, met Hershman and looked a little shame-faced when Hershman denied sending the letter. Worse, Hershman said V.P. Singh's name had been in the original list of leaders under probe, but in Swamy's list that crucial name had been blacked out. Ironically, Swamy has proved his own charge wrong: V.P. Singh could not have ordered an inquiry against himself.

Cartoon by AJIT NINAN



Swamy is the exact opposite of the Dale Carnegie model: he makes enemies and antagonises people. But tell Swamy this and he dismisses it, in his dramatic, gesticulatory manner, as "cocktail-circuit gossip". He is a handsome, urbane man: tall, slim and youthful-looking despite his greying hair. His academic achievements are undeniable. But he remains imbued with a crusading zeal, a cloying moral certitude and self-righteousness. He sees no contradiction in the fact that today he venerates as a guru the same man—Chandra Shekhar—who was his bitterest enemy four years ago. He unabashedly declares that after himself, Chandra Shekhar is the man best suited to replace Rajiv Gandhi as prime minister. And V.P. Singh, whom he praised in an August 1988 interview as "a good person", is reviled today as an untruthful, conspiratorial, mafia-collaborator.

That, in essence, is the enigma of Subramaniam Swamy. He claims to be a free agent trying to weld together a new opposition to replace Rajiv Gandhi's Congress(I). But many of his actions appear to be sabotaging the nascent opposition unity and strengthening Rajiv Gandhi. He talks about cleansing public life and exposing the corruption of people like Hegde. In virtually the same breath he declares that he will accept money from anyone (*see interview*). He talks about the nexus between V.P. Singh and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the anti-government "mafia" and yet goes around cajoling Congress(I) officials, ministers and government bureaucrats to give him documents and information that he can use against his own colleagues. In August 1988 he had declared that only a merger of the Lok Dal and the Janata Party could provide a stable alternative to the Congress(I). Today he insists on a separate identity for the Janata Party.

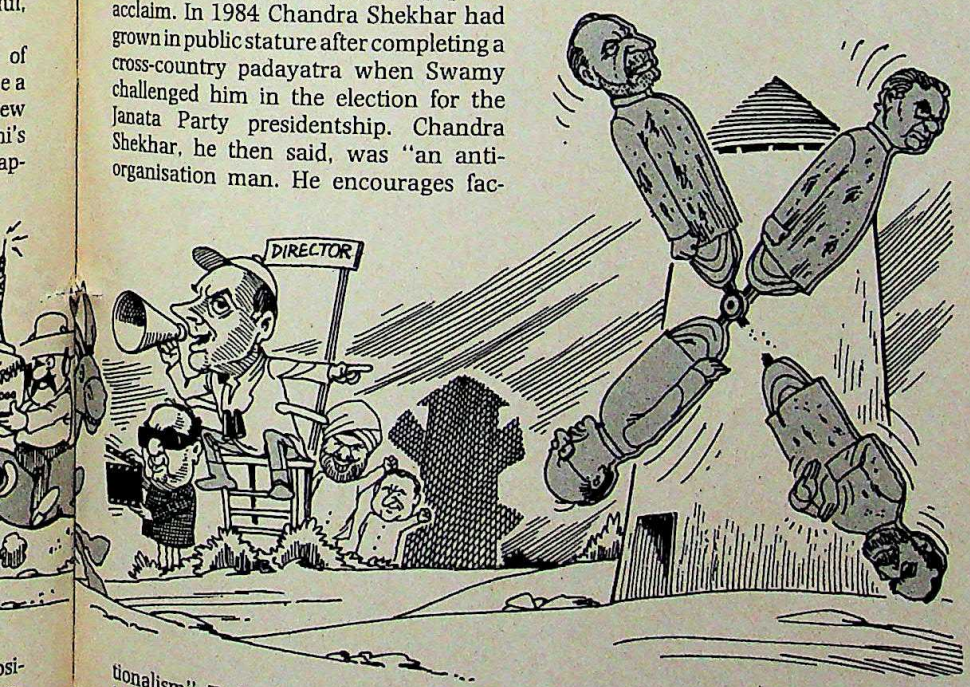
IS there an element of unfulfilled ambition in his actions? Yes, say Janata Dal officials. Vinod Mehta, editor, *The Indian Post*, puts it succintly: "Ambition in a politician is natural, even necessary. Unfortunately in Dr Swamy's case we have unbridled ambition staring at abject failure." That is the tragedy of Swamy. He lacks a political base; he has therefore made newspaper columns his constituency and publicity his goal, says a political scientist. People remember Swamy's 1979 prediction that he would be prime minister in 10 years. Comments Hegde: "The 10 years have passed and he is still a nobody. His slanderous attack stems from his inferiority, his inadequacy. It's plain envy."

But it is not an accident that Swamy's attacks against his own party leaders came at a time when those leaders were riding the crest of a wave of popular acclaim. In 1984 Chandra Shekhar had grown in public stature after completing a cross-country padayatra when Swamy challenged him in the election for the Janata Party presidentship. Chandra Shekhar, he then said, was "an anti-organisation man. He encourages factionalism". Today he says Chandra Shekhar is the hope of the nation.

When his own party, the Janata, was in power, Swamy started attacking the then foreign minister Atal Behari Vajpayee who had blocked Swamy's trip to China and his inclusion in the Indian delegation to the United Nations. The charges he made then and later about Vajpayee's personal life were, literally hair-raising. Hegde was riding high as chief minister of Karnataka when Swamy descended on Bangalore to investigate his involvement in the telephone-tapping incident. He said he was doing a job entrusted to him by his party president Ajit Singh and former president Chandra Shekhar. Having collected the "evidence" against Hegde, he released his findings not at a party meeting but at a press conference.

In his own eyes Swamy is more tormented than tormentor. He rants at the media for portraying him as a party hopper. "I have never changed a party in my life," he declares. He had joined the Jana Sangh which joined the Janata Party. He was expelled from the Janata and joined the Lok Dal (A) which merged with the Janata Party.

In seeking out new giants to slay, Swamy seems to have been transformed into a dhoti-clad Quixote.



The only person to whom Swamy confided his next step—a disclosure about who had paid money into Hegde's so-called illegal foreign bank account—was a minister in Rajiv Gandhi's Government. Asked about this, Swamy refused to comment—the only time he evaded an answer in a two-hour interview. His cryptic reply: "I look after my sources. I don't want to get anybody into trouble just now." He refers to government ministers as his sources and yet hotly denies the suggestion that his latest exercise is a smear job on behalf of someone else. But mention Swamy to senior Congress(I) functionaries and ministers, and they can hardly hide their glee. "Ask Buta Singh and Fotedar," they reply.

There can be little doubt that government agencies and sympathisers have been aiding and abetting Swamy's iconoclastic depredations. Swamy openly petitioned the Finance Ministry for information and Finance Secretary S. Venkitaramanan ordered former director of enforcement Bhure Lal to meet Swamy. Bhure Lal refused and asked for written instructions, which Venkitaramanan issued. When Swamy released the Hershman letter alleging that V.P. Singh had ordered Fairfax to inquire into foreign bank accounts of top opposition leaders, a senior official of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting "advised" Doordarshan to carry the item in the news bulletin that night. After his subsequent press conferences, Swamy confidently bragged to callers and friends hours before the night news bulletin that he would feature in the news. And his allegations as well as those of the Janata dissidents were dutifully reported by Doordarshan. In marked contrast, Doordarshan ignored the senior Congress(I) MP Chimanbhai Mehta's criticism of his party leadership after the Tamil Nadu election.

More recently Subramaniam Swamy was known to have been in touch with ruling party MP Kamal Nath, whom he called to ask for some files, Kamal Dandona, an office-bearer of the US-based Overseas Congress and Ali Siddiqui, a Congress sympathiser who had filed a case in the US to prevent disclosure of accounts held there by Indian nationals and NRIs. Another crucial backer of Swamy in his latest endeavours to embarrass V.P. Singh and the Janata Dal leadership appears to be Chandraswami, the jet-setting guru of the Sultan of Brunei, Adnan Khashoggi, Tiny Rowland and others. Chandraswami is known to have recently been won over to the government's side. Janata Dal sources say Chandraswami's Delhi-based lawyer, Pinaki Mishra, paid for the ticket which took Swamy to Europe a few months ago to meet Khashoggi and secure the Hershman letter. Was it coincidental that Mishra too left on an overseas trip last fortnight at about the same time as Swamy flew to the US to confront

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hershman about the letter?

What Swamy has recently been doing—casting doubts on the suitability of V.P. Singh and Hegde to fill national leadership roles—fits in with the Congress(I) strategy of throwing mud at opposition stalwarts, in the hope that some of it will stick. Energy Minister Vasant Sathe had taken the offensive and charged that V.P. Singh had a bank account abroad: the account number ended with the digits 420, Sathe said. One has only to see television clips of Sathe making that allegation to see that the minister is enjoying his little 'joke'. Interestingly, Swamy's charge that V.P. Singh conspired with a media-business "mafia" to destabilise the Government, echoes a June 1987 AICC(I) resolution which spoke of a similar "conspiracy". Hershman's denial, however, knocks the bottom out of this

INTERVIEW

"I want to clean the stables I am in"

HIS motives strain credibility just as the man himself defies description. What is Subramaniam Swamy and why does he do what he does? Is he a loose cannon lobbing shells into his own neighbourhood, or a devious double agent who claims to be cleansing the Opposition but is systematically besmirching its stalwarts. Or a mere puppet, being manipulated by others. For answers to these and other questions, Associate Editor RAMINDAR SINGH *spent two combative hours quizzing Swamy just before he flew off to the US to meet investigator Michael Hershman and get him to authenticate the letter which Swamy is using to blow the whistle on his latest victim—V.P. Singh. Excerpts from the interview:*

Q. There is a big question mark about your selective choice of targets. Why have you, an opposition man, turned your guns inwards and not on the Congress?

A. There are Congress(I) people in the Opposition today. If Rajiv Gandhi goes tomorrow the clear successors will be V.P. Singh, Arun Nehru and V.C. Shukla and other guys like Hegde who are in control today. There has to be a clean-up and a new polarisation in the Opposition.

Q. Why did you never investigate Bofors?

A. When I got into it, I was told by someone in Europe whom I trust, that I should not waste my time as Arun Nehru knows everything about Bofors. What share he got, or didn't get, or was frustrated from getting, only Arun Nehru can answer. My first priority is to clean the stables I am in.

Q. If the dope comes out on Bofors and, supposedly, on Nehru, would that not help clean the Opposition?

A. No. I cannot bring out dope on Arun Nehru without involving a large number of people in the ruling party.

Q. What's wrong with that?

A. It may get rid of Arun Nehru but what about V.P. Singh, who I feel is unfit to be the prime minister of India. I want someone genuine from the Opposition.

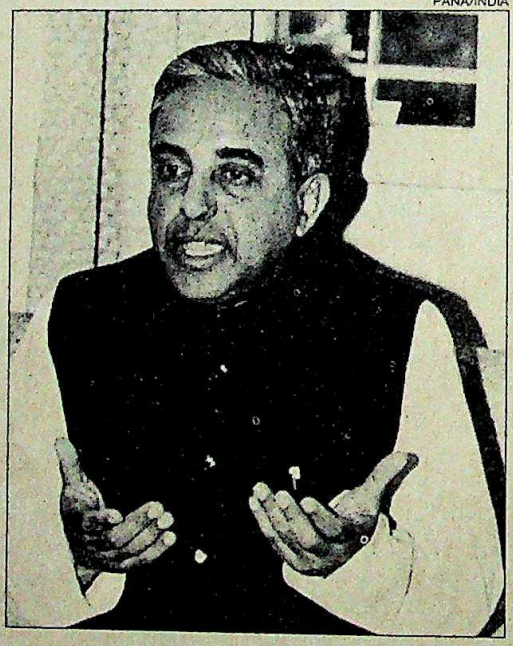
Q. Such as who?

A. Next to me, I would like to see Chandra Shekhar succeed Rajiv.

Q. It is said Chandra Shekhar or Rajiv Gandhi put you up to do this wrecking job.

A. I am not a wrecker. I am doing a great national service. Rather than give Swamy his due, it is easier to say he is an agent of someone else, he is a pawn. It's a way to denigrate me in the eyes of the public. I have always been my own man. Only those people who have incessantly promoted V.P. Singh for two years feel I am upsetting the apple cart. Chandra Shekhar has not put me up. In fact my investigations may embarrass Chandra Shekhar and Indubhai Patel's disclosure that Chandra Shekhar had met Michael Hershman will make it very difficult for Chandra Shekhar and V.P. Singh to get along.

PANA/INDIA



Q. Would that not fit into your plans?

A. It is easy to ascribe motives. My motive is clear. The people must know that V.P. Singh, the man leading the Opposition today, is untruthful, conspiratorial and lacks an ideology. His commitment to fight corruption is totally shallow. The people must know that Hegde who claims to be Mr Clean is the biggest looter of the people of Karnataka: on every possible transaction of the Karnataka Government he has made a cut, either directly or through his relatives. Arrack bottling, land deals concerning 9,000 acres and dilution of shares of state public sector organisations and even on issuance of national savings certificates. In all he must have ripped off Rs 500 crore to Rs 800 crore. According to my information part of that money is kept in an illegal account in the National Westminster Bank in the Channel Islands.

Q. Why haven't you produced conclusive evidence of his accounts and his rip-offs?

A. I have released document after document on the land deals. On the bank account I have passed on all the material to the Government of India. Let them go and make their inquiries. The bank will authenticate the documents for a government agency.

Q. Why is your criticism of Rajiv so muted?

A. Because I am convinced that Rajiv Gandhi is finished. He has no chance of coming back in the next election.

Q. What do you see happening in the Janata Dal if your crusade succeeds?

A. When the Congress(I) cracks up, V.P. Singh, in keeping with his character, will ditch us and end up as leader of the Congress(I). The Janata Dal will crack up and I am accentuating that process. I see a rejuvenated Janata Party, led by Chandra Shekhar.

Q. How come you are now cooing about Chandra Shekhar who threw you out of the Janata Party? You had bitterly called him all kinds of names.

A. My fight with Chandra Shekhar was political. I called him so many things, he called me so many things. It's all been forgotten. There is a better

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

hypothesis. But, as the *Indian Express* noted in an editorial, the effect of Swamy's charges would be to "lead people to believe that all allegations are at par, that the charges against Rajiv Gandhi need be believed no more than the allegations against, say, Hegde".

Add to all this Swamy's admitted fondness for Rajiv: "I cannot not like him," he says. Even those who want to be charitable to Swamy admit that while Swamy may genuinely think he is cleaning up the Opposition, he is probably being used, willingly or unwittingly, by Chandra Shekhar and Chandraswami on the one hand and by Rajiv Gandhi on the other. Perhaps by all three simultaneously. And Swamy may be the first one to admit this some years from now. In that too he would be consistent.

—RAMINDAR SINGH

understanding of what he stands for today. He may have changed and my understanding may also have improved. But I have never charged him with misappropriating public money.

Q. Your critics say you are doing a smear job for the Government and the Congress(I). You secure help from the highest in the country and then after acquiring some documents you hand them back to the Government to inquire into.

A. Is it the moral of the story that in order to avoid this charge I should not talk about Hegde's corruption, keep quiet about V.P. Singh's misdemeanours? Everybody tells me: "Swamy, these exposures are spoiling your image." Those seeking to demolish me are the RSS, and those affected by my campaign, namely V.P. Singh, Hegde, Arun Shourie, Nusli Wadia... This is a mafia of vested interests. I cannot be bridled.

Q. Strangely, most Congressmen fall silent when your name is mentioned. It's as if they have orders to clam up. What does that indicate?

A. Ask the Congress(I). I can tell you that Rajiv Gandhi has not assisted me, nor by order has the Government. But they cannot refuse me a meeting with officers.

Q. One of your recent interviews brings you out as a person motivated by personal vendetta. You said Vajpayee did you dirty so you fixed him, Hegde did you dirty so you fixed him. Whoever has got on your wrong side you have gone after them.

A. I have gone after whoever has tried to do me in. And I will. When Vajpayee was the Janata foreign minister I asked him why he was obstructing my trip to China. Vajpayee told me he would rub me out, finish my political career. In 1980, when I did not join the BJP, top RSS people said I too would disappear from politics.

Q. So, is the RSS too on your hit list?

A. The RSS is an anti-national organisation. The quicker it is disintegrated, the better for India. I have also made it clear to the RSS that I will go after it some day, when I am equipped.

Q. But you have been focussing your attack on individuals rather than on organisations like the RSS.

A. Everything has its proper time. Today the RSS and the BJP are thoroughly marginalised. I don't rate them very highly.

Q. Are you not marginalising what could become the national alternative. A one-man wrecking crew destroying the alternative from within?

A. This is not an alternative, only a duplicate Congress(I).

Q. You used to joke and laugh with Sanjay Gandhi in 1980. Do you have the same vibes with Rajiv?

A. Sanjay admired me for my guts. We got along very well. In the case of Rajiv, I will be frank, I find the vibes right. I can't not like him. I will not deny I find his company pleasant. He is very, very well behaved with me. I have met him in his office five times in the last year, in connection with China.

> **"When the Congress(I) cracks up, V.P. Singh will ditch us and end up as leader of the Congress(I)."**

Q. Did you ever discuss V.P. Singh?

A. At a dinner for the Maldives President he said he had heard V.P. Singh would not stand from Allahabad. I said after I am through with him he won't be standing anywhere.

Q. So you gave advance notice of your intentions.

A. It was a joke. I will be very civil with him even when I find him guilty of Bofors. But he is incompetent. I cannot join him for one more reason: the people around him will create misunderstandings between him and me in five minutes.

Q. It is said you will never be a follower if you cannot be a leader.

A. I brought about the Lok Dal(A)-Janata merger. I made Ajit Singh the president of the Janata Party. Ask Chandra Shekhar. I first floated the idea of the Janata Dal. I originally thought V.P. Singh is with Arun Nehru and V.C. Shukla because he does not have a party and that he would sever ties with them once he got a party. But I found he is no different. So I changed my mind.

Q. What do you have against V.P. Singh?

A. It is my theory that the fight which began between the *Indian Express* and Dhirubhai Ambani escalated when Arun Shourie, Nusli Wadia and Gurumurthy came to the conclusion that they could not destroy Ambani because Rajiv was giving him protection. Therefore they decided to remove Rajiv Gandhi. For that they decided to build dossiers which may come in handy later. They decided to project V.P. Singh as the alternate prime minister, and probably had a target date by which to split the Congress or make V.P. Singh challenge Rajiv. So they wanted to build dossiers. The problem was that Hershman wanted an official letter. That is when Bhure Lal and V.P. Singh came into the picture. This was an extra-governmental inquiry in which V.P. Singh collaborated. The funding was not from the Ministry of Finance but from a private source, I suspect it was Nusli Wadia.

Q. How friendly are you with Dhirubhai Ambani?

A. I know him just as I know almost all Bombay industrialists. I wouldn't call it close. I know Nusli Wadia even better.

Q. Are you not getting embroiled in the Nusli Wadia-Dhirubhai Ambani quarrel?

A. That's the charge being made. If anyone gives me money they will never get anything out of me for it. As a good Brahmin I will think that money is being given to me as *dakshina*.

Q. You will accept that money?

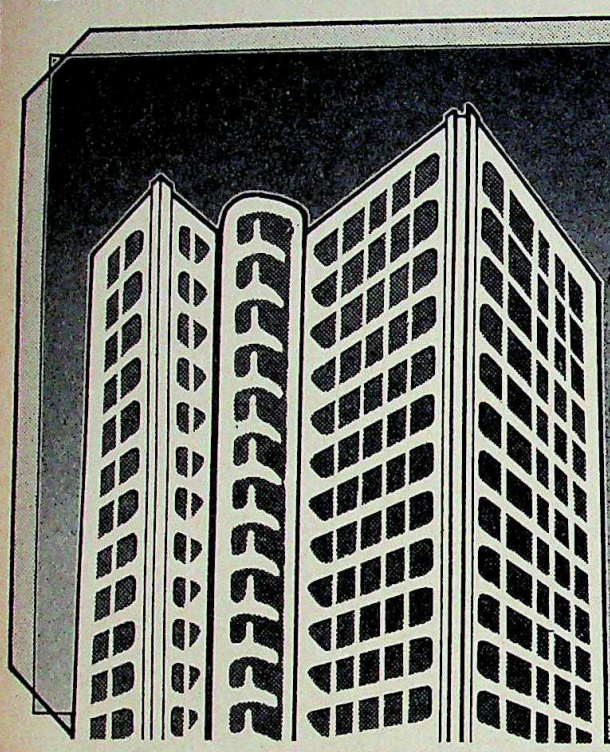
A. I will accept money from anybody as long as it is Indian. As a good Brahmin it is my right to accept money. When I ask a businessman to give me money I speak as if I am demanding it. I collect money for the party. I have collected money for the Lok Dal(A), for the Janata Party elections and there is no secret about it. But my personal life has not been aggrandised by it.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

You have every right to deserve the best....

G.D.A. Presents Multistoreyed Flats in



VAISHALI

APARTMENTS

under easy instalments facility

Registration Open from 1.2.89 to 15.3.89

Repayment in 15 years

DETAILS OF APARTMENTS

Sl. No.	Details of Appartments	Covered Area sq. mts.	Cost of Apart.	Registration Amount + Fee Rs. 10.00
Deluxe Type 'A'	Drawing/Dining Room, 2 Bedroom attached with Toilet, Guestroom with Toilet, Lounge, Kitchen, Store & Balcony	100	4.67 lacs	4,67,10.00
Deluxe Type 'B'	Drawing/Dining room, One Bedroom, Kitchen, Bath, Toilet & Balcony	68.68	2.47 Lacs	2,47,10.00
Deluxe Type 'C'	One Room, Bath, Toilet Kitchen & Balcony	33.61	1.41 Lacs	14,110.00

Project Financed by:-

PNB HOUSING FINANCE (P) LTD.

(A wholly owned subsidiary of Punjab National Bank)

Registration Booklet can be had from following branches of Vijaya Bank, 84, Navyug Market, Ghaziabad on payment of Rs. 25/- (Rs. Twenty Five) & also can be obtained by Money Order of Rs. 35/- (Rs. Thirty Five).

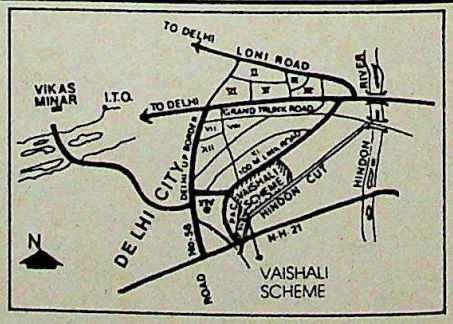
VIJAYA BANK

Navyug Market, Ghaziabad **Delhi :** Gopinath Bazar, Delhi Cantt • Chandni Chowk, • Regal Building, Connaught Circus, New Delhi • D.D.A. Shopping Complex, Defence Colony, New Delhi • Hauzkhas Market, Hauz Khas, • Bhagat Singh Marg, Khureji Khas, • Sangam Theatre Building, Sector-9, R.K. Puram, New Delhi **Calcutta :** N.S. Road, **Bombay :** Cuffe Parade, Colaba, **Bangalore :** K.G. Road, Hari Ram Complex, **Madras :** Moore Street, **Lucknow :** Mayfair Building, Hazratganj, **Kanpur :** Heera Sons House, Halsey Road, **Allahabad :** Sumer Chand Jain Market, Khoyamandi Chowk, **Chandigarh :** Jeevan Prakash Building, L.I.C. of India, Sector-17, D, **Amritsar :** Dharam Singh Market, Golden Temple Road, **Ludhiana :** Near Clock Tower, G.T. Road.

Attractions :

- At door step of developed area of Delhi City.
- Twenty four hour Water & Electric Supply
- Provision of Telephone, Geyser, Multi channel Antenna, Double lifts
- Facilities of School, Club, Community Centre & Parking.
- No Income limit

For Army Personnel Posted in Remote Areas and Non-Resident Indians the last date of Registration is 31st March, 1989



KRITI

Anil Kumar Sharma
Secretary

Prabhu Nath Misra
Vice-Chairman

Ghaziabad Development Authority

Vikas path, Ghaziabad, Uttar Pradesh

A beautiful City—our commitment

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NOT ONLY VIMAL

THE Government's decision to reject three proposals of Reliance Industries Ltd (RIL)—for manufacturing sponge iron, vinyl acetate monomer and alpha olefins—under the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act, has been touted as evidence that the powers-that-be do not always bend backwards to please the Ambanis. RIL sources, however, claim they are confident of obtaining licences for the projects, involving an investment of Rs 1,000 crore.

The company, however, appears reconciled to having lost the race for the Rs 850-crore aromatics complex at Saleempur, Uttar Pradesh, to J.K. Synthetics. The Singhania group flagship has received clearances for the project from the Government's Projects Approval Board and under the MRTP Act—the final approval from the Cabinet is expected soon. Reliance Aromatics, was registered late last year in the hope of Saleempur coming into the group's fold. But the Government decided against it, since that would have given them a monopoly on the purified terephthalic acid (PTA) market. But the Ambanis are not letting the grass grow under their feet—a proposal for a Rs 800-crore export oriented project producing paraxylene and PTA (along the lines of a similar proposal of the R.P. Goenka group) was submitted last month.

SOPS FOR TEA

ONCE bitten, twice not shy. Two years ago Tata Tea had picked up an American marketing company called Tritea to sell instant tea. The product flopped, with American consumers preferring less expensive tea from Argentina. The Indian company is now going ahead with plans to launch a new down-market instant tea named QB—for quick brew—in the hope of weaning the Yanks away from Argentinian tea. The Government has agreed to grant cash compensatory support of 12 per cent to Tata Tea under a scheme to encourage exports of branded tea. Close on the heels of QB, another tea brand, Al Majlis, is going to be marketed in Saudi Arabia, this time by Brooke Bond. It hopes to compete with Rabea, the Sri Lankan brand which is popular in the middle eastern country. A large order has also come in from Iran. The constraint in stepping up exports of cheaper varieties of tea from India is the high domestic demand. Thus, the Commerce Ministry has to provide sops to established companies like Tata Tea, Brooke Bond, Lipton and Duncans to keep the flow of hard currency from abating.

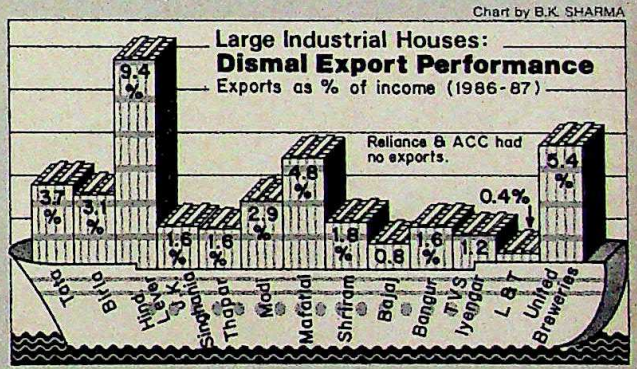
TOOTHPASTE SKIRMISH

WITH Colgate-Palmolive's new plant at Aurangabad, Maharashtra, coming on stream in end-February, the toothpaste market is in for a fresh round of competition. This is the first major capital investment undertaken by the US multinational in India in 30 years. Though company officials refuse to divulge the amount invested, it is believed to be Rs 10 crore to Rs 15 crore. Unable to officially expand capacity since toothpaste is reserved for the small sector, Colgate in recent years has sub-contracted a substantial proportion of its output. Another constraint is the demand for higher rentals by the Bombay Port Trust which owns the land on which Colgate's Sewri plant is situated. What is more, new brands are threatening to erode Colgate's 50 per cent share of the Rs 250-crore toothpaste market. To browbeat competition, the company has launched a case alleging that the packaging of the Balsara group's Babool brand has been copied from Colgate. This is not the first time Colgate has done so. But that should not deter the detergent giant, Nirma, which is set to launch its toothpaste brand for which test-marketing has commenced. The more the merrier? Colgate obviously thinks otherwise.

EXPORT PRESCRIPTION

THE figures put out by the Commerce Ministry on the export performance of large business houses have come as a shock. Just about every corporate bigwig seems to have fared poorly. On prescriptions about how big industrial groups can step up exports, both bureaucrats and businessmen are sharply divided. Last fortnight, one tycoon suggested the Government use punitive measures—including withholding of licences—against groups which failed to meet their export obligations. The suggestion angered other businessmen, who felt more incentives were needed for exports. Which works? The carrot or the stick?

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



DISAPPEARING NOTES

ON January 16, 1978, the Janata Government demonetised currency notes of Rs 1,000 denomination. Now, 11 years later, the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) informs us that of the Rs 145 crore high-denomination notes in circulation in 1978, only Rs 120-crore worth of notes were exchanged into lower-denomination currency till March last year. The RBI report does not explain what happened to the rest of the Rs 1,000 notes valued at Rs 25 crore? Presumably, black-marketeers sat on the now-worthless notes. Worse, a recent stock verification exercise conducted by the customs and central excise authorities in Delhi reveals that at least 52 Rs 1,000 notes confiscated by the department in December 1987 had not been exchanged for lower denomination notes within the stipulated period—an example of a scheme to unearth black money resulting in a loss for the exchequer.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BUDGET

Low-key Lobbying

Businessmen's expectations are muted as government stresses development

IT'S peak season. Come February and all roads to North Block are jammed. Sundry industry associations prepare lengthy memoranda seeking sops from the finance minister. Businessmen ask for the sun, but hope to get a 10-watt bulb. And the normally affable officials in the Finance Ministry play hard to get.

So what's new about this year's pre-budget lobbying? The long shadow of the general elections to come. "Most industrialists realise that with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi fighting for political survival with his back to the wall, the coming budget cannot be perceived to be providing more concessions for business," says a prominent corporate captain. So, lobbying on the whole has been rather low-key.

This time round the accent is less on incentives for industry and more on 'development' which, in effect, means the populist measures outlined in the November resolution of the All India Congress(I) Committee(AICC-I) (INDIA TODAY, November 30, 1988). Despite the sharp jump in agricultural production (15 to 20 per cent over last year) and industrial output (8 per cent plus), the runaway rise in revenue deficit, the ballooning bill on interest and subsidies, the precarious foreign exchange reserves and the growing demands of the defence services have become worrisome even to the most ardent apologists of the ruling party.

This means that the Government has to give the impression that it is willing to tackle basic structural problems. The inevitable consequence of adopting such a stance will be a slowing down of the liberalisation process. Private industry sources acknowledge that this is likely to happen and does not anticipate substantial incentives. It is not that Indian business has got rid of its Oliver Twist habit of asking for more. But for the time being they are prepared to be satisfied with a few crumbs. In fact, most businessmen want Rajiv to remain in power, and are devising ways to bolster his sagging image.

Thus, late last month, Raunaq Singh, vice-president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), wrote to the prime minister seeking his "blessings and support" for a project to enable the "business community to join hands with the Government". Similar letters were dashed off to Finance Minister S.B. Chavan and Energy Minister Vasant Sathe. Singh believes that over 3,000 medium and large houses in the private sector will respond to his appeal through the forum of FICCI and support the project for adoption of backward villages by companies, provision of uniforms and mid-day meals to schoolchildren and distribution of saris to destitute women. Says he: "If businessmen blow up money on weddings and parties, why can't they spend a little on development."

"If businessmen blow up so much money on weddings and parties, why can't they spend a little on development."

RAUNAQ SINGH
vice-president, FICCI

"Import duties should be raised by 5 per cent across-the-board and taxes on cigarettes increased substantially."

RAMA PRASAD GOENKA
industrialist

This is perhaps the first time that an apex association representing big business has been so blatantly used to promote the interests of politicians in power. A few days after Singh sent his missives to the ministers, FICCI called a press conference on the "role of business houses in the implementation of AICC(I) resolutions on economic and social matters". During the conference, Singh claimed the reference to the AICC(I) in the invitations sent to journalists was inadvertent and that the real purpose of calling the press was to talk about the project to help the business sector fulfil its social responsibilities. Singh's pronouncements have evoked criticism even from his corporate friends who have questioned the timing of his plea for support.

Another unusual development this year was that a high-profile businessman argued in favour of higher taxes. Said Calcutta-based industrialist Rama Prasad Goenka: "The Government has to raise additional resources. My suggestions are import duties should be raised by 5 per cent across-the-board and taxes on cigarettes be increased substantially. These two steps will fetch the exchequer more than Rs 2,000 crore." His reasoning is that while it is all very well to talk of cutting government expenditure, "the fact is that official spending, even if unproductive, cannot be pruned overnight".

While Goenka openly sought higher taxes, other businessmen were more diplomatic. "No comment," said Anil Ambani of Reliance Industries when asked what he thought the budget would be like. However, the general response by industrialists has made one thing clear—they are not expecting much from the budget. In fact, many apprehend a sharp rise in taxes to cover the growing gap between government expenditure and revenue collections. The industry associations are also acutely conscious of the ongoing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

resource crunch. So, though they have drawn up long lists of grievances, they are aware only those suggestions which will not result in a revenue loss for the Government are likely to be accepted.

Says F.C. Rustagi, president, J.K. Synthetics and leading light of the Association of Synthetic Fibre Industry: "We expect the Government to initiate measures to revive our industry which has been crippled on account of the more than 70 per cent rise in prices of purified terephthalic acid (PTA) and di-methyl terephthalate (DMT) over the last year." He argues that by reducing import duties on paraxylene (the raw material for PTA and DMT), while imposing excise duty on the locally produced material, the Government can enhance revenue collections.

RUSTAGI also thinks the Government will concede the industry's long-standing demand for reduction in taxes on particular petrochemical products. Excise on caprolactam and import duties on mono-ethyl glycol, according to him, can be brought down without reducing tax collections since the prices of such items have zoomed in recent months.

What is interesting is that two industry associations which have been perennially at loggerheads with each other—the Indian Cotton Mills' Federation and the Association of Polyester Staple Fibre Manufacturers—have decided to sink their differences and present a joint pre-budget memorandum to the Government. R. Seshasayee, who represents the second association, has calculated that acceptance of the joint proposals will boost revenue by Rs 36 crore from the Rs 523-crore that is likely to be obtained this year by way of imposts on polyester staple fibre, blended yarn and mixed fabrics. Says D.H. Pai Panandiker, secretary-general of FICCI, sardonically: "The textile industry has got tired of pleading with the Government for a more rational tax structure—the industry is today on the scaffold and will soon be hanged by high taxes unless the Government does something."

As far as taxes on capital goods go, there is currently a tussle on with the commerce and industry ministries arguing in favour of customs duty reduction on project imports and the Finance Ministry and the Confederation of Engineering Industry (CEI) opposing the move. Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh recently hinted there was a case for reducing import duties on certain categories of capital goods whose prices had skyrocketed on account of the devaluation of the rupee. On the other hand, CEI sources say if project imports are allowed indiscriminately it may hurt the interests of well-established domestic manufacturers of machinery and capital equipment.

"We expect measures that will revive our industry which has been crippled by price rise of raw materials."

F.C. RUSTAGI
president,
J.K. Synthetics

"We must still emphasise import substitution and be very careful so as to avoid repetitive imports."

EDUARDO FALEIRO
minister of state for finance

On one point, there is complete unanimity: the Government will give more incentives to export-oriented industries and streamline procedures for export. "I expect the shipping industry to be accorded export status in this budget," says Vasant Sheth, chairman of Great Eastern Shipping. He adds that the shipping industry has made several representations to the Finance Ministry in this regard and that North Block seems to have appreciated the industry's point of view.

Also optimistic is Y.K. Modi, president of the Alkalies Manufacturers' Association of India, who expects the Government to respond favourably to representations made by the association over the last eight months. Last year, for the first time, the country exported caustic soda, and Modi argues that if the industry receives cash compensatory support, exports can go up to Rs 50 crore next year.

Certainly, exports must improve if the country is to increase its hard currency earnings in view of the deteriorating balance-of-payments situation, which is expected to worsen next year. Says a Finance Ministry official: "World oil prices are showing signs of firming up and it is apprehended that India's crude import bill may go up from Rs 4,500 crore this year to over Rs 6,000 crore in 1989-90. This will further strain our already-strained foreign exchange reserves."

The Government is also arguing that certain kinds of imports need to be curtailed. "We must still emphasise import substitution and be very careful so as to avoid repetitive imports," remarks Eduardo Faleiro, minister of state for finance. One case where imports are said to have been repetitive is the one pertaining to the light commercial vehicles (LCV) industry. In the recent past four LCV manufacturers with Japanese collaboration have found themselves priced out of the market on account of the sharp appreciation in the value of the yen—100 yen, which was worth Rs 7 in March 1986, today exchanges for Rs 12. The companies have now roped in their foreign associates to lobby with the Government for lowering taxes.

While the LCV manufacturers may succeed in their efforts, other industries are expecting higher taxes in the budget. The cigarette industry is, of course, the favourite whipping-boy. As in the case of cigarettes a substantial chunk of excise collection comes from tyres. While the Automotive Tyre Manufacturers Association has sought lowering of excise duties, a member of the association admitted in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

private that he is expecting a hefty dose of fresh taxes to be slapped on to tyres.

M.S. Patwardhan, vice-chairman of the National Organic Chemical Industries, is of the view that industry segments with idle capacity should be granted tax reliefs in the interests of higher production. Stock-market observers, among the more avid budget watchers, expect measures to boost the capital market. But the Government has to ensure that public sector undertakings are able to compete with private companies in tapping resources from the market. While the going is good, companies have scrambled to raise funds from the capital market before the budget—there were at least 70 new issues in January and February.

MORE than four-fifths of the Government's tax collections come from indirect taxes (customs and excise duties) and there is little likelihood that the share of direct taxes (personal and corporate) will go up, as was envisaged in the long-term fiscal policy. In fact, if the expectations of income tax reliefs for fixed income earners materialise, the proportion of direct taxes may decrease further. Even associations representing large companies are today arguing in favour of widening the direct tax net. The pre-budget memorandum of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India urged the Government to identify "individuals, traders, shopkeepers, small commercial establishments and professionals who have ... somehow managed to escape tax liabilities."

While the 5-per cent surcharge on income tax is expected to be withdrawn this year, many fear that the "drought" surcharge may come back in some other form. Many economists expect the budget deficit this year to go up by around Rs 1,000 crore (from the estimated level of Rs 7,500 crore), but industrialists like Goenka say that this may not take place. What is certain, however, is that the revenue deficit of Rs 9,800 crore will go up considerably. Critics of the Government feel the increase could be as high as Rs 2,000 crore. And that is precisely the extent to which the Government can indulge in window-dressing—"by deferring payments and juggling expenditure from one head to another," says a government planner.

But all the prettying of books of account will not make the resource crunch disappear. For S.B. Chavan has no magic wand.

—PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA
with bureau reports

COMPUTERS

Sick Machines

Chip virus in Bangalore

IT'S here, pretty much on the heels of the AIDS virus. Last month, the dreaded computer virus, already a software scourge in the US, surfaced in two computer schools in Bangalore. The virus was brought under control within two weeks. But by then it had infected close to a thousand software diskettes in the schools, and may well have leaked out and be lurking elsewhere.

The non-biological computer 'virus' is actually a software programme, which like its biological counterpart can multiply rapidly. Once it enters a computer through an infected diskette, it lies dormant, then takes control of the system. When an uninfected piece of software is used in the affected computer the virus passes on to the new programme.

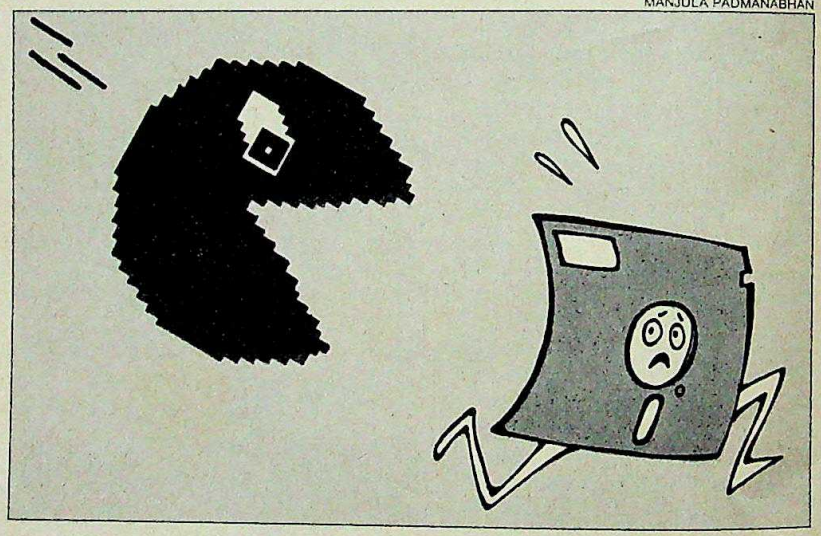
The programme, called C-Brain, was devised by two Pakistani brothers, Amjad Farooq Alvi, 26, and Basit Farooq Alvi, 19. They apparently created the virus when they found that original programmes they had designed were being bootlegged. They let loose C-Brain into some widely used programmes to teach the pirates a lesson.

The virus can erase, distort and garble data stored in floppy discs. It plants itself near sector zero, the disc's innermost circle, and after a particular number of operations, begins to destroy the existing contents. For instance, it can destroy a floppy containing details of thousands of bank accounts. Even in India's limited computer network, the list of possible victims is frightening: airlines, railways, the defence sector, and space organisations.

The virus showed up first in Bangalore's Brilliant Computer School in early January when students found volume labels—the identification tag of a disc that shows on the screen—being replaced by a label calling itself C-Brain. When students using the infected floppy diskettes, scanned the sector zero they were greeted with the bizarre message: "Welcome to the dungeon (C) 1986 Brain and Amjads (Pvt) Ltd virus shoe record. Dedicated to the dynamic memories of millions of virus who are no longer with us today—thank goodness. (HNV) beware of the virus."

Brilliant's management soon scrambled to check the spread of the virus, isolating nearly a thousand infected diskettes. Meanwhile, the virus found its way to the nearby Apple Computer School. Says Chitra Parthasarathy, resident manager of Brilliant: "We are sure the virus came through a floppy brought from abroad by a student."

MANJULA PADMANABHAN



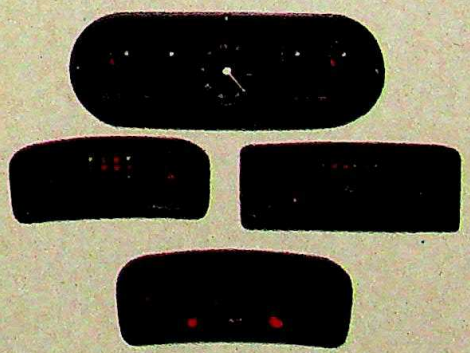
The schools now claim to have eliminated the virus by working out an antidote programme and "vaccinating" the infected copies. The Apple Computer School obtained the antidote—Killbrain—from their Bombay office, while Brilliant commissioned a Bangalore software programmer to work out an antidote. But the virus may have survived through an outgoing floppy. In any case, there is no common antidote for all computer viruses—programmes have to be formulated for each strain. With several strains already having infected networks in the US, Indian users will have to keep their fingers crossed till the next one appears. Meanwhile, the only thing to do is to use original and scanned disks. —CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

International Instruments Limited, better known as YENKAY, pioneered automotive instrumentation in India three decades ago. And now, more than ever before, YENKAY looks forward to the future with determination and enthusiasm. Based on its strong financial and technological association with VDO Adolf Schindling AG of West Germany, a world renowned manufacturer of instruments for air, sea and land borne vehicles. YENKAY also has collaborations with leading Japanese manufacturers like Nippon Seiki for two-wheeler instruments and Honda Lock, Mitsuba and Toyo Denso for automotive switches.

YENKAY. Taking off on a confident flight into the future. Under a dynamic new management team.



R K SWAMY/HIL/JB 15

YENKAY
Precisely!

YENKAY

International Instruments Limited 140, Hosur Road, Bangalore – 560 034.

For genuine YENKAY Instruments and Cables, contact the nearest authorised YENKAY stockists, or dealers of Premier Auto Electric Co., Jullundur Motor Agency and Howrah Motor Company

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ntroducing

THE CERA BATHSUITE

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

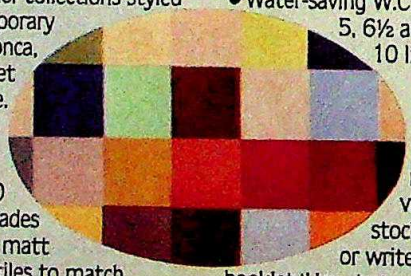
The Capri Collection

ecause the way you live today akes yesterday's bathroom outdated

The Cera BathSuite is a new perience, as exclusive and lividual as you are. It allows you express yourself in ways you ver thought of before. And it ds itself to new ways of signing your bathspace — large small.

Take a look at the features that l help you get the best from ra.

- Four designer collections styled for contemporary living — Conca, Capri, Cornet and Crowne.
- The largest colour range — 30 stunning shades in glossy or matt finish with tiles to match.



- Water-saving W.C. cisterns — 5, 6½ and the usual 10 litres.

To see what the Cera BathSuite can mean to you, visit any of our stockists' showrooms, or write to us for our free booklet, 'How to transform yesterday's bathroom into a Cera BathSuite' — it's almost as good as being there.

You'll never want to enter yesterday's bathroom again.

e Conca Collection

The Crowne Collection — Water saving W.C. cisterns available in 5 and 6½ litres.

CERA®

Madhusudan Ceramics

(A division of Madhusudan Industries Ltd.)

E-15, N.D.S.E.-II New Delhi-110 049

FREE!

Please send me a copy of the booklet 'How to transform yesterday's bathroom into a Cera BathSuite'.

Name_____

Address_____

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHARAT ELECTRONICS

GIVING THE AIR FORCE A FLYING START IN ANY EVENTUALITY.

The defence of India's vast air space calls for preparedness of the highest order. That's what Bharat Electronics has been helping the Air Force to achieve.

The sentinels of the skies rely upon our 3-D radars, low-level detection radars, Identification of Friend or Foe (IFF) systems and advanced troposcatter communication links.

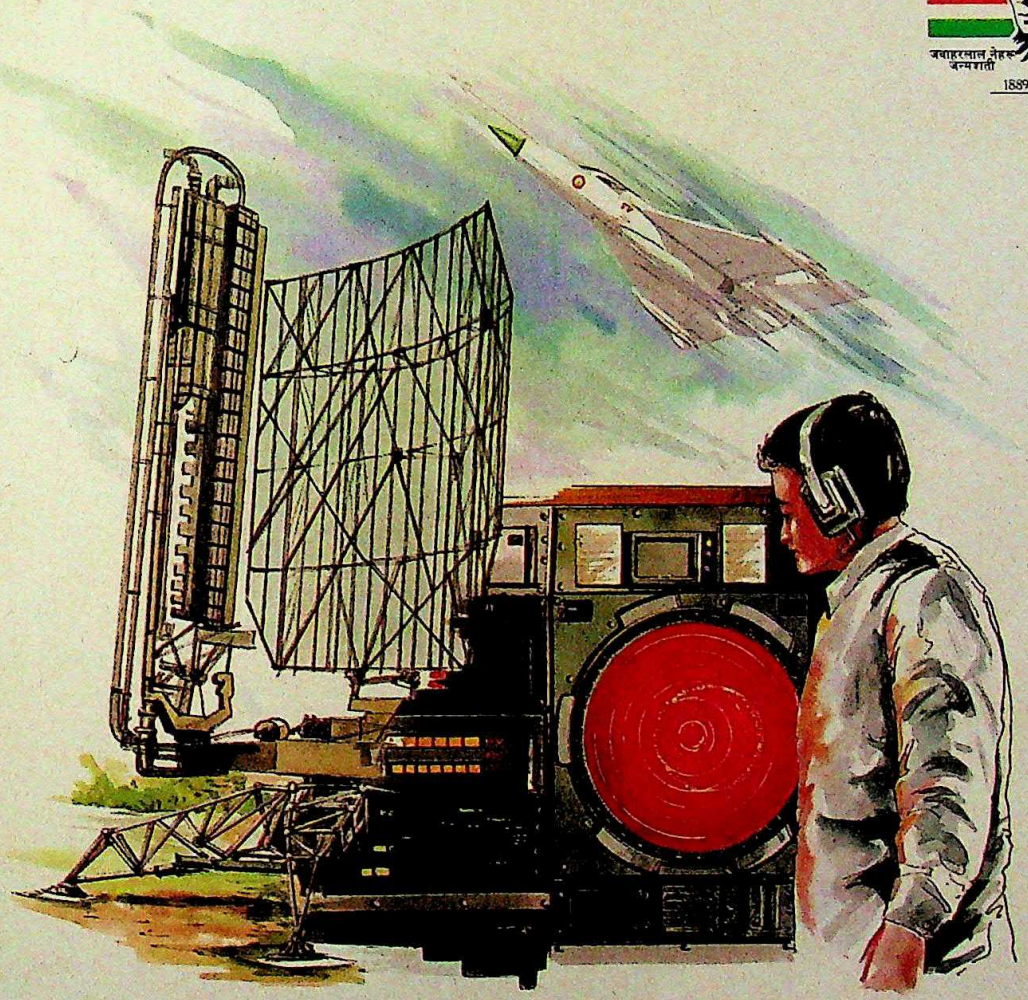
We also supply a range of other state-of-the-art equipment. Like HF transmitters and receivers for long-distance communication. VHF and UHF ground-to-air communication sets. And MF beacons for accurate navigation.

That's hi-tech electronics in action. Helping to maintain a 'safety zone' high above our peace-loving nation.

Bharat Electronics: A many-sided role

We've had a big hand in Doordarshan's successful campaign to extend TV coverage to more than 70% of India's population. Our equipment for All India Radio enable the many voices of India to be heard far and wide. Our meteorological radars prevent you from being taken by storm. We are also actively involved in law enforcement, forest and wildlife conservation, medicare, telecommunications, India's space programme and the radio and TV receiver manufacturing industries... to name just a few areas of our commitment to the country's well-being.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू जन्म शती
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU CENTENARY
1889 1989



R K SWAMY/BE/3852

Bharat Electronics Limited
(A Government of India Enterprise)
Registered Office: 'Trade Centre'
116/2, Race Course Road
Bangalore 560 001.

भारत इलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स
BHARAT ELECTRONICS

QUALITY, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kahgri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Living with a velvet touch

Luxurious living that's as smooth as velvet.
Rooms lined with velvet. Lined with the luxury of Velvet Touch, the unique wall finish that glows with the lustre and delicate sheen of the perfect pearl. In 23 elegant shades plus 6 soft whites with just a hint of colour to give you the perfect finishing touch that your lifestyle demands. The Velvet Touch!

ICI Dulux

Velvet Touch

For those who have everything, something more.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

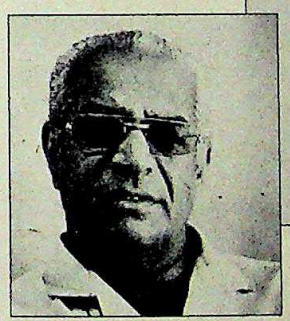
GAMMON INDIA

The Last Lap

Race for control nears end

GAMMON House in central Bombay is like a fortress under siege. Visitors are carefully screened. On the fifth floor, Gammon India Managing Director T.N. Subba Rao, Chairman James Bates and a battalion of senior executives are working round the clock, answering court notices, dashing off letters to the authorities in New Delhi and coping with the press. The battle to stave off the takeover bid by the Chhabria brothers is on and the management of the Rs 103-crore construction company is throwing in everything it has.

A few kilometres away at Chandermukhi, the Chhabria office at Nariman Point, the atmosphere is tense. Manu Chhabria as usual is making whistle-stop tours around the globe. Brother Kishore and a battery of lawyers look for soft spots in Gammon's defence. Says a senior executive. "It's like a hunting expedition for the Chhabrias."



(Clockwise from below) annual returns of Midest Holdings, Rao, Chhabria

List of Past and Present Members (Notes 3 and 4) *Annual return of*.....

Names and addresses (including, in the case of a Chinese member, his name in Chinese characters if these are contained in the register of members) and occupations or descriptions			Number of shares or amount of stock held by existing members at date of return (Notes 3 and 4)
Gabarao Investments S A	8th Floor, Wheelock House, 20 Pedder Street, Hong Kong.	Corporation	895
LBI (Guernsey) Nominees Limited	P.O. Box 136, La Tour Gand House, Pollet, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, Channel Island.	- do -	50
Gammon (Holdings) Limited	104 York Street, London W1H 1DR, UK.	- do -	30
			975

Gammon India's day of reckoning has been set for March 3—when the twice-postponed annual general meeting (AGM) of the company is scheduled to be held under orders from the Supreme Court. The court has nominated Y.V. Chandrachud, former chief justice, as independent chairman for the meeting.

The battle for Gammon has been entangled in a maze of litigation. The AGM was originally slated for January 3. The Chhabrias managed to get an injunction and it was postponed to January 31. Around the same time, several complaints were lodged against Rao. Swamped with court orders the Gammon management then approached the Supreme Court. In a landmark judgement the court ordered the meeting to be held on March 3 under its supervision. It also ruled that the block of shares acquired by Chhabria (which the Gammon management had refused to transfer) would be eligible for voting. The Chhabria camp feels the verdict was a victory for them. But Rao says: "The court has taken a neutral position. A court-supervised meeting was our proposal." Rao estimates that the court will take a fortnight to sift through the votes before deciding who will gain control of Gammon.

Armed with the list of shareholders, both sides have launched a major campaign to garner support. Unsuspecting shareholders are being swamped with telephone calls and requests for a signature on the proxy form. The Chhabrias and Rao appear evenly matched. At last count, Rao and his associates had marshalled a 23-per cent equity stake in Gammon (Chairman Bates claims the figure is 38 per cent).

The Chhabria holding is equally formidable. The brothers acquired Andrew Gammon's 12.5 per cent holding and picked up a further 11.7 per cent from the market. They are believed to have picked up even more from the market recently and the size of their holding in Gammon is placed at around 30 per cent today. With the two sides so closely matched, much will depend on the role played by the Unit Trust of India which has a 7 per cent holding. There may be other surprises too. Rumours making the rounds in Bombay have it that there is a "white knight" who wants to prevent the takeover bid. Most identify Dhirubhai Ambani as the "white knight". A Reliance spokesman, however, denied this. And Rao himself refuses to clarify. "We have several white knights," he says.

Meanwhile, Gammon has filed a petition with the Company Law Board seeking approval for its refusal to transfer Chhabria's shares. But while Rao has acted tough with the Chhabrias, he has himself received a couple of hard knocks. The Enforcement Directorate is examining a complaint that Rao has benami control over five UK-based investment companies. And it appears that this is merely the tip of the iceberg.

Last fortnight, documents sent to the revenue intelligence agencies by the Chhabrias indicate that Rao has an interest in an offshore company in Panama. The company—Gabarao Investments S.A.(the name is derived from Gammon, Bates and Rao)—owns 91 per cent of the equity in Midest Holdings Ltd, Hong Kong. In 1979 Midest Holdings and Gammon India floated a 50:50 venture in Sharjah called Gammon Midest Ltd. That company in turn floated another joint venture with Metco S.K. of Kuwait to execute a large housing project in Iraq. A consortium of banks (including the State Bank of India, Bank of Baroda, Indian Overseas Bank and United Commercial Bank) lent $ 18 million (about Rs 15 crore then) for the project. It was never executed because the Iran-Iraq war led to the cancellation of major civil construction projects. The documents, however, imply that funds were misused and eventually transferred to Gabarao Investments (in which Bates and Peter Gammon are directors).

Gammon Midest is now under liquidation. And Rao denies any involvement in Gabarao. "We were dealing with Midest Holdings. The ownership of that company does not concern me," says he. Nevertheless, curiosity persists about who the shareholders of Midest are. Rao merely says: "I believe the Gammon family has a stake."

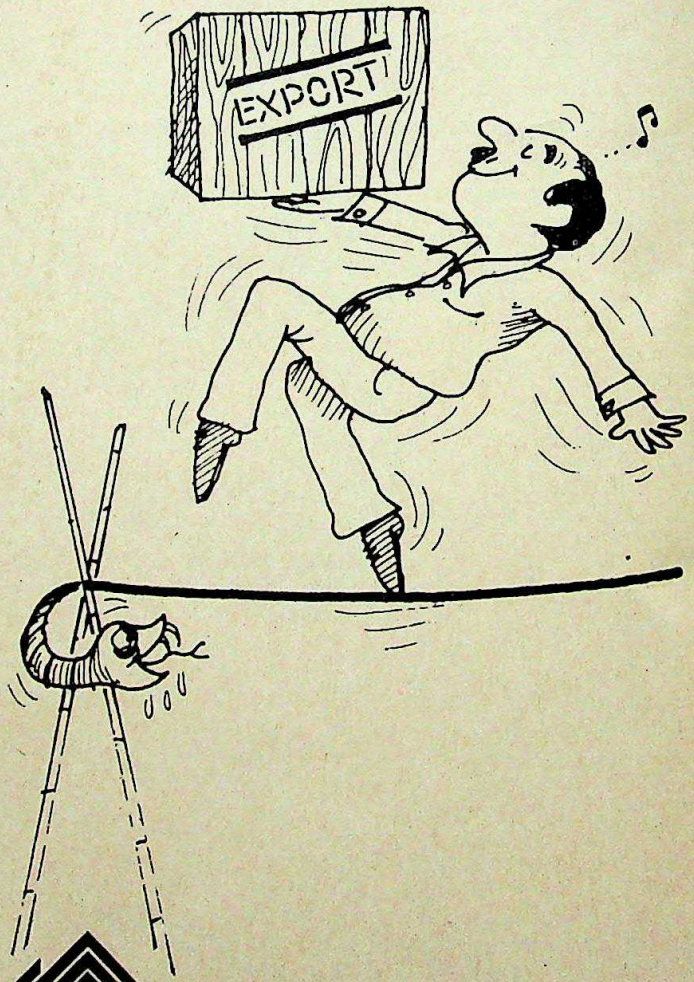
But despite the charges against him, Rao is unfazed. Fighting Manu Chhabria, the takeover king, is no joke but Rao is not about to give up easily. And if the "white knight" does extend his support, then Rao might just turn out to be the dark horse in the Gammon sweepstakes.

—S.N. VASUKI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Exporting for the first time?



There's nothing to beat the excitement of the first time. You are so full of hope when your shipment leaves port.

Perhaps this is the best time to safeguard against loss:

- Are you extending credit?
- Have you checked your buyer's credentials?
- What if your buyer is unable to pay due to financial problems or a crisis in his country?
- Are you protected against such losses?

You can start now.

The Export Credit Guarantee Corporation of India was set up to protect exporters like you.

ECGC offers policies and bank guarantees which cover your credit risks and can increase your trading capability.

Call, visit or write. ECGC is only a phone call away.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU CENTENARY 1889 1989

ईसीजीसी ECGC

RISK-FREE WITH ECGC

MULTIMEDIA AQUARIUS/ECGC/1/89

Regd. Office: Express Towers, 10th floor, P.O. Box 373, Nariman Point, Bombay-400 021.
Tel.: 2023023/3046/3196/3267/3321. Telex: 011-3231 ECGC IN. Cable: INDERIC
Regional and Branch offices: Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi, Madras, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Bhubaneswar, Cochin, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Kanpur, Ludhiana, Moradabad, Pune, Srinagar, Varanasi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHOCOLATES

Rich Taste

New varieties hit the market

IN the beginning was the bar. It was a boring looking slab, tasting yummy, but you couldn't tell whether it was dairy milk or crackle or fruit-and-nut, until you dug your teeth into it. Chocolates were something you grew out of after you crossed your teens.

But today, in cities like Bombay and Delhi, companies like British Airways, Air-India, Empire Leasing, and India Book House and businessmen like Vinod Doshi, Mafatlals and Garwares have replaced traditional mithais with speciality chocolates. At Foodland supermarket in Bombay, there is a special counter, where nearly half a dozen small manufacturers offer a bewildering variety of chocolates: marzipan, mint-and-marzipan, rock almond, orange crush and butterscotch. The Taj has an after-eight like mint, and stuffings like almonds, raisins and cashewnut. Their plans include tea-toffee and lemon curd-flavoured chocolates, and truffle with rum essence. Explains C.Y. Pal, chairman and managing director of Hindustan Cocoa, makers of industry-leader Cadbury's: "It was an opportunity area which had existed; now the volume possibilities have increased."

You find them placed tantalisingly at retail counters, at speciality shops, and in some cases, you can order these on the phone. The size of the market is small—few put it higher than Rs 5 crore—but it is growing at 15 to 20 per cent every year. In an industry which makes 10,000 tonnes of chocolate annually, presentation chocolates count for only 150 to 200 tonnes yearly. But with premium prices, the product commands a high profit margin.

The Taj Hotel chain entered the market last year with its Taj chocolates, sold at the six Taj cake shops in Bombay, at prices ranging from Rs 55 to Rs 220 a box. Cadbury's offered "Temptations" boxes (at Rs 45 and Rs 85) and has rejuvenated some of its old flavours in new packages, calling them "Classic". Says Vinita Bali, general manager (marketing), Hindustan Cocoa: "We had products with expensive ingredients, we have now positioned them under a common umbrella." The new presentation chocolates are fast replacing more traditional items as the ideal gift. More so, since they can be appreciated by the whole family.

Explains Sabira Merchant, theatre actress and television host, who launched her chocolates in late 1987 under the brand name "Giftique" at two retail outlets in Bombay: "Every time (traditionally) you receive flowers as gifts. We thought why not say it sweetly." With partner Rita Mulchandani, she tied up with a small manufacturer and approached corporations to modify their gift plans, seeking annual orders, promising to remember specific dates and delivering orders for a predetermined price. Taj approached the same segment and was overwhelmed with the response last year and had to refuse orders.

YASHBANT SINGH NEGI

(Clockwise from left) Taj Chocolates; Merlin; and Cadbury's: growing appeal in the market

Like Taj, Giftique offers a wide variety on special occasions with exclusive boxes, even including printing company logos, or at weddings, embossing the names of the bride and bridegroom. Mulchandani adds mischievously: "When the logo is printed on the box, you cannot re-gift it to someone else at Diwali time!" Giftique was surprised last year on Valentine's Day when they discovered that their limited edition heart-shaped boxes were sold out within an hour.

Explains Patanjali Keswani of Taj Air Caterers, which makes the Taj chocolates: "We offer a range that matches your budget for a gift: a bouquet, a mithai box, a dry fruit box." The significance of the product is not in its volume but in its image. An industry-watcher says: "The essential aspect is its exclusivity. You cannot gift the chocolate which is sold in ordinary shops to anyone except to a child. The product must be different."

Keswani concurs: "You first eat with your eyes." Taj seeks to score over other manufacturers by offering moulded and tempered chocolates, unlike the traditional home-made chocolates, which often have stuffings, like almond or cherry, dipped in chocolate and wrapped in silver foil. The Indian palate prefers softer chocolates, with more stuffing, enabling the manufacturer to make huge profits. This is because with the exception of almond rock and liqueurs, no stuffing is more expensive than cocoa itself.

None of the existing manufacturers would want to—or be able to—produce such chocolates on a mass base. Growth area in the industry can only come from courier-based, personalised delivery services. It requires short hauls; but the presentation market being seasonal, mass production is not possible. Exports, too, therefore, are ruled out. As one marketing expert says: "We don't know what the liquor laws will be." Adds Merchant: "Liqueur chocolates, unless consumed soon, could solidify. Then people don't like it. But liqueur-based essences are available."

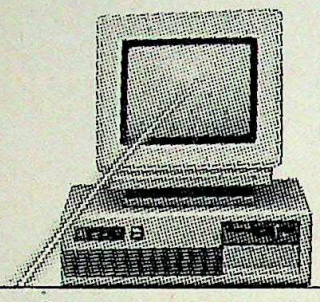
Speciality chocolates are not about to put the mithaiwallahs out of business. But they have certainly given the discerning something wonderful to chew and mull over.

—SALIL TRIPATHI

MULTIMEDIA AQUARIUS/ECGC/1/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



How to fax a document to New York a sales report to Ghaziabad or a drawing to Bangalore from your PC in Bombay.

Need a fax facility. Get it now

How many times have you been unable send urgent information to a foreign associate because he has a fax machine and you don't?

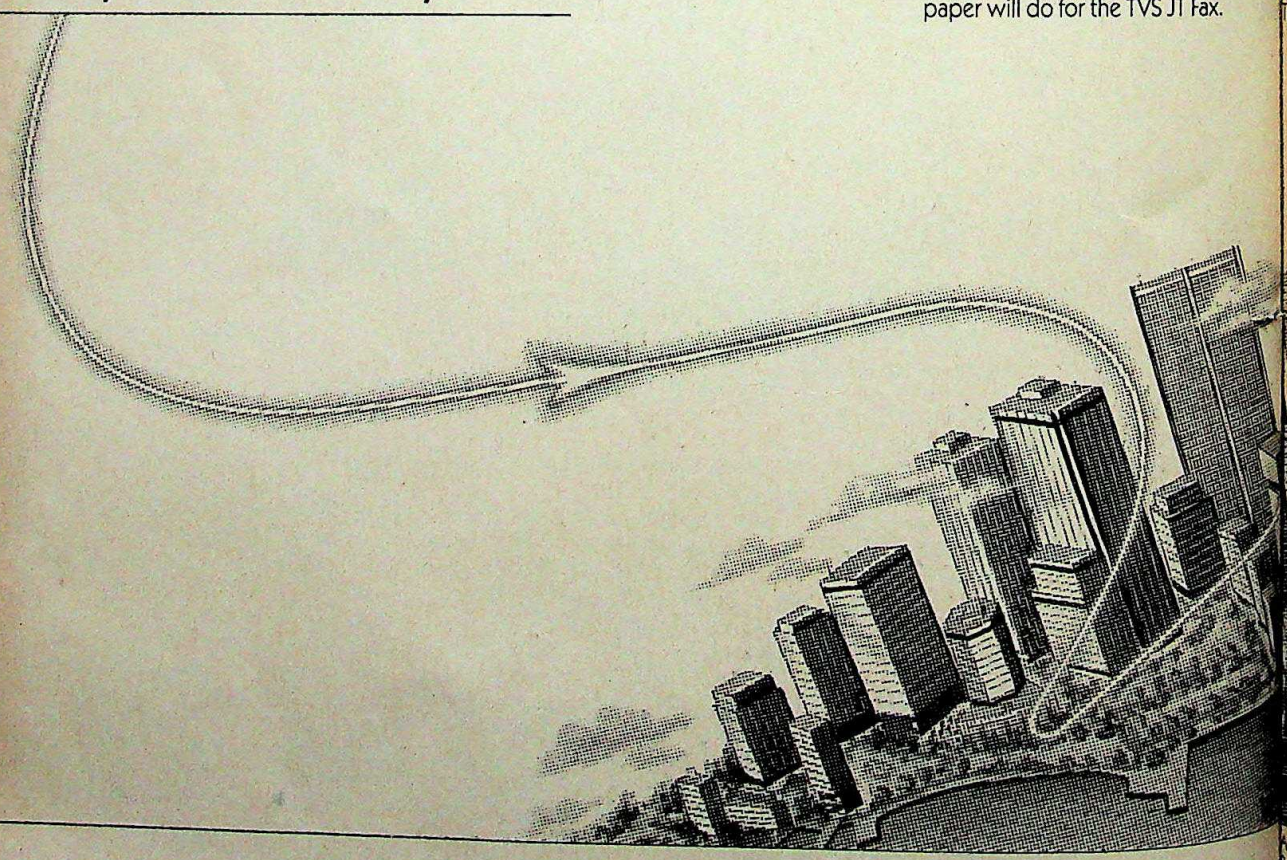
Now you can use your PC for the same. Through a small miracle called the TVS JT Fax.

It's a card which slips into your PC, turns it into a facsimile communication system which can communicate with G III fax machines all over the world. As well as PC s with similar cards.

You can send and receive letters and drawings at speeds upto 4800 bps.

A fax facility you can afford

Just Rs. 14,495/- * for the TVS JT Fax. Whereas you would have to spend over a lakh of rupees for a fax machine. And when it comes to running costs, the difference is enormous. The fax machine uses thermal paper, which costs as much as Rs. 3/- per sheet. Whereas ordinary paper will do for the TVS JT Fax.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

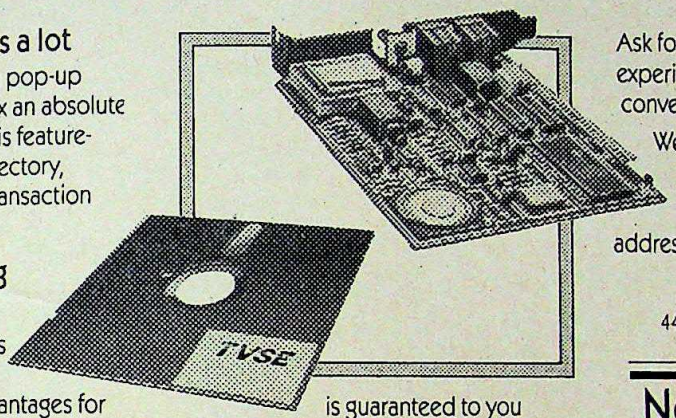
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TVSE
TVS ELECTRONICS

INTRODUCING

TVS JT FAX

It turns your PC into a powerful facsimile communication system.



Software which packs a lot

User friendly software with pop-up menus makes the TVS JT Fax an absolute pleasure to use. Besides, it is feature-packed, offering a large directory, automatic re-dialling and transaction log among other things.

Night-time scheduling

Another exciting feature...

You can schedule messages for night-time. To multiple locations. This has two advantages for you... lower rates for national transmissions... and uncrowded lines.

From TVSE — The complete computer peripherals company

The quality and reliability of this product is guaranteed to you because it's from TVSE.

Your call to action

When you consider how much you need a fax facility and how affordable the TVS JT Fax is, why delay?

Ask for a demonstration, so you can experience the speed, economy and convenience for yourself.

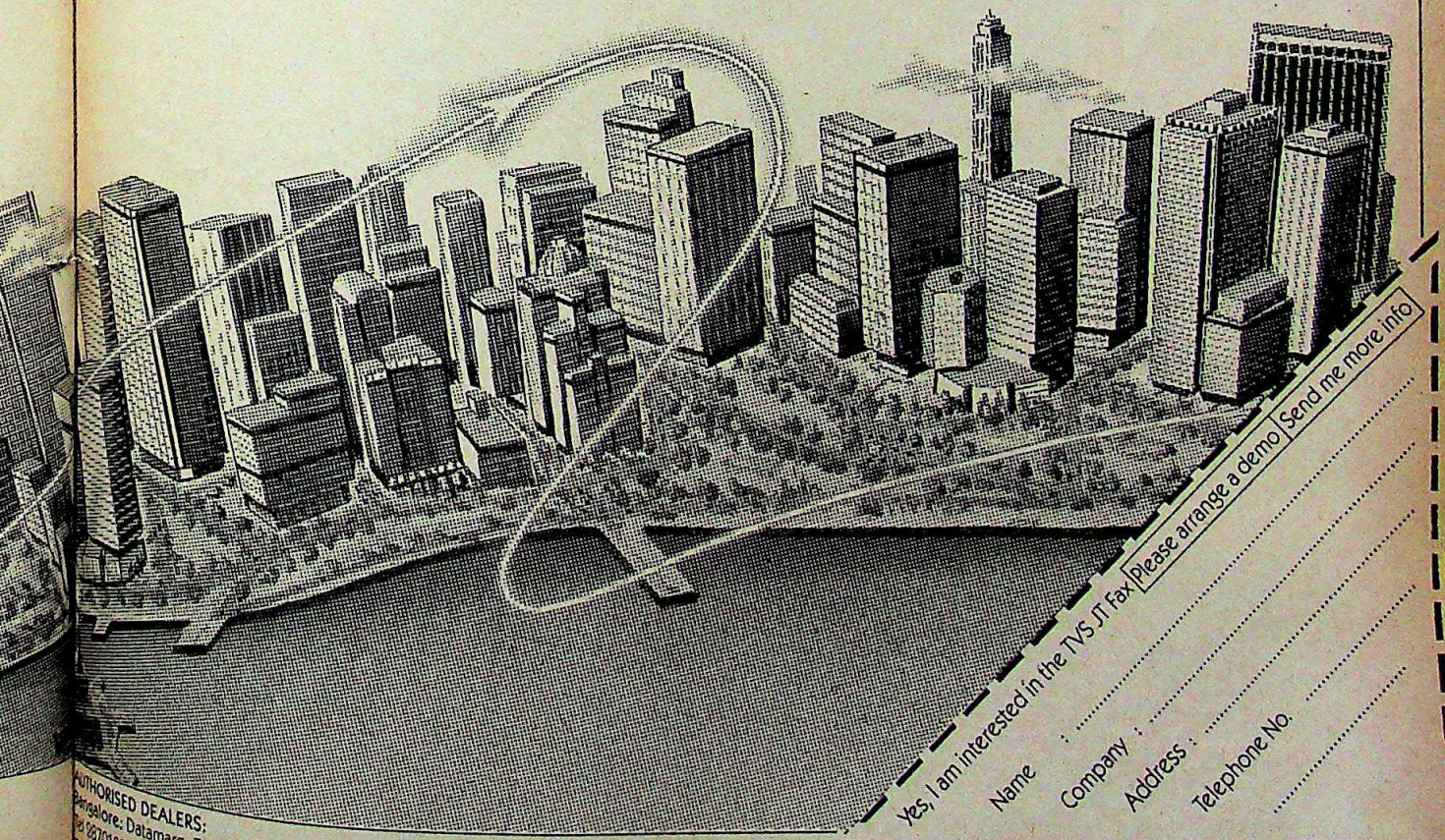
We will be glad to spend as much time with you as necessary.

Contact our dealers at any of the addresses below. Or action the coupon to:

TVS Electronics Limited
44, Miller Road, Bangalore 560 052.

Now a fax facility for just Rs. 14,495/-*

*Local taxes extra



Yes, I am interested in the TVS JT Fax | Please arrange a demo | Send me more info

Name : .....

Company : .....

Address : .....

Telephone No. .....

AUTHORISED DEALERS:
Bangalore: Datamarg, Tel 642642 ● **Bombay:** Ashtech Systems and Services, Tel 4927388 ● Datamarg, Tel 6141228 ● Sound Electronics Corporation, Tel 2870103 ● **Calcutta:** Arrjey Business Services, Tel 425840 ● Electrocraft, Tel 267360 ● **Delhi:** The Calculus, Tel 345980 ● Yamuna Syndicate, Tel 6417677 ● **Kanpur:** Computervision, Tel 210094 ● **Madras:** Datamarg, Tel 457012 ● **Saharanpur:** Applied Business Computers, Tel 7830

TVS-375-89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PHILATELY

Post Profits

A Rs 6-crore business

FOR some, stamps are just a collectors' item, meant solely for display at international exhibitions. But for others, philately means hard business. Among them are the country's 100-odd stamp dealers. "The business is worth Rs 6 crore," says Pradeep Jain, a leading dealer.

And last month, the trade got a fillip thanks to the Government which organised the World Philately Exhibition at Delhi. More than 25 Indian and foreign stamp dealers did business exceeding Rs 15 lakh at the exhibition.

But with the exception of the odd exhibition, by and large, the stamp world is a closed one. Most dealers procure stamps through a close network of philatelist friends; while some also attend the auctions held in Calcutta, Ludhiana and Jaipur throughout the year. Dealers charge a 10- to 15-per cent commission from the buyers. Says P.C. Jaiswal, proprietor of the Calcutta-based Stamp Enterprises: "We have postal auctions every three months. We print catalogues and send it to prospective clients, who then bid." Jaiswal's company sells stamps worth Rs 2 lakh annually through auctions.

The other way to make a fast buck is to buy used modern stamps in kgs from junk dealers and paper mills at throwaway prices and to sell them in packets. Says A.E. Slatewala, a stamp dealer in Bombay: "We buy these stamps for Rs 7 a kg. These packets are in great demand with children."

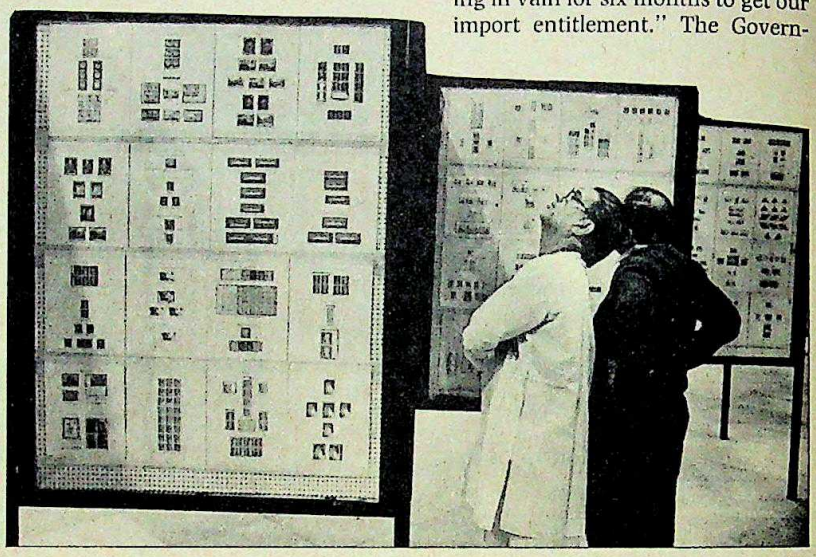
But it is the export market which provides dealers with their bread and butter. Says Graham Carey, director of the London-based Christie's Robson Lowe, one of the leading stamp auctioneers in the world: "There is great demand for Indian classical stamps in England, US, Germany and Italy. India is among the top 10 countries for philatelic material." Christie's have an annual auction of Indian stamps, with sales worth £500,000 (Rs 1.32 crore). What's more, last year Christie's sold a rare Indian 4 anna stamp for a whopping £60,000 (Rs 15.9 lakh).

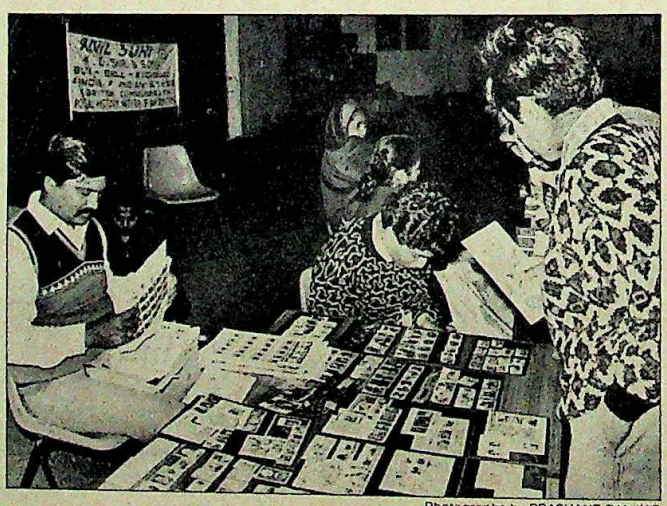
Though India exports stamps worth more than Rs 3 crore every year, the Government allows a mere 30 per cent import entitlement to the exporters. And that too only if they are members of the Allied Chemicals Export Council, as stamps are classified as paper, due to a lack of any separate export council.

The Government exports stamps as well, either on its own or through recognised agencies. Explains H.S. Sandhu, chairman of Chinar Exports, a government authorised agency for sale of Indian stamps in eastern Europe: "We work on a commission basis. We sell modern Indian stamps at their face value while the Government gives us a commission ranging from 20 to 25 per cent. We import a similar amount of Soviet stamps." The company has a turnover of Rs 10 lakh from its stamp business alone.

The Government has tied up with foreign agencies too. For instance, the Department of Posts and Telegraph has struck a deal with five foreign agencies. Says Ajoy Bagchi, member postal board: "We work with these agencies on a commission basis and through them we have sold more than Rs 71 lakh worth of stamps."

Yet, dealers complain that there is lack of government support to philately; that interest in stamps within the country is waning; and prices of modern stamps are falling due to lack of demand. Complains Jaiswal: "We have been trying in vain for six months to get our import entitlement." The Government, however, has the age-old explanation—shortage of foreign exchange.





The World Philately Exhibition; and (left) dealers at work

Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR

But dealers point out that the Government is losing foreign exchange by not exporting cancelled to order stamps as is the practice in other developing countries. Explains Sandhu: "Postage cancelled stamps are banned in many countries because they are unhygienic as people use saliva to put them on envelopes. I can do Rs 1 crore of business if the Government allows this facility."

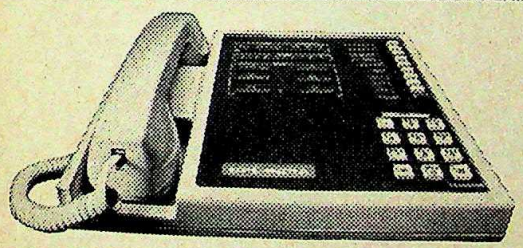
Still, as the Delhi exhibition revealed, the Government is not totally insensitive to the needs of the stamp dealers. And as M.M. Singh, a Bombay-based dealer points out, stamps are still considered a good investment by many. "The price of most old rare stamps have gone up nearly four times in the last decade." If that is indeed true, then the stamp business should be in for franking good times.

—SURAJEET DAS GUPTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Before they become good enough to live in your office, our small Electronic PABX systems have to live in hell for 17 long, hard days.



The BPL P-Series. A small EPABX that will work. Through thick and thin.

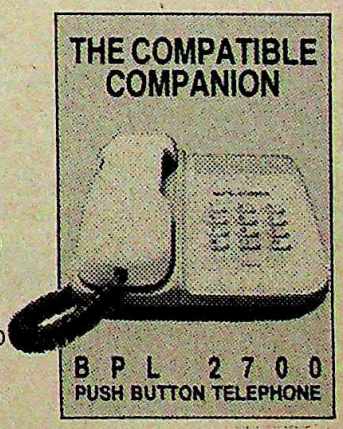
Our **17-day 'hurt programme'** sees to that. 7 days at 125°c for components. Next, (for the survivors), 3 days at 70°c in the sub-assembly stage; and then, double-checked by an In-Circuit Component Tester. And finally, 7 days at 50°c for fully activated finished products. To ensure that only products that live the longest reach you.

The result: total reliability. And India's largest installed base of electronic exchanges.

The BPL 2700 Push Button Telephone. Totally compatible because it is a product of the same tough discipline that our EPABXs undergo.

A model that's tested for endurance: even the cord and handset are tested for 100,000 operations. And which comes with features like Auto Gain Control. And Auto Re-dial up to 23 digits. Plus, TRC-approval for interface with P&T network.

The P-Series comes in 3 models—from 5-57 lines. One is bound to suit you.



BPL-INDIA

In pursuit of perfection

CENTRAL MARKETING ORGANISATION

BPL Centre, 14, Church Street, Bangalore 560 001. Phones: 572321/2/6/575217, Telex: 0845-2511, Cable: PHISILAB

SALES OFFICES: **BANGALORE** Phones: 561598/574787, Telex: 0845-2511. **BHOPAL** Phone: 61046 **BOMBAY** Phones: 4925398/4925361/4922918/4922933/4938704/4938392, Telex: 011-73789. **CALCUTTA** Phones: 431658/448566, Telex: 021-2390. **COCHIN** Phone: 361506. **COIMBATORE** Phone: 31052. **HYDERABAD** Phone: 231091, Telex: 0425-6064. **MADRAS** Phones: 471378/ 479420/474309, Telex: 041-6507. **NEW DELHI** Phones: 6431886/6433689/6433865, Telex: 031-2692. **PALGHAT** Phones: 3241/2, Telex: 0852-213.

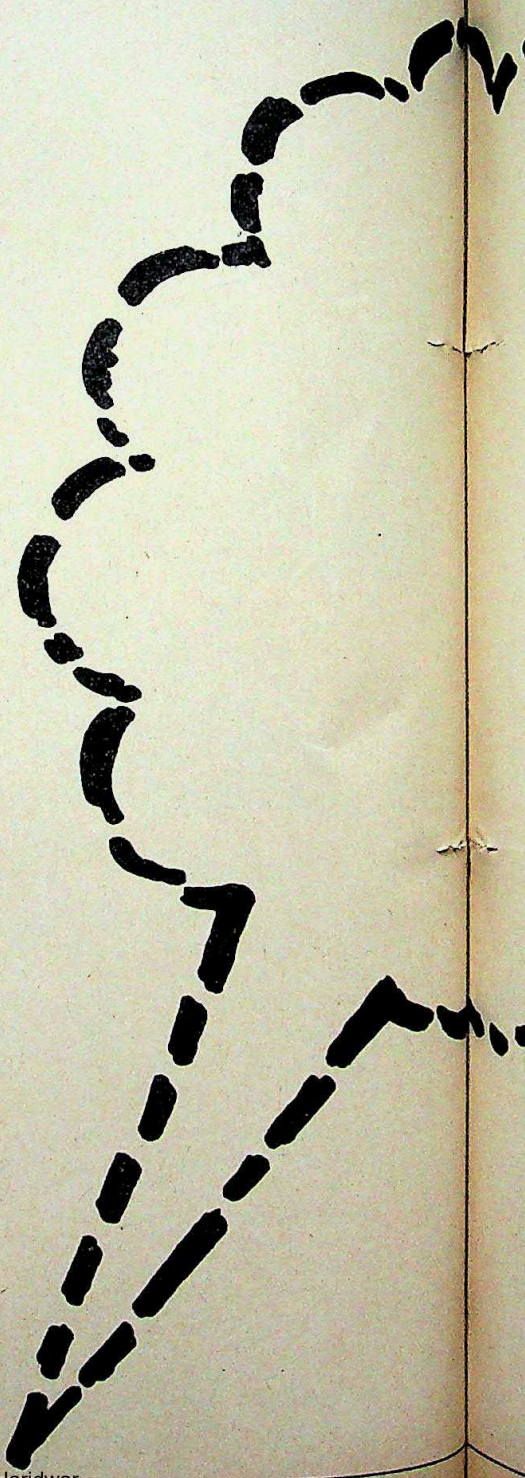
everest/S89/231

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PERIWAL GROUP

How the country's premier cable company let the steam out of its system.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To bring you superior cables.

The process that makes the difference

The Cross Linked Polyethylene (XLPE) cables from Premier Cables are manufactured through a revolutionary process : the CDCC process.

This Completely Dry Curing and Cooling process, developed by Nokia of Finland, uses nitrogen gas as the curing and cooling medium.

And not the conventional steam used by other cable manufacturers elsewhere.

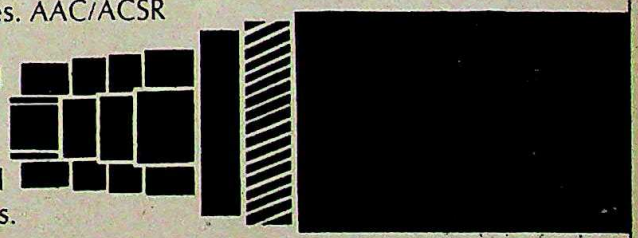
The advantages are several.

Homogenous insulation totally free from microvoids and water trees. Higher AC breakdown strength. Higher impulse breakdown strength. Smooth insulation, free from undesirable charges. Longer cable life. Low transmission losses. And virtually maintenance-free service.

From EHV downward, total capability in cables

For EHV applications, Premier Cables manufactures XLPE cables up to 132 KV.

Other cables include PVC, Power, Control and Signalling cables. AAC/ACSR and aluminium alloy overhead conductors. Cotton and paper-covered wires and strips.



Fire Resistant Low Smoke (FRLS) cables are manufactured with special compounds and smoke suppressants – the outer jacket resists even intense heat and helps contain the fire from spreading.

The latest additions to the range of Premier Cables are the Remote Temperature Detection (RTD) cables and Aerial Bunched Cables (ABC).

RTD cables are capable of measuring temperature remotely through resistance comparison bridge, enhancing safety.

ABC cables are the ideal solution for rural electrification projects in India offering several advantages like higher reliability, lower transmission losses and lower installation costs.

And now, turnkey projects

Premier Cables now offers you its cable-laying expertise through its Contracts Division. The services include pre-installation advice to selection of switchgear and transformers, on-site cable laying and jointing.

Making Premier Cables not only your prime source for cables but also for cable-laying expertise.

THE PREMIER CABLE COMPANY LTD.

(A member of the Periwal Group)
Premier Cable House
M G Road Ernakulam
Cochin 682 016

Cables that make all the difference.

HTA 8916

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Budget Imperatives

THE 1989-90 budget, amounting to over 50 per cent of the country's national income, is being presented to Parliament and through it to the people of India at the end of this month. It faces four kinds of imperatives—fiscal, social, economic and overall.

The fiscal imperatives are several. The most urgent is the need to scale down non-plan non-development expenditure so as to arrest the runaway revenue deficits created by such expenditure outrunning revenue receipts since the start of the Seventh Plan(1985-90). Here we need to distinguish between non-plan non-development expenditure and non-plan development expenditure. The latter is incurred in maintaining railways, roadways, housing, power plants, health centres, schools, etc and rightly has the first claim on our resources.

Non-plan non-development expenditures have been continually increasing. By the end of the Eighth Plan(1990-95) such expenditure by the Union and the states will amount to a colossal Rs 62,000 crore, according to the chairman of the Ninth Finance Commission. This results in the capital account of the budget being used to finance its deficit, instead of the surplus in the current account financing capital investments. And it is this galloping expenditure which accounts for increased market borrowings, larger budget deficits and mounting deficit financing. By 1989-90 the deficit will have reached Rs 34,000 crore against the Rs 14,000 crore provided in the Seventh Plan document. The budget must correct this by reducing provisions for defence, public administration and subsidies—the main non-plan expenditure items.

In defence, I have found that cost-effective techniques can save 10-12 per cent of the Rs 13,000 crore budgeted for 1988-89, without any diminution of defence preparedness. This would also be the right signal to China and Pakistan with whom relations are improving. With regard to public administration, the budget should provide for a reduction of Rs 8,000 crore-Rs 10,000 crore by leaving unfilled 50 per cent of existing vacancies and by not creating new posts.

Subsidies, which according to the Planning Commission, will have risen from Rs 9,900 crore in 1986-87 to Rs 17,200 crore by the end of the Eighth Plan, are another area where cuts are possible. Subsidies on fertilisers can be cut by restricting them to fertiliser purchases by small and marginal farmers made through the public distribution system. Moreover, stopping budgetary support to all loss-making public sector units will save Rs 5,000 crore.

The fiscal imperative also includes the need to raise resources through direct taxes, and reverse the current situation under which nearly 90 per cent of revenues are raised through regressive indirect taxes. This should raise some Rs 3,000 crore-Rs 3,500 crore of additional tax revenue.

> "Thanks to galloping non-plan non-development expenditure, deficit financing has far exceeded the amount provided in the Seventh Plan."

In the social sphere too, the budget faces several imperatives—it must alleviate poverty and increase employment. Employment programmes should receive at least 20 per cent more funds than in 1988-89.

The second thrust should be on reducing inequalites in asset ownership. An RBI survey carried out in 1981-82 showed that the poorest 10 per cent of rural households own just 0.4 per cent of all rural assets while the top 10 per cent own 49.5 per cent. The disparity in urban areas is worse—the bottom 10 per cent of urban households own just 0.1 per cent of assets while the top 10 per cent own 58.1 per cent. The budget should provide Rs 10,000 crore for the landless who are given land under the land reforms programme so that they can make productive use of the land.

The budget also faces economic imperatives. Besides providing for the accelerated development of agricultural and related occupations, it must provide more funds for agricultural and allied industries producing goods and services needed by the mass of the people living in poverty. These are goods which the villagers and the urban poor themselves can and should produce. The other industrial segments which the budget should help are the sunrise industries like electronics and biotechnology which have good export prospects. As technological upgradation always displaces labour, budgetary hand-outs to industries in the way of concessions should be limited to industries that export goods and services.

Finally the overall imperative facing the budget is to help preserve the ecological balance and in conserving the country's resources by imposing penal duties on all resource-destroying and polluting industries.

To promote these budgetary imperatives it is necessary to do away with the secrecy under which the budget is prepared and unwrapped, which only provides opportunities for corruption, hoarding and speculation. There is no need for the finance minister simply to meet his colleagues for an hour on the evening of the last Saturday in February, and then walk into Parliament and spring the budget on it. Parliament has no time to review even 50 per cent of the demands set forth in the budget. In any case, once the budget is formulated no major changes can be made in it. Even the concessions announced with great flourish at the time of the finance minister's reply are pre-planned at the time the budget is formulated. I know all this from personal experience in UNESCO: the General Assembly, its many committees, commissions and working parties toiled for six weeks over the budget that the director-general presented and what came out at the end was exactly what we, in the Secretariat, had put in. The budget must become more transparent and not hide the real expenditures (as in the case of the army adventure in Sri Lanka), or conceal the real deficit by jacking up administered prices.

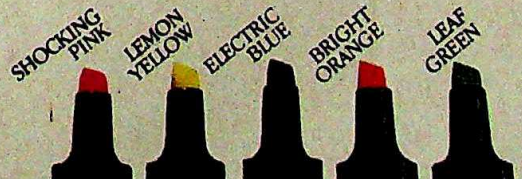
Malcolm Adiseshiah was deputy director-general of UNESCO from 1962-70.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Choose the No.1

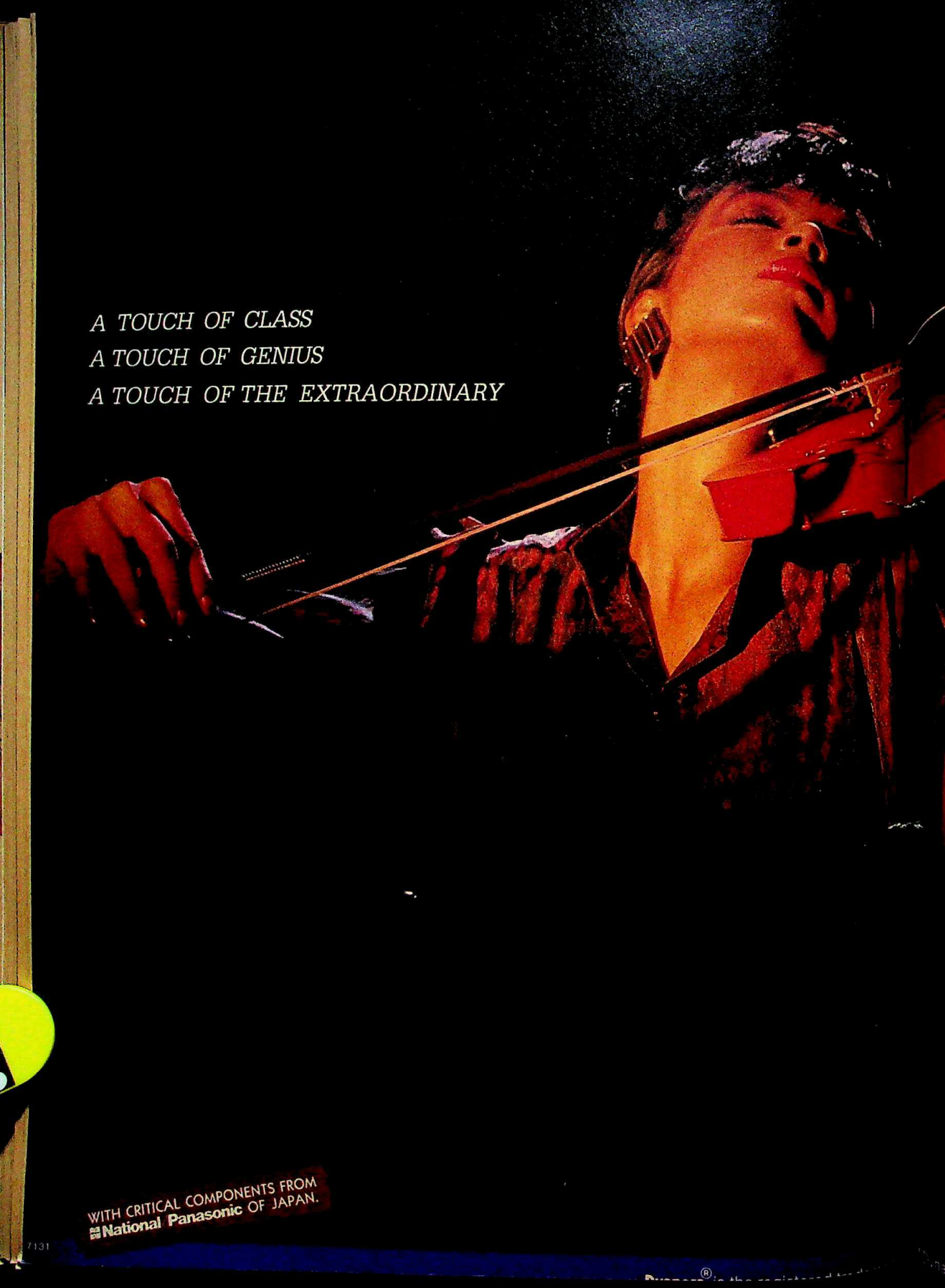
When you use the best, you bring out your best.
With every stroke of a Luxor highlighter, your memos, charts, project reports and circulars will project your point with extra emphasis.
And especially for students it's ideal. Marking all important notes and texts with a brilliance that promises brilliant results.
Luxor highlighters. Two years ago they were the first.
Today they are the best. So keep yourself armed,
and highlight your way to the top.



WORLD CLASS FLUORESCENT HIGHLIGHTERS By Luxor®

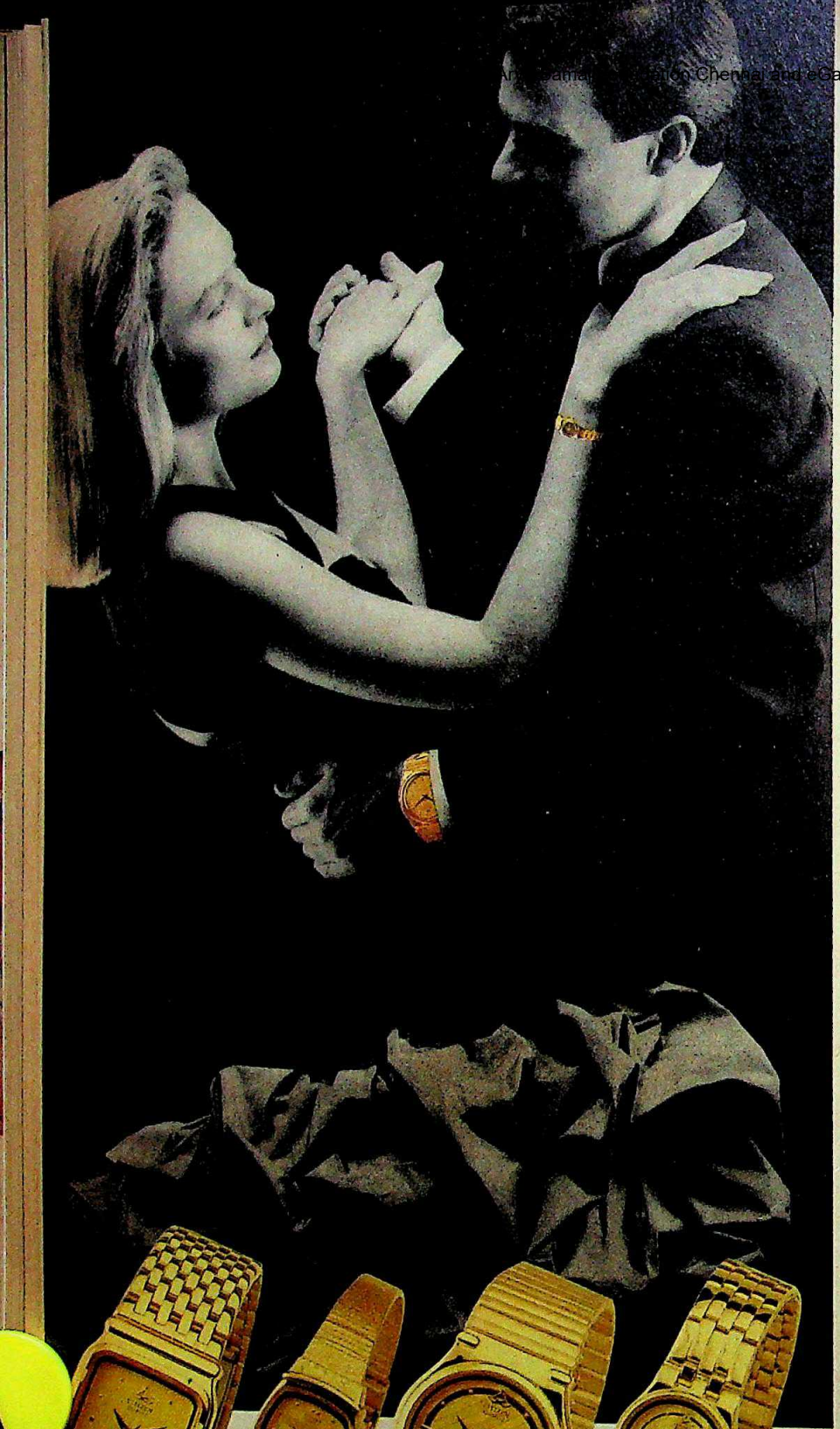
CLARION D 219

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar


A TOUCH OF CLASS
A TOUCH OF GENIUS
A TOUCH OF THE EXTRAORDINARY
WITH CRITICAL COMPONENTS FROM
National Panasonic OF JAPAN.

Dyora®
COLOUR TELEVISION
KEEP IN TOUCH!
Limited, Madras
dwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



STAR OF THE TIMES. CITIZEN.

Star quality. You see it in their faces. Elegant. Dramatic. You admire it in their movements. Graceful yet precise. Their secret? Citizen. Quartz timepieces of unfailing accuracy. Water resistant. The only name to match theirs in fame. Citizen. For leading men and ladies of the times.

Available at Duty Free Shops in India (Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Trivandrum).

Supported by the largest number of service centres in India:

Bombay: Crown Watch Corporation, 98, Heera Panna Shopping Centre Haji Ali, Bombay 400 026. • 16/18, Abdul Rehman Street, Bombay 400 003. **New Delhi:** Amarson Watch Co., 10-C, Connaught Place, New Delhi 110 001. • 71, Janpath, New Delhi 110 001. **Cochin:** Kaniampuram Bros. Watch Co., P. B. No. 2582, Broadway, Ernakulam, Cochin 682 031. **Madras:** Doshi & Doshi, 3, Blackers Road, Next to Casino Theatre, Mount Road, Madras 600 002. • 28, Devaraja Mudali Street, Park Town, Madras 600 003. • 116, Royapettah High Road, Mylapore, Madras 600 004.

On the reverse of every Citizen watch you will find our distinctive holographic seal. It's your guarantee against imitations.

AF1012-51Q EA1722-59Q AF2012-56P EA1732-55Q

CITIZEN

CITIZEN IS A REGISTERED TRADEMARK OF CITIZEN WATCH CO, JAPAN.
(For information only)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LINEAR ALKYL BENZENE

Capacity Quarrel

The need for new plants is debated

LINEAR alkyl benzene (LAB). One would have thought it was some highly explosive chemical compound given the sparks that are furiously flying around. Hardly a week passes when financial dailies do not splash stories on the subject. In fact, LAB is a harmless but crucial raw material used in the manufacture of synthetic detergents, the sales of which have been climbing at an average rate of more than 20 per cent a year over the past decade.

Two unconnected developments last fortnight fuelled speculation about the way the LAB market would shape up. The first was the shortlisting of three companies—Nirma, Hindustan Lever and Straw Products (of the JK group)—which are to be issued letters of intent for setting up new LAB plants. The formal approval of the Cabinet is expected soon. The selection marks the culmination of years of jockeying among corporate bigwigs to bag the projects. Those who lost out include Aditya Birla's Grasim Industries, Vijay Mallya's United Breweries group, Larsen & Toubro and Vam Organic Chemicals of the Bhartiya group.

The second event was a fire in the LAB plant of the public sector Indian Petrochemicals Corporation Ltd (IPCL) at Vadodara in Gujarat. The fire caused apprehensions of a shortage of LAB later in the year, but company Chairman Hasmukh Shah says the fears are unfounded.

During most of last year, there was a surfeit of LAB. Though opinions differ about how long the glut will last, there has been feverish lobbying to delay the establishment of new plants. Till the end of 1987, IPCL was the only LAB manufacturer in India with an annual capacity of 30,000 tonnes. Imports were around 80,000 tonnes a year. Half of the LAB is consumed by the Nirma group, 30 per cent by Hindustan Lever and the rest by over 600 medium and small detergent manufacturers.

In the last quarter of 1987, Reliance Industries Ltd and Tamil Nadu Petroproducts Ltd (TPL) set up two LAB plants each with an annual capacity of 60,000 tonnes. Soon, the plants were producing at full capacity. This quadrupling of production, coupled with the import of 64,000 tonnes of LAB in late-1987, resulted in over-supply. Reliance and TPL shut down their plants for a month last year due to excess stocks and persuaded the Government to allow exports. But consumers were unhappy.

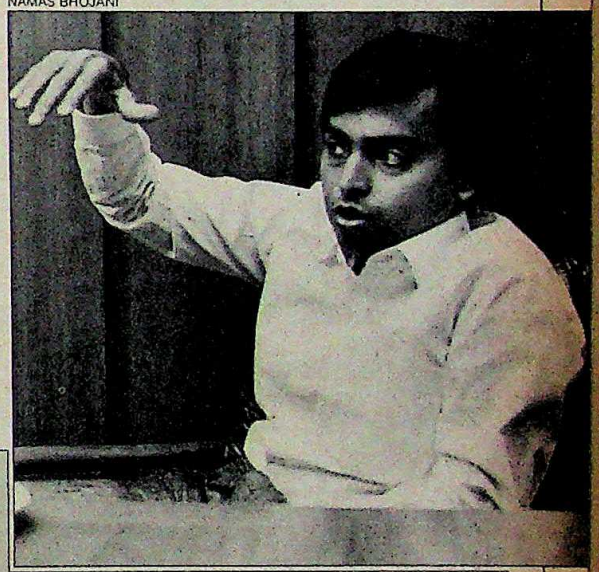
"We are at the mercy of these two giants," says a small detergent manufacturer. Pointing out that in June, Reliance and TPL hiked prices from Rs 21,000 a tonne to over Rs 23,000, he adds: "If the companies increase prices when they are complaining about a glut, imagine what the situation will be if there is a shortage."

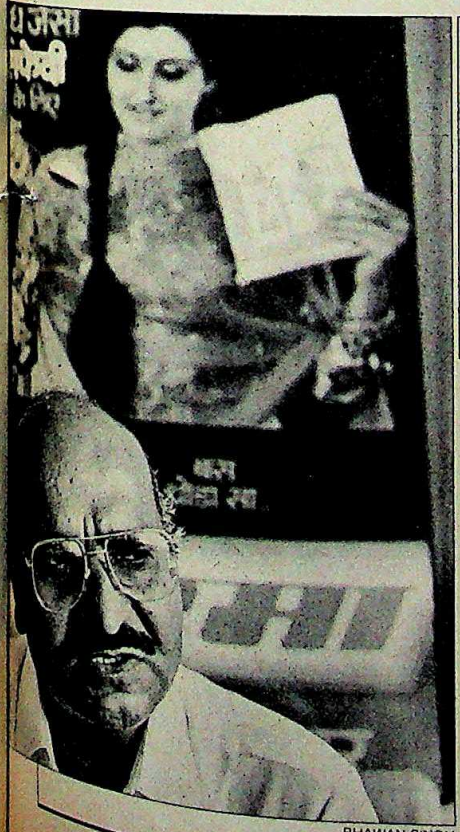
Says "detergent king" Karsanbhai Patel who heads the Nirma group: "If the IPCL plant remains closed for more than four months, I won't be surprised if LAB starts fetching a premium in the black market." However, Shah of IPCL claims that the company has seven months' stocks and that a shortage is unlikely since the LAB plant should be recommissioned within four months.

Between 1986-87 and 1987-88, LAB consumption shot up by more than 40 per cent. However, predicting future demand is a tricky exercise. The projected annual rates of growth of LAB demand range between 7 per cent and 20 per cent. "There is considerable over-capacity at present and I do not foresee a shortage in the next three years," says Mukesh Ambani of Reliance. At least one set of official figures tells a different story.

In a note for the Projects Approval Board (PAB), the Department of Chemicals and Petrochemicals estimated late last year that LAB demand would grow by 18 per cent a year. So, supply could fall short of demand by early 1992 even if existing producers expand capacity. The note estimates that demand will exceed 3 lakh tonnes by 1994 while current rated capacity is only 1.6 lakh tonnes. Shah of IPCL concurs: "Given current consumption trends, supply will fall short of demand in three years. There is thus a case for setting up new projects which will take three or four years to come up. To avoid a glut again, the establishment of new projects

NAMAS BHOJANI





BHAWAN SINGH

Patel (left) and Ambani: dispute over capacity addition

The shortlisting of three firms to set up new plants ends years of jockeying among companies to bag the projects.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

should be staggered over a period of time."

The viability of the proposed LAB projects (each estimated to cost Rs 150 crore) depends on whether the projected demand materialises. In January 1987, the Cabinet postponed taking a decision to establish new LAB projects. Then, an official committee recommended three names: Nirma, Grasim and Lever. Later, the department suggested that Lever be replaced by either Straw Products, United Breweries or Larsen & Toubro. The first was chosen. United Breweries' application was rejected since its asset cover was "not very satisfactory" while Larsen & Toubro was sidetracked because its application was submitted in early-1987, two years after the others.

Then, in June 1988, the PAB recommended that Lever's name be retained since a LAB plant would help the company integrate backwards. The board favoured exclusion of Grasim since it was already involved in at least two mega-projects. Thus, Nirma, Lever and Straw Products were shortlisted for cabinet approval.

The delay in granting approvals to the new projects has been attributed to lobbying by Reliance, though company sources deny the charges. The Government seems to have veered round to the view that the current glut is no excuse to delay sanctioning new projects. Says M.S. Gill, secretary, petrochemicals: "We feel that the new LAB plants should come up as expeditiously as possible."

The Nirma plant, which is likely to come up first, will be located near the refinery at Visakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh. It has not been decided whether it is the refinery or Nirma which will produce the raw material for LAB manufacture, namely, N-paraffin extracted from kerosene. The Lever plant will be located in Punjab across the border from the proposed refinery at Karnal, Haryana. Since Reliance has set a precedent by importing N-paraffin, if the Lever plant comes up before the refinery, it will use imported feedstock. The details of the Straw Products project, which is to come up at Mathura in Uttar Pradesh, are not clear.

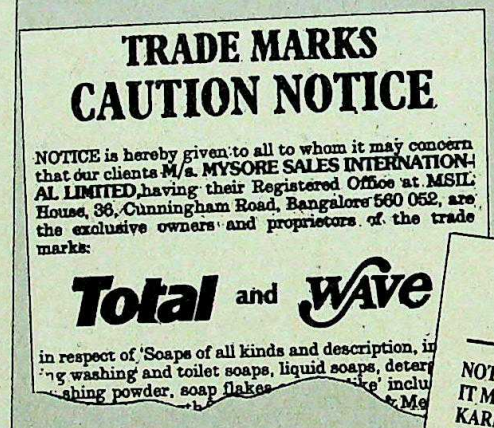
As far as Reliance is concerned, its N-paraffin plant is scheduled to become operational by the end of the year. In any case, the company's raw material costs are believed to be at least 10 per cent lower than those of its nearest rival TPL. Thanks partly to the Government's decision to reduce import duty on N-paraffin late last year, the landed cost of the imported material is lower than domestic prices. So, the Ambanis can sit back and listen to the cash registers jingling—at least for the next three years.

—PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

KARNATAKA

Soapy Tussle

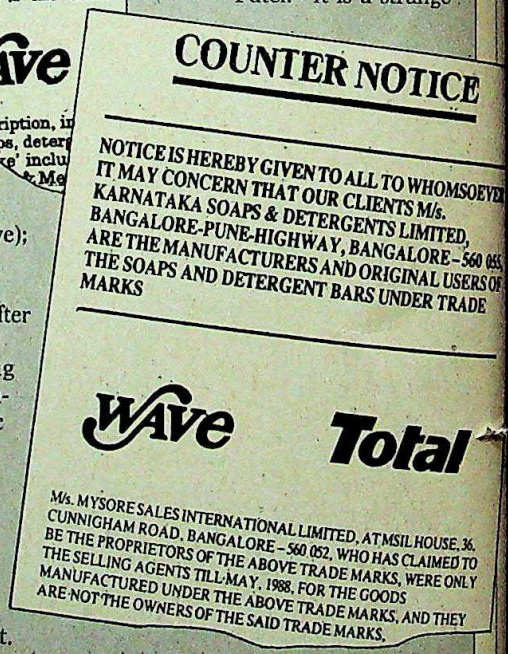
THIS could be the ultimate soap opera. For over two decades, the two Bangalore-based state sector undertakings, Karnataka Soaps and Detergents Limited (KSDL) and Mysore Sales International Limited (MSIL), had married their expertise to survive in a fierce market. While KSDL manufactured a range of soaps and detergents including the famous Mysore Sandal Soap, MSIL used its marketing expertise to sell these brands in a tough market. But last month, the two undertakings parted company after a bitter four-year-long row.


TRADE MARKS
CAUTION NOTICE

NOTICE is hereby given to all to whom it may concern that our clients M/s. MYSORE SALES INTERNATIONAL LIMITED, having their Registered Office at MSIL House, 36, Cunningham Road, Bangalore 560 052, are the exclusive owners and proprietors of the trade marks:

Total and WAVE

in respect of 'Soaps of all kinds and description, in ...g washing and toilet soaps, liquid soaps, deterg... inclu... ...shing powder, soap flakes ...


COUNTER NOTICE

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN TO ALL TO WHOMSOEVER IT MAY CONCERN THAT OUR CLIENTS M/s. KARNATAKA SOAPS & DETERGENTS LIMITED, BANGALORE-PUNE-HIGHWAY, BANGALORE - 560 055, ARE THE MANUFACTURERS AND ORIGINAL USERS OF THE SOAPS AND DETERGENT BARS UNDER TRADE MARKS

WAVE Total

M/s. MYSORE SALES INTERNATIONAL LIMITED, AT MSIL HOUSE, 36, CUNNIGHAM ROAD, BANGALORE - 560 052, WHO HAS CLAIMED TO BE THE PROPRIETORS OF THE ABOVE TRADE MARKS, WERE ONLY THE SELLING AGENTS TILL MAY, 1988, FOR THE GOODS MANUFACTURED UNDER THE ABOVE TRADE MARKS, AND THEY ARE NOT THE OWNERS OF THE SAID TRADE MARKS.

MSIL's trade mark claim (above); and KSDL's counter-notice

The formula for the parting announced by the state Government is a classic of bureaucratic bumbledom. KSDL, which has no marketing network, will handle the sales of all its products except the popular Wave soap. And MSIL, a purely marketing organisation, will have Wave manufactured in the private sector and sell it as its own product. The absurdity of the solution is evident: while MSIL will place manufacturing orders with private firms, KSDL is operating at half its installed capacity.

The current wrangle which had been brewing since the mid-'80s when KSDL's performance began flagging (by December 1987 it had accumulated a loss of Rs 35 crore) intensified after S.K. Ghoshal, chairman of the company, argued that it was paying MSIL an absurdly high commission.

Ghoshal demanded that either MSIL's commission be reduced or the Government permit it to market its own products. Naturally, MSIL, 60 per cent of whose Rs 68-crore turnover comes from KSDL products, demurred.

The stalemate continued until early last year when the state Government put forward a solution: to divide the marketing of KSDL's products equally between the two companies. But KSDL turned aggressive. It announced through newspaper advertisements that it would be marketing its own products.

MSIL hit back. It placed advertisements claiming the Total and Wave brand names and called in two private sector companies including the Ludhiana-based Oswal Agro to manufacture its products.

As the two companies continued washing their dirty linen in public, the Government stepped in again. It decided to hand over Wave to MSIL. Said Industries Minister J.H. Patel: "It is a strange solution, but there is no other way out. Both companies have to survive." The solution, though, is no guarantee of that. KSDL is stuck with a massive unused capacity. But MSIL, which could have used that capacity to manufacture Wave, prefers to have it manufactured by private companies. Meanwhile, both companies could use a little of that soap they are battling over before the dirt causes a permanent stain—on their balance sheets.

—CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...Follow the Leader

Gold Café. India's first granular coffee brought international taste to coffee lovers.

Each granule bursting with the rich aroma and taste of rare coffee beans.

Now, to meet this ever growing demand even the multinationals have been compelled to follow suit – and launch their granulated coffees.

But remember, it was Gold Cāfe that introduced this golden era in coffee.

The ultimate in coffee luxury

GOLD CAFE

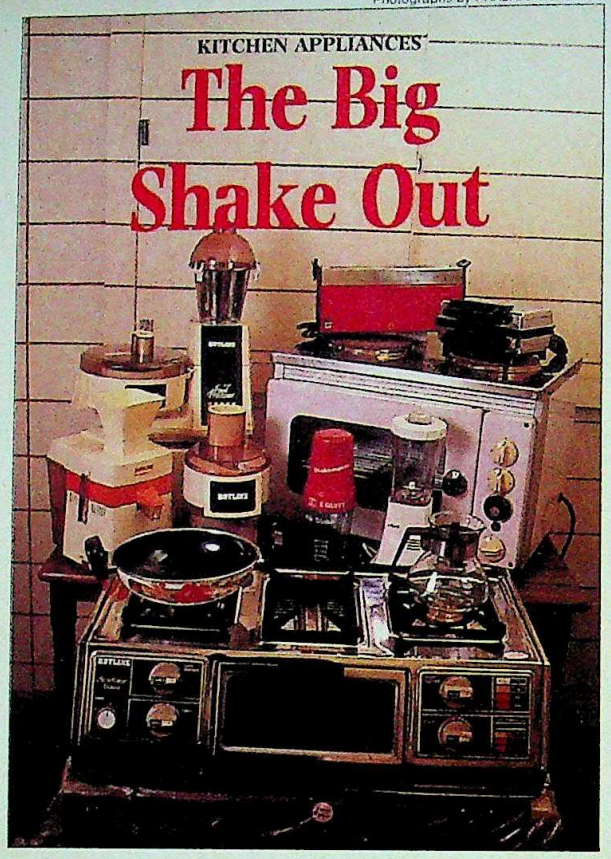
CLARION D 281

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR

KITCHEN APPLIANCES

The Big Shake Out



THEY were the dream merchants of the kitchen. The stars in the fastest growing box-office: household appliances. Even the big producers like Bajaj, Philips, Rallis, Singer and Crompton Greaves moved in. For a while there was a superstar too: Ritu Nanda of Nikitasha.

Today, like the film industry, the good times are over. In a sector, that is reportedly still growing at 10 to 15 per cent annually, the great shake-out has begun. Barring Sumeet, the mixer-grinder king, most of the big manufacturers of kitchen appliances have burnt their fingers. Many are reporting a steep drop in sales, working at barely a third of the manufacturing capacity and running up huge losses.

The distress signals from these companies are differently phrased. Nanda of Nikitasha, who ushered in a revolution in gas stove marketing, now admits: "We are operating at the bottomline." Hotline, which for a while stole the thunder from Nikitasha, finds itself out in the cold and Mukesh Agarwal, its managing director, says: "We are staying on out of sentiment." Superflame, the stove giant for two decades, is facing a similar slump and its sales manager Sanjay Sachdeva says: "We are turning our attention to other areas." And Bajaj, Philips and Rallis say simply: "We have decided to keep a low profile in the business."

It is not that the bottom has fallen out of the two basic kitchen appliances: stoves and mixer-grinders. Currently, estimated sales of these appliances is a million each annually. But 50 to 60 per cent of the market is cornered by hundreds of cottage-scale manufacturers that have sprouted in the '80s. They keep overheads low, sell at a third of the price of the big companies and some are accused of indulging in unethical marketing practices. Meanwhile, the organised sector, as the big players like to call themselves, proliferated equally rapidly but found that demand wasn't catching up. The result is as Hotline's Agarwal says: "Too many people fighting for a shrinking pie."

In the stove business, Nikitasha was among the first to run aground. After phenomenal peak sales of 30,000 stoves a month in 1985 it is now down to barely 5,000. Despite diversifying into television and engineering products, the company is yet to recover from what Nanda describes as, "the traumatic aftermath of our pace-setting success."

Others companies making stoves, like Hotline and Superflame, have run into similar problems. Superflame, which sold around 40,000 stoves a month in 1984, is now pushing barely 15,000. They diversified into mixie-grinders but ran into problems and are now concentrating on making toasters, geysers and washing-machines.

Hotline, whose sales graph initially shot up, soon registered the same downtrend. From a peak of over 10,000 a month they slid to barely 2,000 last year. They closed their manufacturing unit and are now content just marketing stoves. Even Bajaj found its market share steadily dropping from 10 per cent to barely 2 per cent now.

If the stove manufacturers find themselves stewing in a slow fire, the mixie-grinder segment is slightly different. Sumeet continues to be the shining light in the gathering darkness that surrounds the rest in the organised sector. Its sales have moved up from 20,000 a month to 30,000 mixies a month in the past three years and Managing Director Ajay Mathur says: "For us the market is still booming."

But for the rest, the going has been

"We are operating at the bottom line."
RITU NANDA
chairperson, Nikitasha

"We are staying on out of sentiment."
MUKESH AGARWAL
managing director, Hotline

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Today, on our first birthday, we would like to thank you, all consumers, for making the impossible possible.

You helped a newborn fight a multinational. Survive in the toughest market. Capture over 20% market share.

Your support has proved that superior quality wins. You don't have to be a giant to fight a giant. You just have to be good.

As the first granular coffee to enter the Indian market, Gold Café launched a golden era in coffee luxury.

And now, even the multinationals have been compelled to introduce granulated coffee. But we were the first!

Once again, coffee lovers

– Thank you!

CLARION D361A

The ultimate in coffee luxury **GOLD CAFÉ**

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

downhill. Inalsa, the pumpset giant which diversified into mixies and stoves in 1985, has found that the market has never really taken off. While it hoped to push around 5,000 mixies a month, it is barely able to move 2,000. It has wound up its nation-wide distribution network and is concentrating on selling its products in Delhi and its environs. Meanwhile, it is selling mixies to other manufacturers who put their brand names on it. Says Deepak Singh, its president: "If appliances were our bread and butter we would have been wiped out long ago."

Those carrying household names like Bajaj, Philips and Singer have also run into rough weather. Philips, entered the mixie market in 1984, seeing a great potential in it. After overcoming initial problems with its mixie, sales picked up for a while. But it started peaking at around 3,500 a month last year instead of a planned 6,000. Ashwini Kakkar, manager of its appliances division, admits: "It's not a priority area for us at the moment."

"Appliances are not our bread and butter."
DEEPAK SINGH
president, Inalsa

Bajaj and Rallis went through similar upheavals. While Rallis withdrew its ill-starred first model, Bajaj found its share in the mixie market steadily dwindling: from a peark 11 per cent to around 6 per cent. Rallis has come out with an improved mixie and Bajaj is now working on one too.

Most entrepreneurs in the organised sector are busy doing some serious introspection. Initially, the Government had reserved manufacture of most household appliances for the small scale sector. Which meant that anyone entering the business had to restrict investments in plant and machinery to a maximum of Rs 35 lakh.

The big companies found ways out by supplying moulds of various key parts to small scale manufacturers and assembling them in their own units. Some of them established four or five small units manufacturing individual components, thus spreading their investment to meet the law. Bajaj and Philips preferred to buy stoves and mixies from small scale manufacturers and sell them under their brand names. From barely a dozen manufacturers of stoves in 1980 the figure leaped to over 300 in five years. The mixie market too saw a similar upsurge.

In the gas stove market, the real problems came in distribution. Most of the companies had to market their stoves through 3,300 distributors of the oil companies. As Nanda complains: "They soon formed a cartel that was difficult to break. They could bully us and the consumer who too was dependent on them." Naturally, many dealers pushed stoves from companies that offered them higher margins of profit.

To compound the problem was the complex taxation structure for kitchen appliances. For those companies that had a turnover of less than Rs 15 lakh excise duty was exempt. For those between Rs 15 lakh and Rs 75 lakh the duty was around 10 per cent. And companies which had a turnover of over Rs 75 lakh had to pay 21 per cent tax. With local sales tax and octroi amounting to around 20 per cent more, the large companies soon found that their products were heavily overpriced. Small manufacturers with low overheads could hawk stoves at half their price which included a fat margin for dealers. For instance, while Hotline, Superflame and Nikitasha, were selling at around Rs 800 for the two-burner stove, small companies were able to push it for as little as Rs 400. Moreover, as Jaswinder Singh, a leading Delhi distributor of appliances says: "After the initial boom in cities, people who were getting new gas connections were up-country buyers for whom price was more important."

And with dealers demanding huge credit, big companies found their liquidity positions dangerously low. Superflame, for instance, has outstandings from dealers totalling over Rs 2 crore. Inalsa even pulled out of the conventional two-burner stove market and its president Deepak Singh says: "The gas stove market isn't ethical. We are not geared to that kind of marketing."

Thinking that there was a new housewife—who demanded a more efficient and multi-purpose stove—emerging, the major names moved into what they thought was another big growth area: cooking ranges. The cook'n'grill ranges were followed by burners, ovens and grills all combined in a compact floor model. But while companies faced no competition from small manufacturers, the problem was the consumer. At Rs 5,000 to Rs 6,000 there were few takers for upmarket models.

M. PARIKH

"Mixers now figure low on our priority."
ASHWINI KAKKAR
manager, Philips

Moreover, with television and refrigerators still high on the list of household priorities, an expensive cooking range barely figures in the housewife's scheme of things. The result: sales of cooking ranges stagnated at around 1,500 a month for all brands throughout the country. And with over six manufacturers in the game, individual sales barely crossed the 200 mark. As Agarwal says: "With that kind of volume you just can't survive for long. Investments are too high

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and returns too low."

The problem in the mixer market was that the new manufacturers tended to either copy Sumeet's model or those made abroad. That proved fatal. As Sumeet's Mathur gleefully says: "They not only copied our concept but our mistakes as well." Copying foreign models had other problems. In Europe, most mixies are used for light tasks like juicing and mashing vegetables. In India a mixie is expected to be a versatile and hardy machine. It is used for wet-grinding rice and crushing spices. Most of the new manufacturers, who hadn't developed sturdy machines, were soon deluged by consumer complaints. As Atul Tandan, vice-president, Bajaj, points out: "Word of mouth is the key to selling kitchen appliances. And if you have a negative brand image there's no way you can survive."

Sumeet, however, was smart. In the business since 1965, it learnt from its initial mistakes. In the '70s it found that the motors were burning out. Reason: down south, people use mixies to grind parboiled rice for dosas and idlis which needs an extra strong motor. They invested in developing a sturdy product and gave importance to after sales service. As Mathur points out: "It's taken us 25 years to do what we are making today. It's given us a solid feel of the whole business."

THE new manufacturers hardly invested the way Sumeet did in developing their mixies. Bajaj and Philips, for instance, were initially content on putting their brand names on products from small-scale manufacturers. While their brand name helped, their extensive dealer network for their other products didn't. As Philips' Kakkar says: "We found our dealers asking for just a couple of pieces and it jacked up distribution costs." And as companies realised the mixer business tends to be regionally divided and marketing it nationally was a hassle. Apart from consumer preferences in mixer functioning, after sales service became a crutch.

Morever their products were priced too high to compete with the unorganised sector concentrated in Ambala which controls 50 per cent of the business. After failing badly with their first few models only now are they concentrating on making a better product to compete with Sumeet. As Bajaj's Tandan says: "We are developing a good model. Something we should have done from the start."

But manufacturers in the stove and mixie business who have lost out are still not giving up hope. They feel with real estate still booming, the newer households would be more amenable to hi-tech gadgetry like cooking ranges and food processors. They see the growth of hire-purchase schemes, which would result in more disposable income, as a good sign. And as Nanda says: "We are playing a waiting game. Sooner or later the market is bound to pick up again. There is still a large untapped demand." Inalsa's Singh seconds Nanda's views but points out grimly: "At the moment we are still pursuing a mirage."

—RAJ CHENGAPPA in Delhi and Bombay

EXECUTIVE FOCUS

General Manager – Cookery Development

Hawkins Cookers Limited require a General Manager – Cookery Development, to understudy and take over from the present incumbent who is going to retire.

The job is located in the Hawkins Test Kitchen in Mahim, Bombay. The prime tasks of the Hawkins Test Kitchen are to develop recipes and operating instructions for Hawkins' existing and future products and to interact with technical development in the evaluation and re-design of existing products and the design of future products. Other tasks include assisting in the training of demonstrators and resolving consumers' culinary problems.

The successful candidate must have a love for and knowledge of the art and science of cooking. A general acquaintance with a range of Indian and international cuisines would be desirable. What is essential is the willingness to cook with one's own hands, culinary curiosity, a scientific bent of mind, the ability to empathise with consumers, the ability to write English clearly and concisely and basic administrative ability.

The Hawkins Test Kitchen type of activity is so rare in India that it is hard to specify relevant experience. People who have worked abroad in similar test kitchens, in food-related scientific institutions, in the catering industry, culinary authors or journalists, even exceptionally gifted housewives may be suitable. Preferred age: 30 to 45.

Total remuneration including deferred benefits will be negotiated with the selected candidate around Rs. 10,000 per month.

Apply in confidence to Brahm Vasudeva, Chairman and Managing Director, Hawkins Cookers Limited, F-101 Maker Towers, Cuffe Parade, Bombay 400 005, giving details of age, qualifications and experience and enclosing a brief essay on your suitability for the job.

Hawkins

- OVER ONE MILLION PRESSURE COOKERS SOLD IN A YEAR
- THE ONLY INDIAN PRESSURE COOKER SELLING IN TOP DEPARTMENT STORES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA
- BUILDING ON BRAND STRENGTHS – DEVELOPING AND MARKETING NEW PRODUCTS
- HIGHEST ETHICAL AND PROFESSIONAL MANAGEMENT STANDARDS
- SATISFYING WORK ENVIRONMENT – EXCELLENT RECORD OF INTERNAL PROMOTIONS

HC/3952

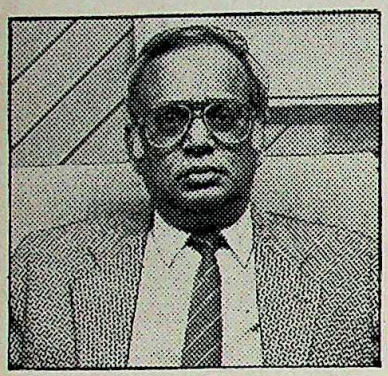
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kirloskar Cummins Limited

Kothrud. Pune 411 029 (INDIA)

Annual General Meeting
Chairman's Speech



Mr. R.V. Ramachandran

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me welcome you to the 27th Annual General Meeting of your Company.

May I wish you all a very happy and prosperous New Year.

Every Company, in its history, goes through traumatic changes, and your Company has been no exception.

Following the sad demise of Mr. C.S. Kirloskar, our Founder Managing Director who guided the destiny of Kirloskar Cummins to its pre-eminent position in the Indian Diesel Engine Industry, Mr. Arun Kirloskar, who was the Chief Operating Executive of Kirloskar Cummins since 1972, stepped down as Chairman and Director on October 1, 1988.

Kirloskar Cummins owes its existence to Mr. S.L. Kirloskar, who brought Cummins to India, as a testament to his far-sighted vision.

It was moulded and nurtured throughout its infancy through the leadership of late Mr. C.S. Kirloskar, whose directions, courage, conviction, and open style of management let people who worked for him try out new and modern ideas, and thus laid the foundations for the KCL work-culture. Mr. C.S. Kirloskar passed on his mandate to Mr. Arun Kirloskar. Their contributions to KCL are etched in the figures of the last 27 years of KCL's performance.

It has been my privilege, along with my colleagues in the current KCL operating management, to have been part of the team which worked with Mr. C.S. Kirloskar and Mr. Arun Kirloskar to make KCL the organisation that it is today.

Kirloskar Cummins owes Mr. Arun Kirloskar a deep debt of gratitude for the yeoman service rendered, and the operating practices he nurtured, as Chief Operating Executive.

The future growth of KCL, its working culture, its approach to markets, quality, product support, etc. have been clearly laid down by the past Leadership.

Your Company's philosophy and approach to business, which were so well defined through practice in the past, are now elaborated through a formal statement.

A business firm is a dynamic entity, the operations of which are influenced by the social, political and economic conditions prevailing in a country.

However, the success of business in growth and profitability, year after year, is the result of some common operating characteristics, and the beliefs which make some Companies more successful than others.

The business philosophy and operating principles, as applied in KCL, are re-stated here for clarity.

1. KCL's Customers are the reason for its existence.
2. KCL understands that Customers buy products to satisfy their quality and delivery needs, in terms of value.
3. KCL's Customers will move to the Competition, if they do not receive products which satisfy their needs.
4. To KCL, product support has always been a testament of faith, and KCL believes that a price has been paid for it by the Customer.
5. KCL believes that it must maximise profits and improve its operating efficiency year after year.
6. KCL believes that it must bring out new products, which give a better value to its Customers, on a periodic basis.
7. KCL believes that in a changing environment, its employees' skills need constant upgradation to give the Customer better value and improve productivity.
8. KCL believes that the Shareholders, Suppliers, Distributors, Customers and Employees should share in the prosperity which a successful business achieves, and keeps on increasing.

Kirloskar Cummins' operating philosophy is guided by these principles.

The Company has seen that the rapid growth experienced in the Seventies declined during the first six years of the Eighties, due to additional manufacturing capacities installed by the Competition.

KCL changed its operating strategy to take the Company on a growth path, and is now in the second year of its changed directions. Some key elements of the operating strategy are :

— Diversify Company's product base and markets to balance temporary loss of markets, due to OEM s making their own engines.
— Announce concepts of product life and quality so that KCL customers derive an outstanding cost benefit in their operations.
— Improve Company's operating efficiency across the board in a manner which would cut costs.
— Develop and upgrade the skills of all employees to meet the challenges of the Nineties.

These strategies have paid off, and the results are evident in the performance of the last two years.

■ Highlights of 1988 ■

☐ Sales

Net sales in 1988 were Rs. 1818 M. This figure is the highest in the history of the Company.

There has been dramatic improvement in sales in the Export Market segment, besides other segments.

Exports for the year rose to Rs. 154 M. from Rs 24 M for the previous year.

☐ Profits

The profit before tax for the current year rose to Rs. 164 M as compared with Rs. 155 M for the previous year. The profit after tax is Rs. 114 M as compared with Rs. 100 M for the previous year.

☐ Dividend

The Board of Directors have recommended a Dividend of Rs. 2.25 per equity share, subject to deduction of tax at source.

☐ Research & Engineering Expenditure

The Company has been consciously following a policy of continuous upgradation and introduction of new products, based on market needs.

The Company's expanded R & E facilities will be fully operational during 1989.

☐ Inventories

The level of Productive Inventories has gone up from Rs. 216 M to Rs. 370 M in the current year.

The rise of inventories is attributable to the 'start-up expenditure' for the export market, in which the Company has successfully increased its growth during the current year. Increased inventories are a business investment for the Company's future markets.

☐ Return on Investments

The Return on Shareholders' funds had been showing a declining trend since 1982; from 26.54% to 13.62% in 1986.This decline has been arrested, and the return has improved to 16.84% during the current year.

The Company has plans to improve operating efficiencies and reduce costs towards improving returns on a continuing basis.

However, it must be cautioned that a competitive environment will not sustain the type of margins achieved in the past, when competition on the level which we see today did not exist.

The Company's operating management team and the work-force are to be complimented for turning the Company around, despite the pressures of inflation

☐ Markets

Your Company is operating in a market economy which is rapidly growing and getting to be highly competitive.

This is a result of Government policies, which are slowly but surely continuing on the path of liberalisation for economic growth.

The market picture before us today is one of emerging competition. Letters of intent have been given to BEML/KOMATSU, HM/CAT, KHOSLA/MAN, MODI/BLACKSTONE, WARTSILA, etc., some of which companies' products have been introduced into the market.

These Companies are all formidable additions to existing competition, as all these Companies have an excellent reputation for providing products to customers.

Obviously all new Companies have placed their investments on the basis of growth of the Indian economy and changing customer perceptions, which would mean that they plan to attack existing market shares, as well as participate in the demand created due to growth in various sectors of the economy. We expect to see these new Companies establishing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

manufacturing capacities in the next three years. Currently these Companies depend on imports.

Your Company's policies are based on the foundation of Customer Perceptions, and this has been the reason for its spectacular growth from Rs. 354 M to Rs. 1818 M in the last 10 years.

Your Company has appropriate plans in view to meet competition and maintain growth.

☐ Exports

One of the major constituents of the Company's growth plan is to serve World markets. We believe that demand from these markets will balance out the impact of extra capacity being installed in the Indian markets.

Cummins Engine Co., Inc., has played a major role in assisting your Company, in seizing export opportunities. Its guidance and co-operation have resulted in KCL exporting products worth Rs. 154 M during the year.

Cummins believes that India can upgrade its manufacturing facilities to World Class standards, comparable with those of Japan, West Germany or Switzerland; it has consequently invested in a series of Indian Companies to manufacture diesel engine components which, besides serving the Indian market, would serve Western markets in addition and contribute in a major way to the country's growing engineering exports.

Indian engineering exports to World markets have always suffered due to our lack of perception of what these markets needed in terms of quality, price and delivery.

The export project for the V-28 engine undertaken with CECO, has helped in totally changing our perceptions of product quality and delivery, and we are confident that exports will continue to grow, as we continue on this path.

Your Company is the sole manufacturing source for the V-28 engines in the world. This demonstrates the confidence Cummins has in KCL and India.

As a result of the experience gained through the V-28 project in India, Cummins will expand sourcing activities of diesel engine components from India to be used to build engines produced by Cummins in other parts of the world.

☐ Customer Needs / Satisfaction

Indian customers have started signalling their product life or other needs, and expect an organisation like KCL to respond to them.

Just to give an example, Coal India, as a result of their evaluation of engine/equipment life in the coal-fields of U.S.A., demanded new warranty and life criteria for performance of the Cummins Diesel engine fitted on the BEML-D-355 Crawler Tractor.

KCL has accepted these criteria, and has warranted the KTA-1150 engine, fitted on the BEML-D-355 Crawler Tractor, as desired by Coal India.

The effect of this kind of performance coverage will benefit customers like Coal India, whose operating costs will improve, along with better product life and availability.

This is direct evidence that the market environment in India is changing, and experience coupled with competitive opportunities is increasing customer perceptions of their needs.

Kirloskar Cummins will maintain industry leadership in establishing new practices which give customers lower costs.

We believe that it is a healthy practice to have an interaction between Customers and Manufacturers, to build practices which would lead to all-round cost reduction as well as changes in attitudes towards product life and warranties.

☐ Diversification

Kirloskar-Neoplan Bus :

The Company's plans to enter the Bus market are progressing. The first two Airport Buses will be delivered to Air India in March, representing a tremendous breakthrough.

Tourism Industry :

A demonstration of Luxury Buses to the Indian Tourism Industry is planned in February, 1989. This demonstration will perhaps strengthen Government's hand in preventing import ot luxury buses.

Trucks :

The Company has an application for a Truck License pending with the Government, which will permit the Company to enter this market. This application envisages an entry into the 16-ton to 32-ton truck market in collaboration with RABA of Hungary.

Defence Products :

Government has licensed the Company to produce components for the Defence Sector as a part of its Import Substitution.

Government - Interface :

The Company is witnessing winds of change in Government's approach to indigenous manufacture and exports.

In particular, it is heartening to note that Government has declared a licensing holiday.

The Defence Ministry has been holding meetings with your Company, on manufacture of products which they currently import.

The Commerce Ministry held a meeting with your Company, to evaluate ways and means to expand exports.

On your Company's efforts, the Industry Ministry has been holding meetings to indigenise and reduce imports.

These meetings have been like a breath of fresh air, since they improve the understanding between Government and Industry.

It is our perception that the Government is changing its attitude from regulation to development of industries, to speed up the economic growth of the country.

Interaction and co-operation between Government and Industry must increase, in order to further eliminate systems, within the Industry and the Government, which create wasteful delays in the implementation of current and new industrial projects.

☐ Human Resources

Your Company's strength comes through its people at all levels, and the Company's exemplary record of excellent industrial relations is a matter of pride.

The Employees have worked as a team, and produced results which you are witnessing, and are a tremendous resource to the Company in meeting its future plans too.

The Company has various Training Programmes to upgrade employee skills to balance the needs of productivity and customer satisfaction.

☐ Supplier Base

The Company is fortunate to operate in the heartland of the Indian Engineering Industry, as there is a highly skilled Supplier Base available.

The Suppliers to your Company have done an outstanding job in supporting Kirloskar Cummins' increased demands.

The Suppliers are to be complimented for changing their operating methods in order to participate in the Company's "just-in-time" manufacturing strategy.

The Suppliers are a source of strength for your Company's future growth plans, which heavily depend on the development of a highly responsive Supplier Base.

☐ Cummins Engine Co., Inc.

Befitting their track record of the last two decades, Cummins Engine Company have provided unstinting support to your Company's operations in all areas.

Kirloskar Cummins is a model Indian company, where technology absorption has been a structured and a disciplined process, which cuts across trans-national barriers and concentrates on achieving excellence in product manufacturing and satisfying customer needs.

We are working with Cummins on a continuing basis to upgrade the performance of our products and to reduce costs.

☐ Subsidiary — Product Support

Cummins Diesel Sales & Service (I) Ltd. (CDS & S) is growing from strength to strength, as you may note from the figures in the Balance Sheet. CDS & S has set up an enviable track record of serving KCL customers over the last 20 years, and has revised its product support strategy in keeping with the current environment.

I would like to compliment the management of CDS & S, and its Dealer Organisation, for continuing to support KCL products to the satisfaction of customers.

■ Outlook for the Next Six Months ■

The current financial period is for six months and ends on 31st March, 1989.

The sales during the first three months are higher than the same period for last year, by over 20%.

The Company expects a better performance than that of the same period of last year, by the end of 31st March, 1989.

Let me conclude by thanking the Financial Institutions, Auditors, Solicitors, Shareholders, Depositors, Cummins Engine Company, and all those who have been supporting the operations of the Company.

Thank you.

This does not purport to be a report of the proceedings of the 27th Annual General Meeting.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

COLA WARS

Fizzy-go-round

Pepsi opts for EPZ route too

CAN a non-alcoholic fizzy drink cause a headache? Well, the multinational varieties have certainly given the Government one. Having extracted its pound of flesh in terms of foreign exchange commitments before allowing Pepsi-Cola a glug of the country's Rs 600-crore market, it can't decide what to do with the counter proposal from Pepsi's arch-rival, Coca-Cola.

Though technically sound, Coke's project could undo the gains of the Pepsi deal. Pepsi was getting ready to put in an application similar to Coke's last fortnight, making it clear that it would not go along with what it sees as the Government's "double standards" if Coke got the go-ahead.

"The Coke proposal is exactly what we had asked for in our first proposal three years ago," says a bitter Ramesh Vangal of Pepsi-Cola Inc. That was rejected and Pepsi had to agree to stiff conditions—a 50-per cent export commitment, agricultural and food processing technology transfer and a 25-per cent limit on the beverage component of the project. "We provided a model for foreign collaboration," remarks A.H. Tobaccowala, chairman of Voltas, Pepsi's partner along with Punjab Agro Industries Corporation in the joint venture.

What Coke wants, by contrast, is to set up a concentrate plant in the Noida Export Processing Zone (EPZ), provided it can sell 25 per cent of produce within India—EPZ rules were amended last March to allow that. Clearance for this project would have wide ramifications. Not only Pepsi, a host of other multinationals would most likely follow Coke's example.

A multinational would only have to set up shop in an EPZ, export to its outfits elsewhere with 30 per cent value added here, and sell a quarter of its produce in India. All profits could be repatriated tax free, and no technology need be transferred. Other multinational companies are already in line.

No wonder, then, it took three inconclusive meetings of the secretary-level projects approval board over the last month to consider the Coke application. Finally, they agreed to "recommend" it for the approval of Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh. The compromise was reached after the ministries of finance, industry and food processing industries expressed reservations at the board, because the key Commerce Ministry stoutly pressed for it.

Though opinions were divided even in that ministry, a dominant section was for it. They are desperate to resuscitate the EPZs, which have been dubbed a failure. "We do not wish to enter into the Pepsi-Coke war," Dinesh Singh told INDIA TODAY. "The concern before us is how best to implement the EPZ policy as formulated by the Government". The international business community has made it clear to the Government it sees this case as a test of how serious India is about allowing free trade in the EPZs. Encouraging multinationals with big names to set up plants in these zones would help India's image, it is argued, for prestigious brands would then be sold in international markets bearing the 'made in India' label.

The application, now, might go up to the Cabinet. Meanwhile, there has been a flurry of fierce lobbying among ministers, MPs and influential bureaucrats. While those for it emphasise the importance of protecting India's liberalised image abroad, the arguments against the scheme are strong.

The 25-per cent domestic outlet was designed—much after the EPZs were set up—to provide a crutch to Indian units with problems facing foreign markets. Champagne India, for instance, has been permitted to sell 25 per cent of its bubbly produce in India after five years of trying to establish itself in a competitive foreign market. The Coke application, on the other hand, hinges on the domestic access.

There would be an initial investment of $2 million on the plant. But though Coca-Cola Export Corporation's Director of Business Development (Africa, Middle East and South Asia) Stuart Eastwood says it would "create additional exports and therefore incremental foreign exchange", most of it would go back to the parent company.

And it is basically screw-driver technology. The project is to employ 46 persons, from managers to unskilled labour. The All India Softdrink Manufacturers' Association caustically wrote to Dinesh Singh: "Here is another case of 'things are brought in big jars and put in small jars', because the single most expensive imported machinery is weighing scales and the single most expensive Indian machinery is stainless steel storage tanks."

Of course, the most immediate point against Coke is its impact on the Pepsi deal. Since Pepsi has a minority stake in a joint venture, the project promises hard currency earnings for India. So upset is Pepsi at the prospect of Coke stealing a march on it that a 19-member team, headed by Pepsi-Cola International's Senior Vice-President Nestor Carbonell, visited New Delhi late last month.

However, apart from making its pique clear to the Government, the team also visited the proposed plant site in Punjab and insiders say the project will go ahead in any case. Indications: executive posts have been advertised and bottlers negotiated with.

Coke too has been negotiating. It recently made what an executive calls a "hand-shake agreement" for bottling part of the produce with the second largest Indian soft drink maker, Pure Drinks, thus winning the support of a potential opponent.

If both the cola giants have put in the most strenuous efforts to win their way into India, it is hardly surprising. The second most populous nation on earth is the only major country where neither Pepsi nor Coke is sold. Yet.

—DAVID DEVADAS
with SURAJEET DAS GUPTA

Though technically sound, Coke's project could undo the gains of the Pepsi deal and lead other multinationals in.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

YAMAHA. BECAUSE SOME LEAD. OTHERS FOLLOW.

ESCORTS

There are two kinds of people. Those who go through life doing what everybody else does. And those who dare to be different. Leading the way. Setting the trends. They are the ones you can instantly spot in a crowd. And they are the ones who ride a Yamaha. Because as far as motorcycles go, the Yamaha is a breed apart. An original in a world of imitations.

Take a look at the 11 BHP engine that gives you more power than anybody else. A durable cradle frame for extra engine protection. Brake Drums that are wider than normal for extra stopping power. An ergonomically designed shape to be one with the wind. Tri-nickel chrome plating to last through the years. And of course, the pure joy of riding the best engineered bike in the country.

So you've got a choice. You can either get on to any two wheeler that takes you from here to there, like everybody else. Or you can take a different road. And ride a Yamaha.

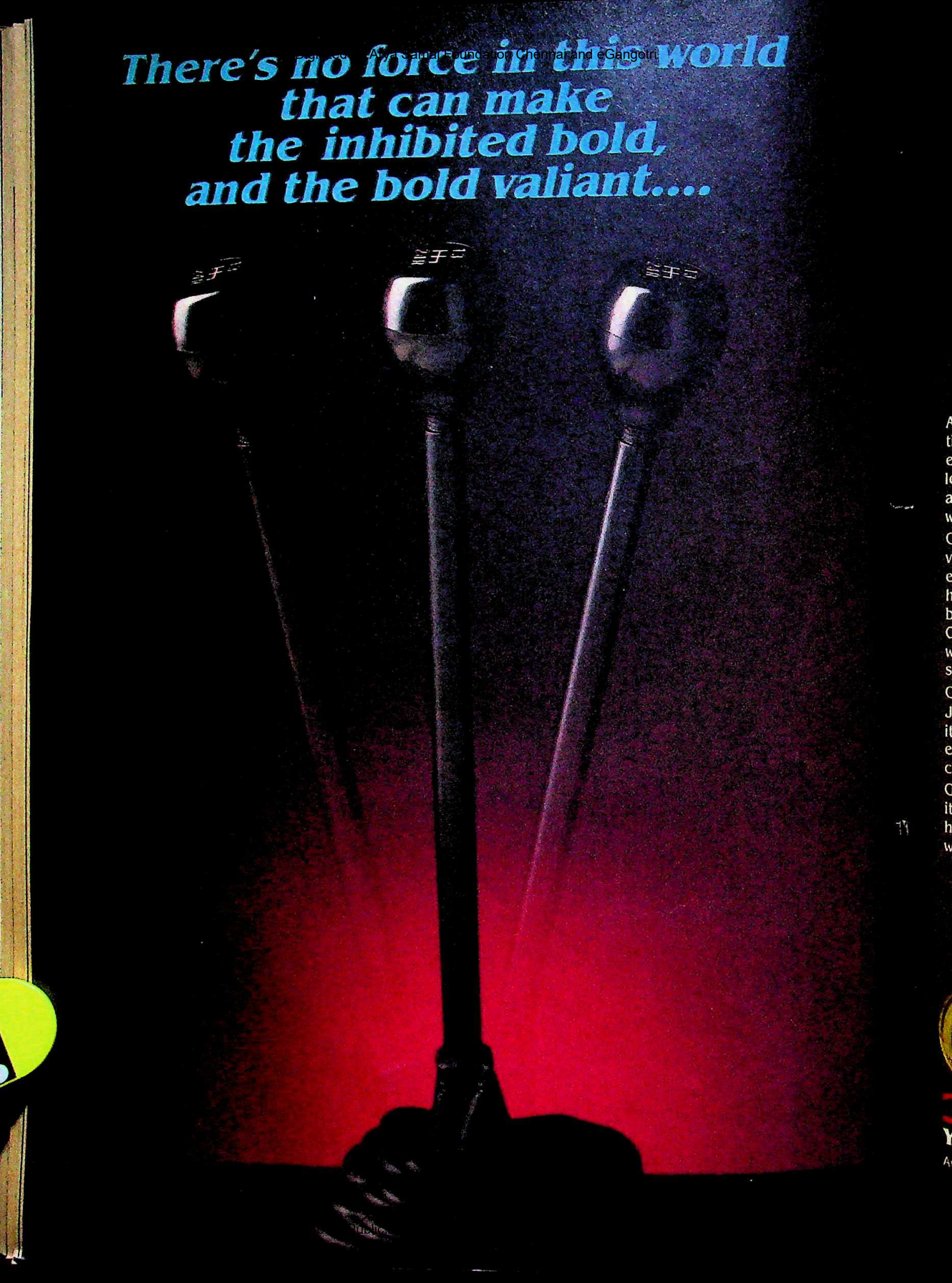
AUTHENTIC YAMAHA RX100

ESCORTS

AHEAD OF THE 100's

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There's no force in this world that can make the inhibited bold, and the bold valiant....



but from under the earth's surface a 5000 year old secret proves otherwise

A secret that takes you to the hidden depths of the Orient. To the fertile soils of Korea. To an enigmatic man-shaped miracle root. To a legend that modern day scientists have already put to the test, proved, and accepted with awe. A secret called.... GINSENG.

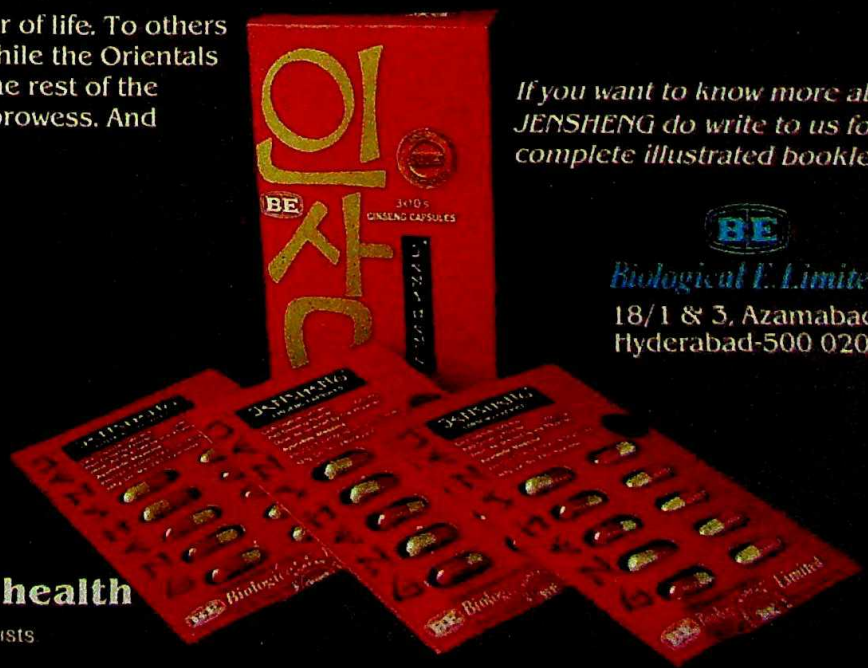
Ginsèng. Over the years it's come to mean vigour, vibrance, vitality, plain good health or even energy plus. International pop legends have sung its praise. Celluloid giants have become fans. Celebrity authors write about it. Oriental athletes improve their track records with it. And Russian Cosmonauts use it in space to combat fatigue.

Ginseng. Across the counter, in Russia, China, Japan, Korea, West Germany, UK and USA, it's gained total consumer acceptance. And in every form, inspired hard-core medical confidence too.

Ginseng. To many it's the elixir of life. To others it's the key to sexual virility. While the Orientals have believed in it for years, the rest of the world is still waking up to its prowess. And discovering that Ginseng is much more than the aphrodisiac it's reputed to be. ★ It's good for body tone. ★ Protects the liver ★ Great for the heart. ★ Helps normalise blood pressure. ★ Reduces stress ★ Stimulates the nerves. ★ It has known anti-diabetic properties. In short, it's an ideal weapon to fight the rigours of today's demanding lifestyles.

Now, the original, most potent Korean Red Ginseng. In capsule form. Under the brand name JENSHENG, comes to you from Biological E Limited.

JENSHENG. Use it to make flights of imagination, exciting journeys of reality. Use it to open up the frontiers of your mind. Use it too, to surpass your own concept of the ultimate. But use it. Most of all, for your better health.



If you want to know more about JENSHENG do write to us for a complete illustrated booklet.

BE

Biological E. Limited

18/1 & 3, Azamabad,
Hyderabad-500 020.

KOREAN ORIGINAL RED GINSENG

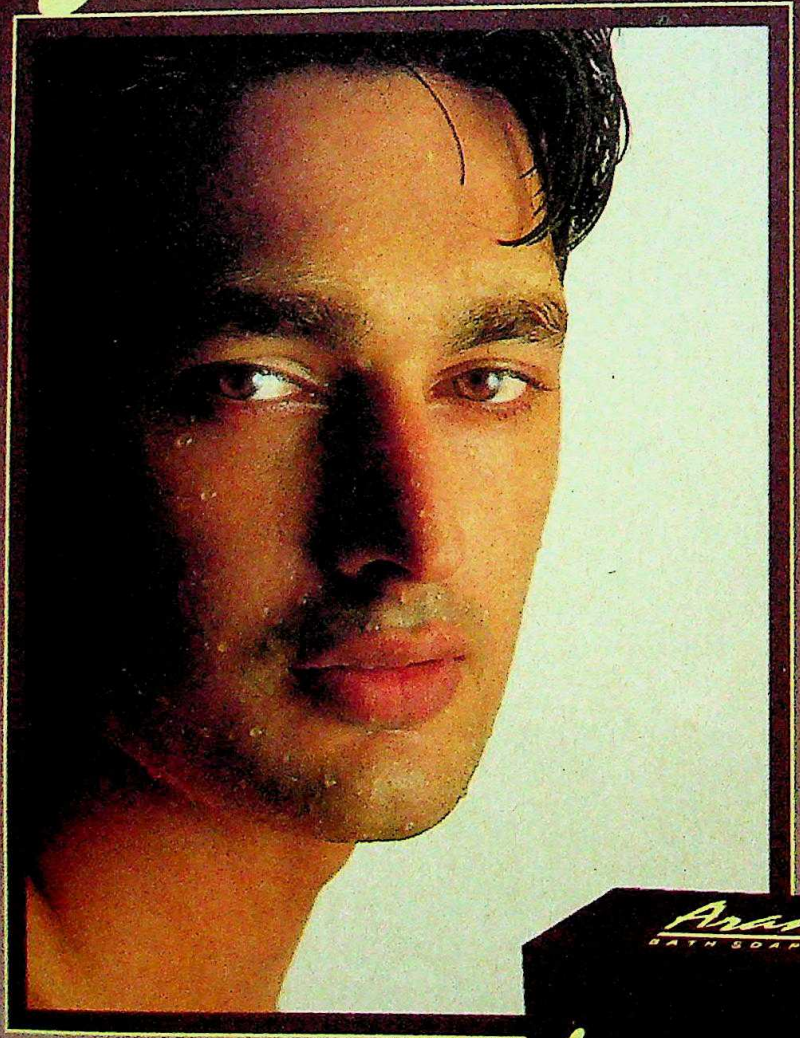
JENSHENG

Your root to better health

Available with all leading Retail Chemists

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Aramusk



Essence of Musk
Inviting. Exciting. Each drop costlier than gold.
Discover it in Aramusk Bath Soap.
In a profusion of lather, creamy and rich.
Uniquely contoured to suit a man's grip
Aramusk
An indulgence reserved for the achieving male.

EXTRAVAGANTLY MALE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Aramusk is brought to you by Shaw Wallace

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STOCK-MARKETS

Firming up

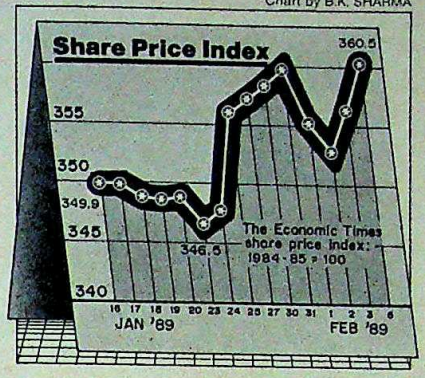
Shares recover after slump

THE stock-markets last fortnight managed to survive the vicissitudes of national politics—the rout of the Congress(I) in the Tamil Nadu elections, the removal of Arjun Singh from the chief ministership of Madhya Pradesh and the outbursts of inner-party dissidence in Bihar and Gujarat. Though the expected heady surge in share prices is yet to materialise, the markets firmed up after a nervous initial reaction.

The national equity index of the Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE) and *The Economic Times* (*ET*) index which had slid slowly in the course of last month to touch 329.53 and 348.60 respectively, recovered ground to 348.95 and 358.40 by the month end by which time the results of the Tamil Nadu election were out.

However, by then, news of the dissidence in Congress(I)-ruled states created a negative reaction in the market. The *ET* index slumped by nearly six points to 352.8 on February 2, on which day the BSE index came down even more—by a good 10 points—to touch 338.88. The recovery started the next day with the BSE picking up to a level of 344.56 while the *ET* index recovered by more than four points to reach 356.40. The upswing continued till the end of the fortnight and the two indices improved to 350.50 and 360.50 respectively.

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



The surge in equity values demonstrated that bullish sentiments are strong and are likely to continue in view of the favourable performance of the economy and improved financial results of companies. The annual report on currency and finance released by the Reserve Bank of India observed that real national income grew by "at least 9 per cent" in the year ended June 1988.

In the case of particular companies, creditable results were coupled with prudent management practices. Consider the examples of two blue-chip Birla concerns—Century Textiles and Industries and Century Enka—which declared their financial results for 1988 last fortnight. The two companies ploughed back much of their higher profits into their businesses and at the same time, declared higher dividends for shareholders. Century Enka's dividend rate was as high as 58.8 per cent on its pre-bonus-issue (2:5) share capital, against 38 per cent dividend declared in 1987.

Yet another instance of sound management was last fortnight's decision of the directors of Tata Steel to split the company's scrip value from Rs 100 at present to Rs 10. The markets responded enthusiastically to the decision and the quotation of the Tata Steel share rose markedly. Going by the experience of companies like Bajaj Auto, Bombay Dyeing and GSFC (Gujarat State Fertilisers Company) which had earlier split the value of their shares, the splitting of the Tata Steel share is expected to spur investor interest in the scrip. Moreover, this decision is believed to have improved the prospects of the company's proposed issue of convertible debentures.

ACTIVE STOCKS

	1989 HIGH	1989 LOW	1989 CLOSE 6.2.89	Change in Fortnight
Ashok Leyland	71.50	61.00	70.00	8.00 +
Associated Cement	345.00	299.00	337.00	20.00 +
Asian Paints	226.25	201.25	215.00	1.25 +
Atlas Copco	51.00	41.00	45.00	3.00 +
Bajaj Auto	417.50	372.50	406.25	6.25 +
Baroda Rayon	347.00	285.00	340.00	40.00 +
Bata India	82.00	74.50	76.00	nil
Bharat Forge	202.50	187.50	195.00	5.00 +
Birla Jute	49.25	43.00	45.00	1.00 +
Blow Plast	55.00	42.50	45.00	2.50 –
Bombay Dyeing	128.00	104.00	120.00	1.00 +
Britannia Ind.	108.00	92.00	95.00	1.00 –
Brooke Bond	126.00	98.50	125.00	18.00 +
Century Spinning	1520.00	1230.00	1510.00	95.00 +
Chloride India	76.25	72.00	75.50	1.25 +
Colgate Palmolive	340.00	281.25	330.00	25.00 +
Cyanamid	73.00	55.00	69.00	3.00 +
DCM	43.00	31.50	38.50	0.50 +
Dunlop	86.00	75.50	84.00	5.50 +
E.I. Hotels	60.00	50.00	57.50	0.50 +
Escorts	71.00	61.00	66.50	2.50 +
Finolex Cables	430.00	362.50	393.75	26.25 –
Food Specialities	193.00	161.50	191.00	22.00 +
Garware Nylon	46.50	39.00	41.00	2.00 –
G.E. Shipping	42.00	35.00	37.75	0.75 +
G.S.F.C.	155.00	127.50	138.75	3.75 +
Grasim Ind.	105.75	76.00	105.75	22.25 +
Hind. Aluminium	189.00	155.00	179.00	5.00 +
Hind. Ciba	660.00	600.00	650.00	10.00 +
Hind. Cocoa	116.25	98.75	113.75	10.00 +
Hindustan Lever	77.00	69.00	76.00	5.00 +
Hindustan Motors	30.00	26.75	29.00	0.30 +
IEL	47.50	39.00	43.50	3.75 +
Indian Organic	46.50	38.00	41.00	4.00 –
Indian Rayon	90.50	76.50	90.00	8.00 +
Indrol	300.00	218.75	290.00	2.50 +
Ingersoll-Rand	350.00	315.00	347.50	10.00 +
ITC	54.25	46.25	53.75	6.75 +
J.K. Synthetics	87.00	80.00	87.00	3.00 +
Kinetic Engineering	395.00	367.50	392.50	13.75 +
Kirloskar Cummins	88.75	68.75	70.00	5.00 –
KSB Pumps	320.00	305.00	320.00	2.50 +
Larsen & Toubro	128.00	112.00	117.00	0.50 +
Lipton	79.00	71.50	74.00	2.00 –
LML Ltd.	15.00	12.50	14.25	1.25 +
Madura Coats	96.00	92.25	95.50	1.50 +
Mahindra & Mahindra	94.00	76.50	90.00	7.00 +
Milk Food	242.50	190.00	215.00	nil
Motor Industries	620.00	560.00	610.00	20.00 +
Mukand Iron	98.00	82.00	88.00	3.00 –
National Organic	835.00	735.00	800.00	15.00 +
Nirlon	14.00	10.75	11.50	1.00 –
Orkay Silk Mills	29.00	21.00	22.50	3.25 –*
Peico Electronics	28.00	20.50	23.25	0.75 +
Pfizer	76.00	62.50	75.00	7.00 +
Ponds	185.00	166.25	172.50	1.25 +
Premier Auto	50.00	41.00	45.50	1.75 +
Raymond	75.00	65.50	70.00	2.00 –
Reliance Industries	155.00	117.00	148.00	24.00 +
Siemens India	95.00	79.50	81.00	nil
Shaw Wallace	103.25	84.50	87.00	3.50 –
Shriram Fibres	71.00	64.00	70.00	0.50 +
SKF Bearings	2350.00	1760.00	2350.00	300.00 +
SPIC	56.50	40.25	42.00	2.75 –
Tata Steel	1248.75	1062.50	1245.00	83.75 +
Telco	797.50	657.50	770.00	60.00 +
Vam Organic	172.00	136.00	167.00	7.00 +
Videocon Int.	88.75	55.00	86.25	11.25 +
Voltas	575.00	470.00	570.00	55.00 +
Wimco	27.00	16.50	17.75	0.25 –

*Ex-right

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

COUNTRY	CURRENCY	UNIT	TT Selling Rates Rs	TT Buying Rates Rs
Australia	Dollar	1	13.4707	13.3308
Austria	Schilling	100	1.1690	1.1530
Bahrain	Dinar	1	40.1122	40.0000
Bangladesh	Taka	100	48.7236	48.6628
Canada	Dollar	1	12.9407	12.8076
Denmark	Kroner	1	2.0989	2.0775
Egypt	Pound	1	6.2368	6.1518
France	Franc	1	2.4272	2.3669
Hong Kong	Dollar	1	1.9649	1.9503
Indonesia	Rupiah	100	0.0800	0.0700
Iran	Rial	100	21.3628	21.2500
Italy	Lira	100	1.1100	1.0900
Japan	Yen	100	11.9617	11.6686
Kenya	Shilling	1	0.7526	0.7010
Kuwait	Dinar	1	52.3620	52.2599
Malaysia	Dollar	1	5.6210	5.5635
Mauritius	Rupee	1	1.0500	1.0300
Nepal	Rupee	1	0.6200	0.5900
Netherlands	Guilder	1	7.2019	7.1275
Pakistan	Rupee	1	0.7626	0.7126
Singapore	Dollar	1	7.9481	7.8665
Spain	Peseta	1	0.1300	0.1186
Sri Lanka	Rupee	1	0.4600	0.4528
Sweden	Kroner	1	2.4153	2.3878
Switzerland	Franc	1	9.5875	9.4870
Tanzania	Shilling	1	0.1150	0.1000
Thailand	Baht	100	60.3528	60.1826
UK	Pound	1	26.5287	26.3887
USA	Dollar	1	15.3257	15.1745
UAE	Dirham	1	4.1000	4.0000
USSR	Rouble	1	24.2500	24.0000
W. Germany	Deutschmark	1	8.2576	8.0515

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo Limited, New Delhi and quoted between the banks on 6.2.89.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRICES have been inexcusably going up at double digit inflation rates over the last quarter. The financial year 1988-89 is likely to end with an overall inflation rate of more than 8 per cent, a figure which is unforgiveable in a year which has seen a good monsoon.

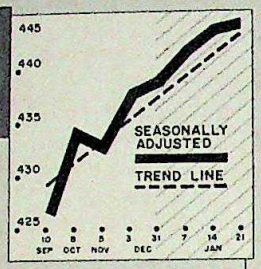
Industrial production picked up and the share market remained optimistic but excess liquidity in the economy is the cause of concern.

All data are seasonally adjusted. Current trends are computed on the basis of six months' (weekly data) or two years' (monthly data) figures.

Wholesale Price Index

1970-71 = 100

Current Trend
8.5% p.a.

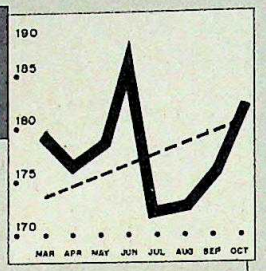


Wholesale prices registered a sharp increase last fortnight. The annualised rate of increase is 15 per cent.

Industrial Production Index

1980-81 = 100

Current Trend
6.7% p.a.

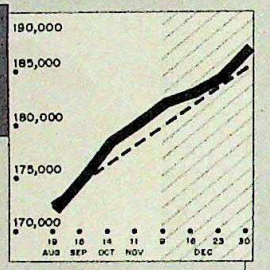


The industrial sector showed signs of robustness with output registering a healthy increase of 3.5 per cent last fortnight.

Money Supply

Rs Crore

Current Trend
19.2% p.a.

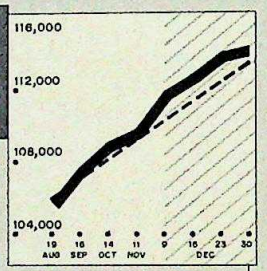


The supply of money in the economy increased sharply last fortnight and may result in inflationary pressures.

Commercial Bank Credit

Rs Crore

Current Trend
19% p.a.

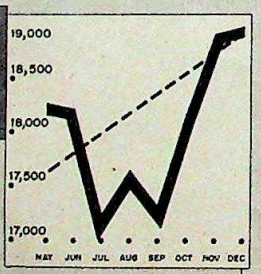


Commercial credit conditions in the country eased once again last fortnight. The long-term trend is uncomfortably above target.

Electricity Generation

Million kWh

Current Trend
7.1% p.a.

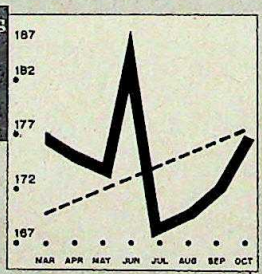


Electric power output—a vital infrastructural input for the economy—grew at a disappointing rate last month.

Manufacturing Index

1980-81 = 100

Current Trend
7.4%

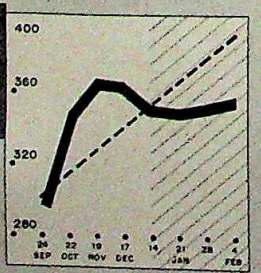


Manufacturing output went up by 2.7 per cent last month and is showing a good response to increased demand.

Share Price Index

1984-85 = 100

Current Trend
72% p.a.

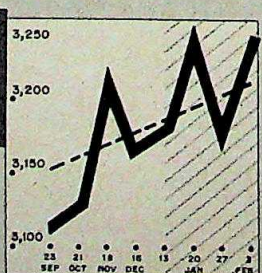


The mood in the share market last fortnight was distinctly bullish and shows every sign of continuing that way.

Closing Gold Prices

Rs per 10 gm

Current Trend
5.3% p.a.



After a spurt some time ago following a period of stagnation, the price of gold again hit a plateau during the last fortnight.

WHOLESALE PRICES

Growth of items in the 1st fortnight of January 1989

	% Growth
Bananas	11.87
Oranges	11.32
Petroleum Crude & Natural Gas	8.32
Cashew-Nut	7.23
Arhar	6.23
Betel-Nuts	5.19
Tobacco Raw	5.13
Groundnut Seeds	4.55
Gram	4.55
Solvent Extracted Oil	3.51
Jowar	3.43
Tin Containers	3.38
Silk Raw	3.25
Khandsari	2.99
Ghee	2.81
Logs, Timber, Bamboo	2.77
Dairy Products	2.60
Rubber	2.41
Electricity	2.30
Ragi	2.21
Gingelly Oil	2.21
Cotton Yarn	2.20
Gingelly Seed	2.19
Bajra	1.91
Internal Combustion Engines	1.80
Groundnut Oil	1.80
Barley	1.77
Art Silk & Artificial Fabrics	1.71
Hides Raw	1.65
Iron Ore	1.37
Caustic Soda	1.31
PVC Compounds	1.15
Copra	1.10
Jute Textiles	1.07
Transformers	1.06
Biscuits	1.03
Handloom & Powerloom Products	0.97
Cars	0.96
Meat	0.93
Dry Cells	0.82
Board	0.79
Coir Yarn	0.76
Copper & Alloys	0.63
Vanaspati	0.53
Furnace Oil	0.51
Ball Bearing	0.47
Plywood	0.45

Of the 138 series considered 64 of them with a total weight of 37.34 had a positive growth and 74 of them with a total weight of 49.266 had a negative growth.

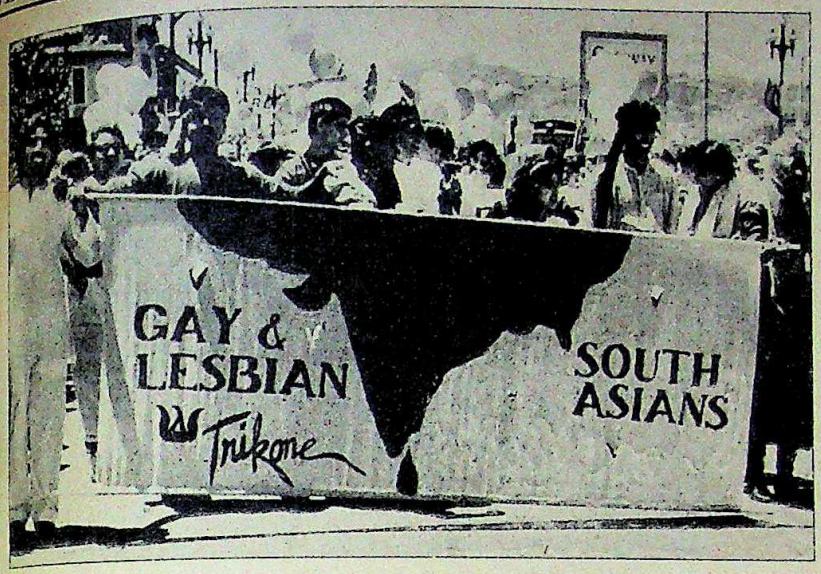
SELECTED INDICATORS

	1988	1987
Fertiliser Thousand Tonnes, December	900.7	655.4
Letters of Intent Numbers, December	213	174
Industrial Licences Numbers, December	48	28
Plant Load Factor Per cent, December	57.5	59.4
Revenue Earning Traffic Million Tonnes, December	27.14	25.53

Compiled by THE POLICY GROUP

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



South Asian gays in San Fransisco

HOMOSEXUALS

Out of the Closet

Sense of liberation sweeps Indian gays in the US

FOR the seven lakh Indians living in the US, this was the last frontier, the last all-American bastion that remained to be stormed. But now some determined, if sexually not quite old-fashioned, Indians have done so—signalling their arrival in the world of American gay activism.

Predictably, the expatriate Indian's gay revolution has begun from San Francisco—the city of brotherly love—with the formation of Trikone (triangle), a well-knit gay group run by Aravind Kumar, a San Jose-based IIT graduate-turned-journalist-turned-gay-activist. The 31-year-old Kumar edits the Bay area's only Indian cultural monthly, *India Currents*, as well as a bi-monthly news-letter for Trikone.

Kumar typifies the increasingly candid face of the Indian gay. He lives with fellow-journalist Ashok Jethanandani, sharing an apartment with his married brother. "Coming out of the closet was an intense experience," says Ashok, a 31-year-old IIT Bombay graduate. Kumar is gung-ho: "There are no more ghosts in my cupboard. I am liberated."

Trikone draws its name from the Nazi concentration camps where gays and lesbians were segregated and branded with pink inverse triangles. Says Kumar: "The pink triangle is now the symbol of gay pride."

Following Trikone's example even Indian lesbians have come out of the purdah, under the banner of Anamika (nameless), a New York-based group run by two low-profile women, Anu and Giti. In Montreal, Canada, another group, Khush (literal Hindustani for gay), coordinates with these two, bringing out news-letters and communicating with the several thousand-strong Indian gay community in North America. The Trikone news-letter receives 60-70 letters from India each month. There are even organisations of Buddhist gays and one—Radha Krishna Seva Sangha—is run by lesbian and gay Gaudiya Vaishnavas.

Indian member of Trikone (right) and its magazine

Racism has had a role to play in the formation of these organisations. Says Philip Solanki, who along with Nelson Carvalho founded Khush in Canada: "Racism can make life in the US or Canada a cruel experience." He describes his first experience at an American gay bar. "I crouched on a stool, too scared even to go to the bathroom. It quickly became apparent to me that I seemed not to exist in the eyes of the other people. After several visits to different gay bars, and continuing indifference, I began to be convinced I strongly resembled the Hunchback of Notre Dame. After years of self-debasing hurt, I felt the need to start a group like Khush because it occurred to me that there may be other South Asian gays going through a similar self-doubt process."

It all began with a handful of gay Indo-Americans, who now form the core group of Trikone, taking part with more than 100,000 other marchers in the annual San Francisco Freedom Day Parade in 1986. Now the organisation has chapters in Los Angeles, Chicago and New York. Among the cases highlighted by them has been that of Lila Namdeo and Urmila Shrivastava, the two Madhya Pradesh policewomen who tied the "nuptial" knot last year. Anamika has even been raising funds for the persecuted policewomen.

Along with their sexual preferences the gays and lesbians proudly wear their Indian origins on their sleeve. The women have even added an Indianism to their lexicon—*khushipana* for lesbianism. The trikone, they say, also symbolises the *yoni* in the Indian system. The pen-friends column in the news-letter is called *Yaar*.

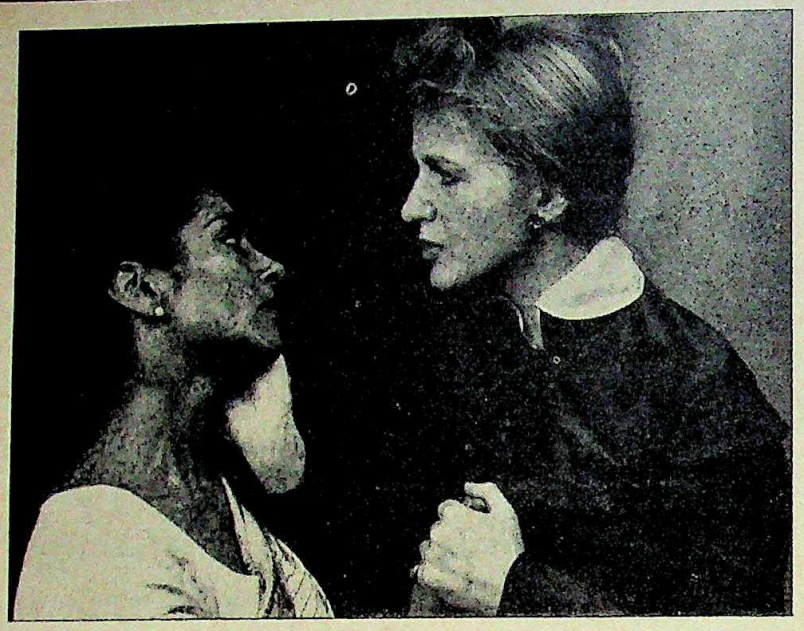
Indo-American gays assert that besides racial bigotry, they face the social and religious taboos of the expatriate community. They claim a sexually different Indian in the US is isolated.

Yet, whatever they say, their lives have little that is different from the life of the American gay. It is doubtful if any other society would have given them the acceptance they have found in the US.

—C.S. NAGARKATTI
in San Francisco

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Puri as ayah, Lagerfelt as Memsahib

THEATRE

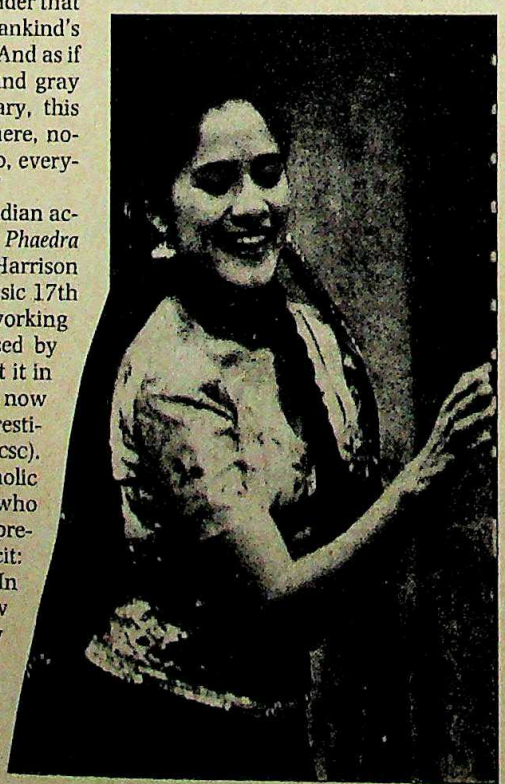
An Indian Summer

Indianised adaptation of *Phaedra* in New York

IN an off-Broadway repertory theatre, an anguished Victorian memsahib has been lamenting: "My hell is India, always at high noon, with no relief of night, and no monsoon, and under that red sun's remorseless stare mankind's grossest secrets are laid bare." And as if mocking the snow and sleet and gray skies of Manhattan in February, this heroine insists: "There's nowhere, nowhere dark enough to hide. No, everywhere the sun can get inside."

The play, featuring three Indian actresses in significant roles, is *Phaedra Britannica*. English poet Tony Harrison has adapted Jean Racine's classic 17th century tragedy *Phaedra* (a reworking of the Greek myth immortalised by Euripides in *Hippolytus)* and set it in colonial India of the 1850s. It is now being staged by New York's prestigious Classic Stage Company (csc).

For the Greeks and the Catholic Racine, the myth of Phaedra, who falls in love with her stepson, represented a passion doubly illicit: adulterous and incestuous. "In America," explains csc's new director Carey Perloff, "the story is more odd than tragic. Today, a woman in love with her stepson goes to her therapist and works it out." The only way to make such a moral dilemma plausible today is to place it in another country and time. Harrison reinvented the myth by shifting the scene to British India.



Jaffrey as Lilamani

Phaedra, the Greek queen, is transformed into Memsahib, the wife of an English Governor (Duke Theseus of the original). Her stepson Hippolytus (Theseus's son by an Amazon) becomes Thomas Theophilus, the Governor's son by a Rajput princess, and Phaedra's canny nurse Oenone is Memsahib's ayah. Hippolytus' young love (Racine's Aricia) is Princess Lilamani, the deposed heir of a province annexed by the British Governor. Greek gods have been replaced by Siva and Kali and the Furies become the "bestial India".

The background is expanded on by director Perloff, a classical scholar: "There was considerable contact between the British and the Indians, and if there was not marriage, there was sex." Hence the philandering Governor's conquests are: "Oudh! Hyderabad! Kabul!" Each standing for some scandal the whole province knows. "Scores of 'incidents' throughout Bengal, o far too many to recall them all—the *purdahs* plundered, .the *zenanas* sacked..." And Memsahib describes her lovesick condition thus: "Heart beat like a tom-tom, punkah flapped backwards and forwards and my strength was sapped. I felt you mocking, India, you brewed strange potions out of lust and lassitude." To relate his adaptation to its new locale and period Harrison even questions the British presence in India and anticipates her Independence.

India is also vibrantly present in the Indian actresses, who are pitted against such Broadway stalwarts as Caroline Lagerfelt and Bob Gunton. Dancer Rajika Puri plays the ayah, Sakina Jaffrey (daughter of well-known Indian actors Saeed and Madhur), Lilamani and newcomer Meher Tatna plays Tara, Lilamani's friend.

Minorities have traditionally found it hard to break into American theatre because it was difficult to even audition for non-equity actors. The powerful Actors' Equity Association scrutinises all casting to ensure its members are well served. But Equity's new non-Traditional Casting Project has enabled ethnic actors to become its members.

Says Perloff: "It was so important to cast the Indian roles with Indian actresses. It makes everything so much easier." Puri's powerful ayah, Jaffrey's lovely Lilamani and Tatna's promising Tara should open American theatre doors not only for these "terrific Indian actresses" but also for others to follow.

—VIBHUTI PATEL in New York

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

And now the CD Trousers with the Italian Fit make a hit!

CD Trousers
a fitting compliment to CD shirts.
Rs.260/- onwards.

Available only at
Charagh Din
Wodehouse Road, Colaba, Bombay.
NOWHERE ELSE
There are no branches or dealers & sub dealers
No agents or representatives appointed by us

AMOL BOSE ADVTG. 9288

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JINDAL

Steel invites

It invites housewives to take a shine to it. It excites the transport industry on to the fast track. And what's more. It makes a material difference to almost any industry you name.

Stainless Steel

Today this exciting metal is 'steeling' a march over conventional materials in a diverse range of applications. Stainless Steel is corrosion resistant & rust proof with excellent formability and ductility. It is lightweight yet strong. It is abrasion resistant, autoclavable and hygienic. Never before has something that looks so good made such good sense.

Jindal: Helping India prove its mettle

And helping pioneer this new world of steel is the Jindal Organization. A dynamic company fast moving upwards. A company that has made India's aspirations its own, dedicated not only

A range to suit all applications

JINDAL STAINLESS PRODUCTS

Available in Grades of AISI-201, 202, 304, 304L, 316, 316L, 321, 430, 410 and as per customer specifications:

	Thickness	Width	Length
PLATES	4.0-50mm	1000 mm	upto 10 mtrs
HOT ROLLED STRIPS	2.5-4.0mm	450 mm	in Coil Form or Flats
COLD ROLLED SHEETS	0.20-3.0mm	450 mm	in Coil Form
STAINLESS TUBES	Outer Dia Wall thickness Length	: 19-75mm : 0.70-3.0mm : 5-6 mtrs	
COLD ROLLED MILD STEEL SHEETS	Thickness Width Full Hard, Annealed, DD, EDD Quality	: 0.20-2.0mm : 1200mm in Coil Form	

making the
sufficient i
but setting
world of st
Jindal mar
Stainless S
raw materi
finished pr
steel revol

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Steel excites

making the country self-sufficient in Stainless Steel but setting standards for the world of steel to follow. Jindal manufactures Stainless Steel right from raw material to the final finished product. There's a steel revolution brewing and Jindal is proud to pioneer it.

Stainless Steel Advisory Centre

For free technical advise on the selection of the right grade of Stainless Steel for your specific application just fill and mail the following coupon.

I want free technical advise on Stainless Steel for the following application: _____

Name : _____

Designation : _____

Company : _____

Address : _____

Telephone : _____

Mail this coupon to:

Mr. A.N. Singh,
Stainless Steel Advisory Centre,
Jindal Strips Ltd.,
28, Najafgarh Road, New Delhi-110 015.

JINDAL

• STRIPS LIMITED •

Pioneering the world of steel

LINTAS DELHI JSL/3/37.24

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THOSE WHOM YOU RELY ON, RELY ON THE JEEP.

Guarding the nation often involves pitched battles against the combined attack of man and nature.

Which is why those whom you – and the nation – rely on, have always trusted the Mahindra Jeep.

Mahindra Jeep®

Performance you can rely on

WINNERS GREAT DESERT HIMALAYAN RALLY - 1st & 2nd PRIZE

THERE IS NO OTHER JEEP MADE IN INDIA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Coming of Age

THE Indian cartoonist has arrived. That is the message of R.K. Laxman having made it as the cover story of the *Illustrated Weekly of India*. Few will cavil at the fact that the *Weekly* belongs to the same stable as *The Times of India*, for which Laxman works and draws.

The honour bestowed on Laxman goes beyond his person or gifts. It is a recognition of the fact—belatedly—that the cartoonist is a treasured commodity in the print media and should be accorded an honoured place, thus far reserved for noted editors or columnists.

Even more than his political cartoons, Laxman is known for his pocket cartoons and has created a character we all recognise: the common man. It was no accident that his Common Man became a mascot of *The Times of India's* 150th anniversary celebrations.

The imitative instinct being a strong national trait, all newspapers have sought to display pocket cartoons, some of Laxman's contemporaries being more successful than others. But an Indian newspaper, it would seem, feels naked without a front page pocket cartoon, whatever its quality. *The Hindu*, for instance, suffers from its apparent inability to attract a top-flight cartoonist.

Laxman is only the most successful, prolific and consistent of Indian cartoonists. What sets him apart from many of his distinguished colleagues is his amazing fecundity. Day after day, week after week, decade after decade, he keeps regaling us with funny cartoons, lampooning men and situations all can appreciate. The surprise is not that he repeats himself in some of the themes, but that his bubbling humour keeps sprouting out of his fertile mind in a seemingly never-ending stream. It is only when he dons the robe of the illustrator that Laxman reveals his weaknesses.

While Laxman has found the right wavelength with a majority of his readers, the country possesses a bevy of talent in the field. Laxman's success depends in part upon his non-ideological bent and his loquacity keeps pace with the national tendency towards verbosity. Ideology is largely foreign to the Indian temperament and the success of the Congress Party has been underlined by the fact that it promotes no ideology.

Laxman at work: prolific output

The recognition of Laxman's talent has elevated the status of all cartoonists—from commercial artists into creative artists.

In the delicacy of his lines, his understatement and his devastating wit, Abu ranks with the best cartoonists in the world. Abu once enlivened the pages of the *Indian Express* and now sells his wares far and wide. He is perhaps the most underrated of the cartoonists and deserves greater recognition than he has received thus far. For him, the cartoon is a statement of his personal beliefs. He remains a committed Nehruvian, an old-fashioned liberal, if you like.

O.V. Vijayan, who draws for *The Statesman*, is the cerebral cartoonist. Each cartoon is a political argument he is seeking to promote. It is full of biting satire and an indictment of the state of affairs in the country. Given his genre and commitment, Vijayan, a talented writer in Malayalam, must remain condemned to receiving high praise from a minority.

Sudhir Dar is the social cartoonist, now gracing the front page of *The Hindustan Times*. He can be telling in his comments on social situations and absurdities. Unlike the great majority of cartoonists, Dar hails from the north and is particularly effective in the north Indian milieu where the typical Congressman's culture mingles with the social mores of more ordinary people.

What Sudhir Dar is to the north, Mario Miranda is to Bombay and the west. His stylised figures seem appropriate in their setting, typically located in Bombay or his native Goa, giving expression to the absurdities of Indian life and situations.

Among the political cartoonists, Ravi Shankar's growth in the *Indian Express* has been impressive. His figures have developed stronger lines and his caricatures of those who strut the political stage are telling although he is beginning to veer towards stylised representations. Ravi Shankar suffers from his newspaper's present policy because his most biting satire seems confined to members of the ruling party at the Centre.

There are others of note—Ajit Ninan of *India Today*, for one. Ninan's talent as a political cartoonist remains largely undiscovered as much of his time is taken up with illustrating, rather than straight cartooning. And Rajinder Puri, who wields a vitriolic brush, has given pride of place to writing and political activity, rather than his original forte.

Laxman's talent and his newspaper's recognition of his pulling power are all to the good because they elevate the status of all cartoonists. Traditionally, the Indian newspaper management's tendency has been to treat the cartoonist on par with the hack commercial artist given set jobs. At last, the cartoonist is placed where he belongs: as a creative artist.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Must good printing lead you a pretty dance?

You could be in no worse situation in getting imported printing paper. Your one hand at your bank's counter and the other holding your client. Your one foot running in search of the paper while the other one screwed to your other business deals. Ouch! May it not be your last tango!

Don't despair.

There's **Sensocote.** To let you feel releaxed. **Sensocote** art card and art paper. The like of which didn't exist until now. Now you can get the printing impressions you always relied upon importeds for. Sharp. Spirited. Full of detail.

Sensocote. If you love to face the music of good printing happiiy. Ever after.

Gone are the importeds
Gone are the ifs 'n' buts

SensoCote

Sensible language in printing

From the makers of

SilverCote

Shree Krishna Paper Mills & Industries Limited

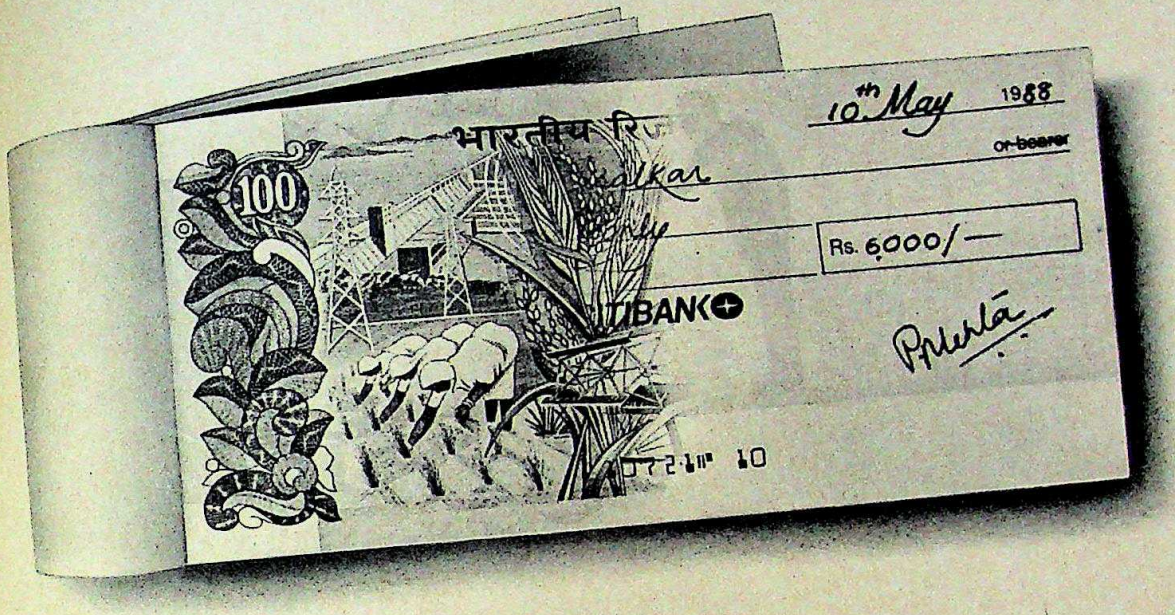
4830/24, Prahlad Lane,
Ansari Road, Daryaganj,
New Delhi-110 002.
Ph : 272320, 275117

Sales Outlets :
DELHI : • M/s Birdhi Chand Girdhari Lal, 3798 Chawri Bazar, Tel. 2917913, 2920778 • M/s Lahore Paper Store, 3796 Chawri Bazar, Tel. 2912078 • M/s Phool Chand Jain & Sons, 536-38 Gali Gajajan, Sadar Bazar, Tel. 524680 • M/s Shyam Traders 70-A Kamla Nagar, Tel. 2914711, 2915766 • M/s Hari Kishan & Sons, 6 Mela Ram Market, Chawri Bazar, Tel. 262439, 262587 • M/s Sushil Enterprises 6 Makki Market, Chawri Bazar, Tel. 264949 **UTTAR PRADESH :** • M/s Suprams Paper Corporation, Jarar House, Madiya Katra, **Agra.** Tel. 76536 • M/s Lucknow Paper & Allied Co. Pvt. Ltd., 49/50, General Ganj, **Kanpur.** Tel. 2 19 733 **RAJASTHAN :** • M/s Nagawat Trading Co. Kothari Haveli, **Banswara.** Tel. 362 **PUNJAB :** • M/s Kapoor Trdg. Corpn. Bazar Kharadian, **Ludhiana.** Tel. 20879 pp. • M/s Kapoor Trdg. Corpn., Bay Shop No. 11, Sector-27D **Chandigarh.** Tel. 29280, 43280 • M/s Kapoor Trdg. Corpn., Guru Bazar **Amritsar.** Tel. 41039 • M/s Guglani Paper & Stationery Mart, Khingran Gate, **Jalandhar.** Tel. 73695 **MADHYA PRADESH :** • M/s Balkrishna Paper Sales Agency, 623, Saraswati Market, Khajuri Bazar, M.G. Road, **Indore.** Tel. 30067. **MAHARASHTRA :** • M/s Arvind Trading Corpn., 64/8, Sutar Chawl, First Floor, **Bombay.** Tel. 327662, 320505 **HYDERABAD :** • Sri Venkatesh Paper Agencies Hyderabad Pvt. Ltd., 4 Raghava Ratna Tower, Chiragh Ali Lane, **Hyderabad.** Tel. 232544 **GUJARAT :** • M/s Vishal Trading Co., F/9, Vikram Chambers, Near Hotel Natraj, Ashram Road, **Ahmedabad.** Tel. 384894, 339926 • M/s Padmavati Tradg., Co. 7 Sachin Apt. Dandia Bazar, **Baroda.** Tel. 64682 **WEST BENGAL ;** • M/s Laxmi Traders, 16, India Exchange Place, **Calcutta.** Tel. 201961, 207567 • M/s National Sales Syndicates 167, Old China Bazar St **Calcutta.** Tel. 260030, 275420 • M/s Paramount Papers, 57, Radha Bazar, St. **Calcutta.** Tel. 268367, 263360. **KARNATAKA :** • M/s Karnataka Paper Agencies, 200/2, Sultanpet, **Bangalore.** Tel. 258836 **TAMILNADU :** • M/s T.K.N. (P) Ltd., 169 Luz Church Road Mylapore, **Madras.** Tel. 76877, 73723 **ORISSA :** • M/s Rameshwar Lal Shyam Sunder, Banka Bazar, **Cuttack.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Don't let your money lie lazy in a savings or current account.



Earn higher interest and the freedom to withdraw. With

Citibank's UnFixed Deposit.

Citibank's UnFixed Deposit doesn't let your money laze around. It earns interest as high as a Fixed Deposit. While you continue to operate it like your savings or current account.

All you have to do is deposit a minimum of Rs. 10,000 with us. And we'll give you a cheuqebook with which you can withdraw up to 75% of your deposit, anytime.

You pay only 2% over the fixed deposit rate for the period you use your money.

For deposits of 91 days—364 days we'll give you interest at 8% p.a. And of course for long-term deposits, a much higher interest.

So put your money into Citibank's UnFixed Deposit and get the double advantage of high returns and liquidity.

Come, get in touch with your friendly Banker today. Or, if you can't, fill in the coupon and mail it now.

Yes, I am interested in Citibank's UnFixed Deposit. IT
☐ I would like your representative to phone me.
☐ Please send me details of the Citibank UnFixed Deposit.

Name: .....

.....

Address: .....

.....

Tel: (Off) ..... (Res) .....

CITIBANK
Consumer Services Group

We'll give you a banker, not just a bank.

Bombay: Nariman Point, Tel: 2028884, 2870871 • D.N. Road, Tel: 2860871. **Calcutta:** Chowringhee Road, Tel: 299220, 293843 • Brabourne Road, Tel: 263575, 267366. **Delhi:** Connaught Circus, Tel: 3325918, 3328989. **Madras:** 768, Anna Salai, Tel: 860856.

HTA 2978

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

THE MAND

Terrorists' Terrain

The 600 sq km of the riverine areas of Ferozepur, Amritsar, Kapurthala and Jalandhar districts known as the mand region has become the nursery and theatre of terrorism. All efforts by the ill-equipped and ill-trained police and paramilitary forces to flush out the killer-gangs have failed. And most of the anti-terrorist action-plans by the Government have fizzled out. A report:

THE ubiquitous sarkanda (elephant grass), overrunning the marshy river islands, lush green fields and meadows of the picturesque mand, is symbolic of its people—mostly Kamboj and Rai Sikhs. The stiff and stubborn grass regenerates stronger the more one tries to destroy it by fire or sickle.

Equally obdurate are the people of the mand. Spread over 600 sq km of the riverine areas of Ferozepur, Amritsar, Kapurthala and Jalandhar districts of Punjab, they nonchalantly weather the worst. High floods are just another season and the fight against nature a way of life. And between the annual floods that wash away lush green fields in a matter of hours, they specialise in stealing a paddy or a wheat crop.

Terrorism, breeding relentlessly in the mand is no different. It has only grown through the five war-scale flushing out operations conducted by the paramilitary forces in the last four years. The result is that from being a safe hide-out once, the mand has now become the headquarters for the killer gangs of the Khalistan Commando Force (KCF) and the Babbar Khalsa International (BKI).

And these gangs led by Nishan Singh, Pipal Singh, and Harbhajan Singh Sursinghwala of the KCF and Resham Singh of the BKI are still committing murders, robberies and day-light extortions despite police claims of having killed most of their members. New youth are being recruited faster than ever, and supply channels of sophisticated weapons from across the Pakistan border, hardly 10 km away from the centre of the mand, are still intact.

Recently the mand was again in the national news when terrorists kidnapped seven passengers of an Amritsar-bound bus near Patti town and ferried them to an obscure island after a 5 km walk on foot. A desperate paramilitary operation, led by the Punjab Director-General of Police (DGP) K.P.S. Gill, could not keep the terrorists from shooting dead five of the hostages. All that the hundreds of CRPF and BSF jawans could do was transport the two injured passengers to the hospital.

The extent of the terrorists' enterprise was made evident when villagers at Ruknewal, a few hundred yards from the spot of the killings, said the island from where the bodies had been recovered, was created by the terrorists a few months back. The sarkanda-covered ground was waterlogged from three sides. A gang led by Baldev Singh brought villagers there at gun point and got them to dig a 25-ft-broad nullah, creating an island.

The police unearthed an underground two-room house on the island near village Ruknewal which the terrorists had been using as a KCF control room. Brand new quilts, camp cots, and huge quantities of ration were recovered.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There was also evidence of the superb organisation of the area's most dangerous terrorist Nishan Singh, whose gang it was that was operating from the KCF office. On all four sides of the headquarters, a few kilometres away, were small farmhouses known as "behaks" manned round the clock by one or two gang members. Ransom money would reach one of the "behaks" and the gang members at the central office would release the hostage once the receipt of money was confirmed.

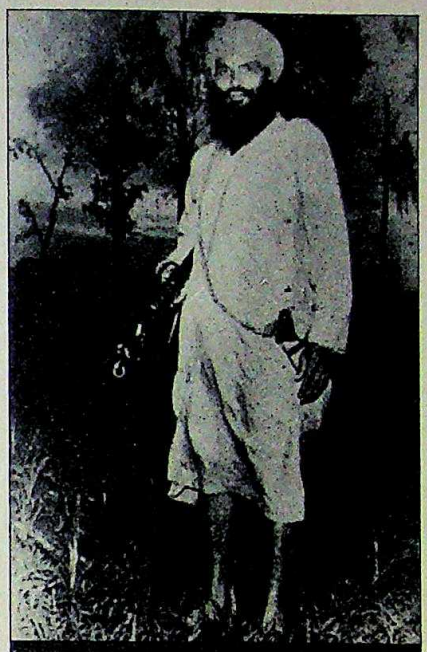
"OUR role in the mand is more or less defensive because of the crisis of information," says Anil Kaushik, the senior superintendent of police (SSP), Ferozepur. Concedes Paramjeet Singh, the DSP of Zeera town, near Ferozepur: "The villagers do not help us because we cannot protect them against the terrorists. The villagers in and around Harike and Tarn Taran in Amritsar and Zeera and Makhu in Ferozepur are reluctant to offer even a glass of water to policemen."

There is no doubt that the terrorists' writ runs in the hundreds of villages banking the 50-km stretch of road between Zeera and Tarn Taran. INDIA TODAY witnessed a meeting of over two dozen people at high noon on the national highway, where militant youth made fiery speeches against the Government. They played Punjabi songs eulogising the "martyrs of the Babbar Khalsa". And barring army trucks the youth stopped all vehicles to offer "prasada". The nearest police picket was near Patti, about 25 km from the spot, and there, behind a wall of sand bags, the CRPF jawans had fear written on their faces.

The accounts given by informers and captured terrorists reveal that the underground killers have devised near foolproof methods of operation. Members of the Nishan Singh gang regularly tune to the police wireless systems, getting to know their movements and location.

A member of Sukhminder Singh's group, which was active in the mand area last year, told interrogators that the gangs always observe a three to four-layer movement. A member walks at least 50 feet ahead of the others. His only weapon: a pistol tucked in his clothes. A group of heavily armed members follows him, after getting the all-clear. A third section, armed with AK-47 rifles, follows the second. In case of a contingency, both provide covering fire.

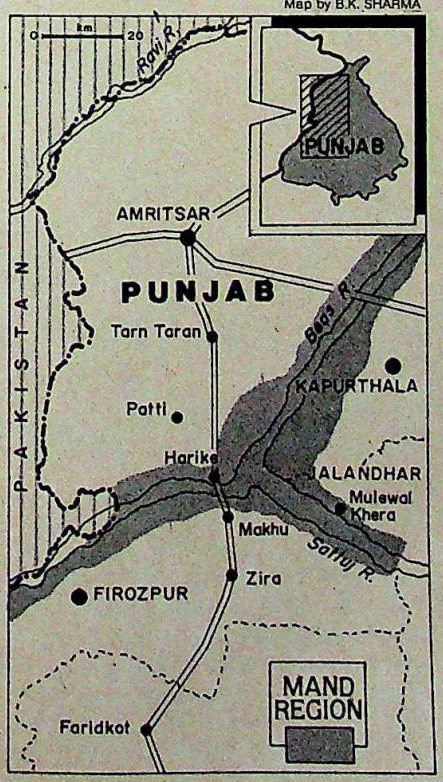
The biggest advantage for the terrorists in the mand is that they can slip in and out of the four districts by covering only a few kilometres. However, the security forces are handicapped because as a police officer of Ferozepur district says: "There are at least 18 villages in the district where our control is only notional." In fact there are dozens of villages in Kapurthala, Jalandhar and Amritsar, where the control of the district police is confined only to dusty revenue records.



KCF leader Sursinghwala

The mand is now the headquarters of the killer gangs. The terrorist-villager interaction here is more than in any other region.

Map by B.K. SHARMA



The reason for the notional control is easily found. One look at the size of the wetlands created by the Sutlej and Beas gives a fair idea of the gravity of the situation. There are at least one hundred villages which can be approached only through country boats. The Ferozepur police have to take a 20-km detour to reach some of its villages which lie only 5 km away, for, it is forbidden to sail through a 15-km-long stretch of wetland which is part of the Harike Bird Sanctuary. The district police, expectedly, have neither the means nor the manpower to go to these villages even once a week.

Surprisingly the security forces have to use the same country boats which the terrorists use. The only aid that the "authorities determined to combat terrorism" have rushed to the Kapurthala-Ferozepur side of the mand is a single speed boat which is lying at Chakkian police post near Makhu waiting for its engine to arrive.

So while the engine wends its way there, terrorists and policemen continue to share boats. Phumman Singh and Rana Singh, boatmen, concede that they help both parties in crossings near village Rukna Khurd in the mand ravines. It was on one such boat that terrorists had transported the bus passengers to the island near Ruknewal.

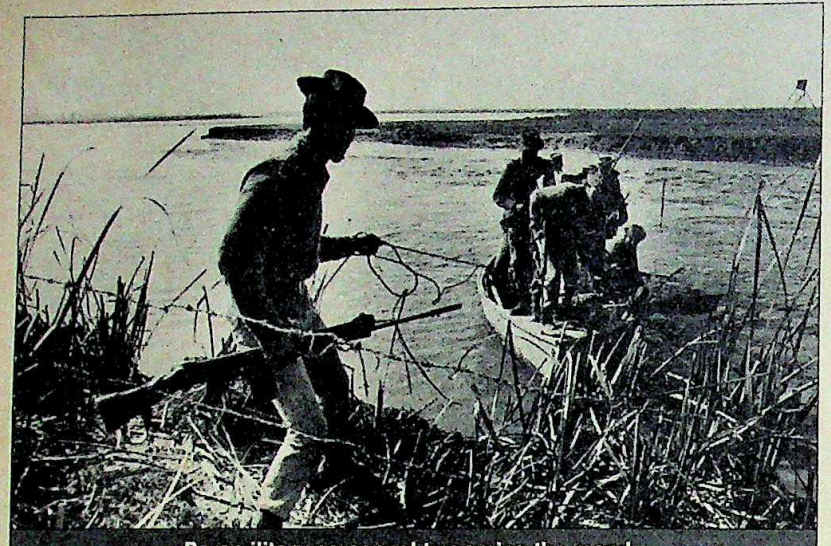
Of course, the people are not with the terrorists, even though they give them food and shelter. Innocent Sikhs have been killed by the gun-toting youth, alienating villagers from the militants. Of the 80 killings last year, 66 were of Sikhs. According to SHO Sucha Singh the police have come across cases of rape and sex scandals involving terrorists which have eroded their mass base.

Unfortunately, however, the people are not with the police either. "They take away our tractors and boats whenever they want," says one of the villagers. Farmers complain that police personnel, while approaching the wetlands, trample standing crops in order to avoid the slushy and swampy paths. Worse still, the villagers are often subjected to "third degree treatment" after any criminal incident in or around their village. Then there is the question of encroachment. Almost all of the 18 newly-created police posts in Ferozepur district are housed either in the village school or the panchayat building. In a few cases the security forces have taken over farmhouses of the villagers,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

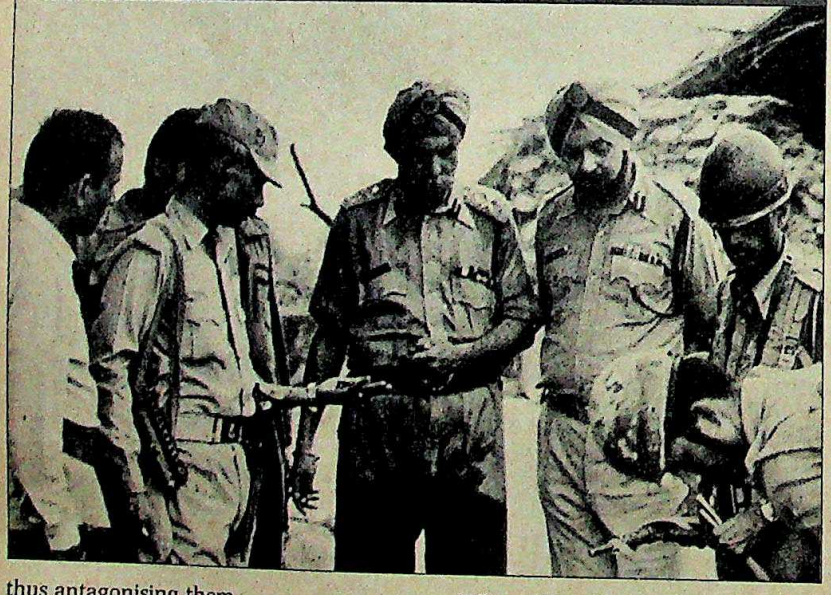
PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



Paramilitary personnel traversing the mand

The police and the terrorists use the same country boats to cross the rivers—the only speed boat the security forces have is lying at a police post awaiting its engine.

DGP K.P.S. Gill and IG C. Pal Singh supervising combing operations



thus antagonising them.

Officers admit they have been taking over civilian buildings, but claim they have no options. "Our SPs and seniors in Chandigarh only pass on orders to build new posts but do not give any financial aid whatsoever," one of them complains. An SHO in Amritsar admits he once forced brick kiln owners to "donate" bricks for a police post.

Villagers' hostility apart, the security forces have alienated some of their best informers by exerting undue pressure on them and by failing to protect their anonymity. According to sources, most of the regular informers in the border districts have in the last six months gone underground after police tortured them for more information. For instance Hardial Kamaggar, a resident of Makhu area, was once beaten up by the police when he volunteered information. Since then he has been underground, and helping the terrorists, say the sources.

Kamaggar's case exemplifies how in Amritsar and Ferozepur districts harassment by the police of "suspected harbourers" is the biggest single factor which helps the killers recruit new boys to their ranks. Mohan Singh, a circle jathedar of the Akali Dal (L) and vice-chairman of the marketing committee of village Chakkiyan says that the villagers are often forced by the police to provide food. Amazingly, he says: "The villagers feel more insecure after the police post came up in Chakkiyan."

LOWER rung police and paramilitary personnel share Mohan's view. "It is an unequal battle," says a constable. "Most of the time we are busy defending ourselves," says another. The reason for this apathy is that the cops do not have the means or the proper training to fight the well-armed terrorists. A case in point is the police station at Makhu. It is supposed to ensure peace in more than 100 disturbed villages of the mand, and has a sanctioned strength of 57 men. A fourth of this ridiculously inadequate number are either on leave or on court duties at any given point of time. Another one-fourth are needed to guard the police station and important road crossings of Makhu town. That leaves about 25 jawans to combat terrorism and collect vital information about the terrorists. To add to the absurdity of the situation the cops have no boats or wireless systems. Other equipment too is insufficient. "We face the worst crisis when our jeeps and other vehicles wear out. The official process of sanctioning a new vehicle takes up to a year at times," laments a police officer.

The terrorists take full advantage of these shortcomings and the lack of training of the police only emboldens them. Recalls a villager at a field close to the island where the bus passengers had been shot dead: "Policemen were busy uprooting sugarcanes from the fields when they were brought here to cordon off the area. They took positions reflexively only when the terrorists fired a few AK-47 bursts."

S.S. Virk, the courageous DIG of CRPF who led two helicopter aided operations in mand in 1987, feels the security forces should be trained in specialised anti-terrorist warfare. He strongly recommends a riverine wing of the forces equipped with LMG-fitted speed boats and bullet proof jackets. Virk feels the terrorists can be bested by only a better equipped and better trained force.

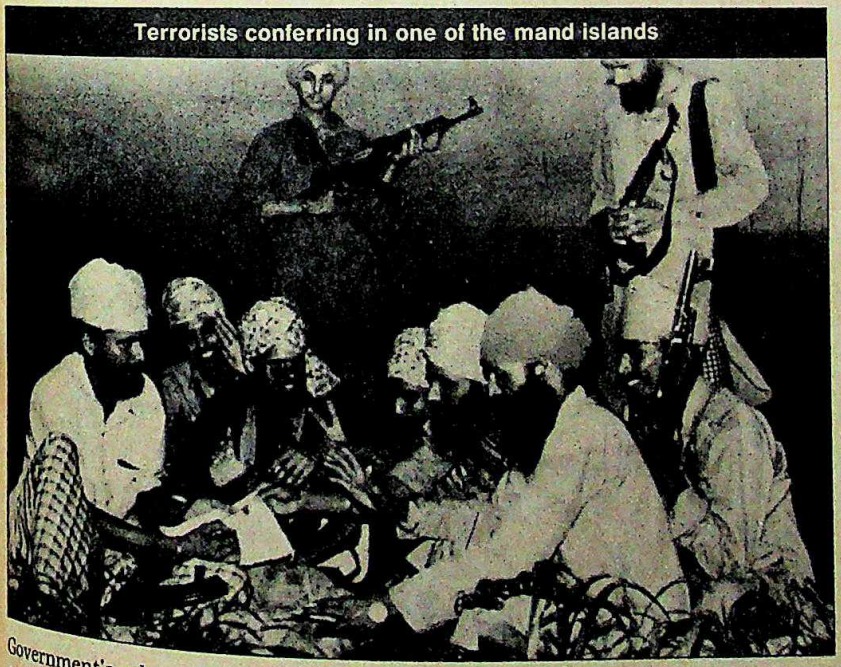
But, unruffled by failures, the Central

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Under the cover of elephant grass a new recruit gets a feel of the AK-47 rifle

Despite police claims of having eliminated most of them, the killer gangs continue to strike with impunity, and new youth are being recruited faster than ever before.



Terrorists conferring in one of the mand islands

Government's planners are still concentrating on quantity—the number of CRPF and BSF companies in the mand—rather than on quality. Police officers in Amritsar and Chandigarh concede that the presence of a larger force will probably mean alienation of increasing numbers of villagers.

The Government's emphasis in the mand, they feel, should be on swift, task-based operations rather than on all-out combing of terrorists in several villages at a time. Officers in the four districts feel the only sane and workable approach is the socio-economic development of the backward villages of the mand, coupled with the deployment of a force trained in riverine warfare. Many suggest that the security forces should use the riverine islands for imparting anti-terrorism training to their jawans. They feel the terrorists would naturally leave the area if the forces pitch their tents there.

The difficulties posed by the terrain are teaching the first lessons of guerrilla warfare to the terrorists. And they are bound to master the tactics as the war prolongs itself. Here the terrorists interact closely with the villagers.

And this breeds a vicious circle, pushing matters to the insurgency brink. For it is mainly in the villages and farmhouses—not gurdwaras—that the terrorists get their food and shelter. This brings about police pressure on the common people, resulting in harassment and alienation. And the mass base of the terrorists has widened, a significant stage in the drift toward insurgency.

And then of course there is the state Government whose planners draw a new long-term plan every second month, only to allow it to fizzle out.

Characteristically, under its active consideration at present are two development plans which are diametrically opposed to each other. One proposes the setting up of a "shikargarh"(hunting ground) which will require large-scale afforestation and the planting of more elephant grass, while the other envisages levelling of the ground so that security forces find easy access and mobility.

But there is one other important multi-crore plan that the Government is quite resolved to go ahead with. The scheme envisages the setting up of riverine police stations on about a dozen important islands, which will be linked to each other by a network of high frequency wireless systems. The stations will be manned by specially trained personnel of the Punjab Police, CRPF and BSF, who will be equipped with two-inch mortars, LMGs, and grenade-firing rifles. The personnel will also be provided with flares, night vision devices, and bullet proof-vests. The stations will be provided up to three speed boats each, with one of them having a bullet proof cabin. The Centre is believed to have agreed to also provide the stations with a helicopter at a later stage.

Last fortnight, a three-member Scotland Yard team escorted by J.F. Ribeiro, adviser to the governor, visited the mand and other terrorists-strong regions in a bid to study the strategy of the killer-gangs and investigate possible links they have with terrorism in Britian. Perhaps they had a few suggestions to make.

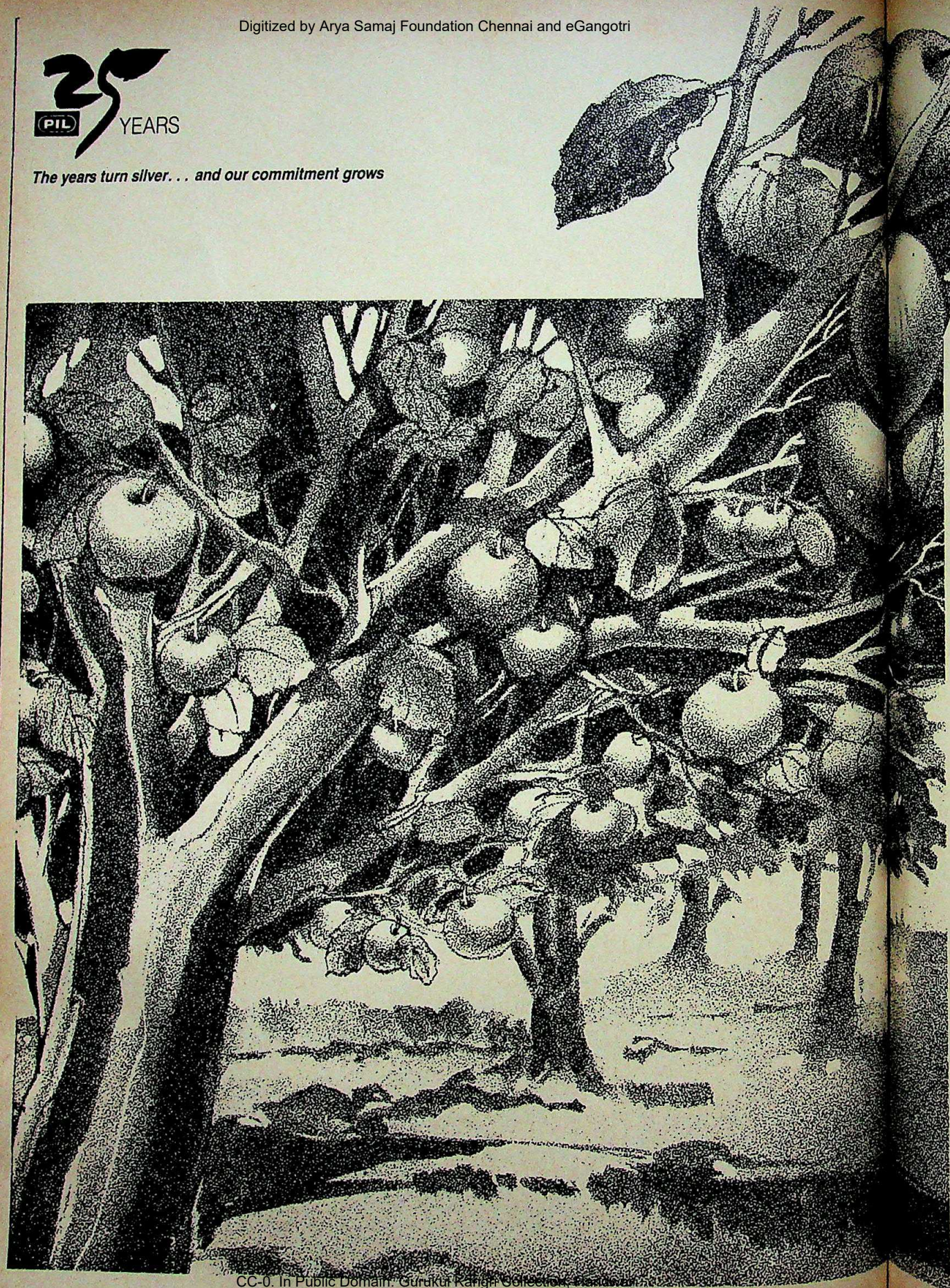
All this is fine. But till such time as these schemes get off the ground, in the mand, status quo will continue to prevail. Which in other words means: a relentless rise in the crime and murder graph.

—VIPUL MUDGAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

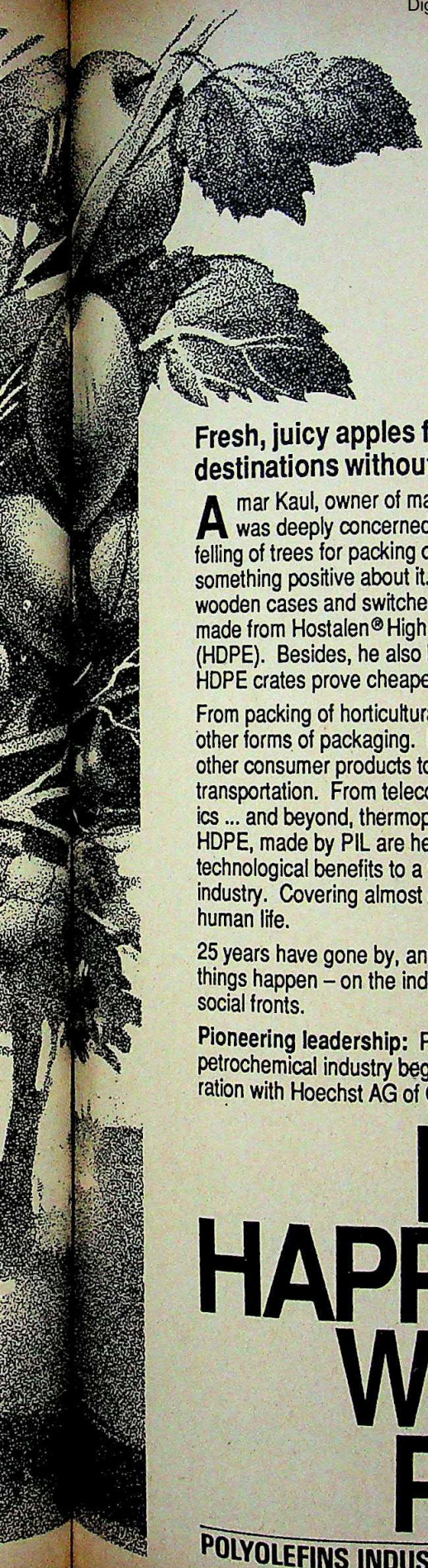
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

25 YEARS
PIL
The years turn silver. . . and our commitment grows



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Fresh, juicy apples from Amar Kaul's orchards in Kashmir reach their destinations without wooden packing cases.

Amar Kaul, owner of many orchards in Kashmir, was deeply concerned at the indiscriminate felling of trees for packing cases. And decided to do something positive about it. He refused to use wooden cases and switched over to modern crates made from Hostalen® High Density Polyethylene (HDPE). Besides, he also knew that Hostalen® HDPE crates prove cheaper in the long run.

From packing of horticultural produce in crates to other forms of packaging. From household and other consumer products to agriculture, industry and transportation. From telecommunication to electronics ... and beyond, thermoplastics, like Hostalen® HDPE, made by PIL are helping bring many technological benefits to a wide spectrum of industry. Covering almost every aspect of human life.

25 years have gone by, and PIL continues to make things happen – on the industrial, agricultural and social fronts.

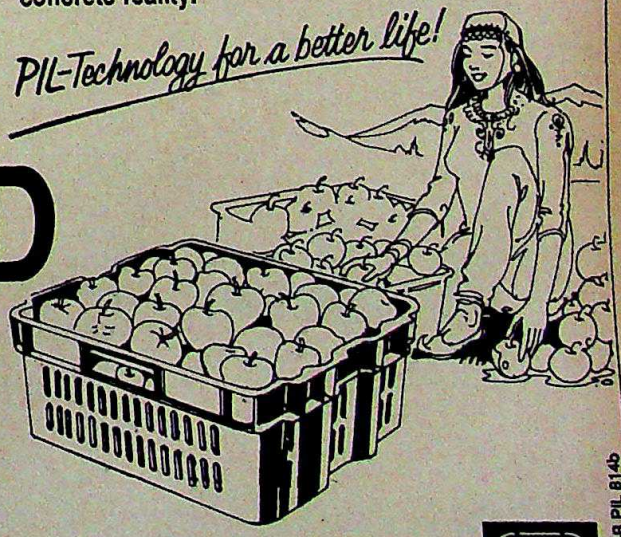
Pioneering leadership: PIL's role in the Indian petrochemical industry began in 1963, in collaboration with Hoechst AG of Germany, the largest chemical company in the world. In 1968 PIL commenced manufacture of Hostalen® HDPE. Since then, PIL has entered into collaboration with Monsanto Company of the USA and has access to other world renowned companies for the technological know-how to manufacture high-tech products to improve the quality of life.

R&D – Byword at PIL: But it is not PIL's way to be content with the ways of others. Our R&D Centre is constantly innovating to find simple solutions to complex problems. Like the import-substitution of expensive materials, the manufacture of products with in-house know-how, and the utilisation of wastes. These are just a few of PIL's R&D activities, resulting in major savings in foreign exchange and better utilisation of available resources.

The PIL range: Thermoplastics, Rubber Chemicals, Plastic Processed Products–the PIL product range today, contributes in so many diverse ways to the betterment of human life. Helping translate the Company philosophy 'technology for a better life' into concrete reality.

IT HAPPENED WITH PIL

PIL-Technology for a better life!



POLYOLEFINS INDUSTRIES LIMITED Mafatlal Centre, Nariman Point, Bombay-400 021

PIL

CHAITRA-B PIL 814b

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE NEHRU CENTENARY RUN

COME, RUN FOR YOUR COUNTRY, THE WHOLE COUNTRY RUNS WITH YOU.

The date is Saturday, the 4th of March 1989.
The time is 1 p.m.
The event is The Jawaharlal Nehru Centenary Run.
The spotlight is on you.

Now is the time to show that we can do it again. Stand united. Stand together.

By participating in an event like never before.

The Jawaharlal Nehru Centenary Run.

In memory of the man who loved his country with all his heart.

Come, run for love, run for unity, run for freedom, run for our country.

ORGANISERS

Organised by the Pune International Marathon Trust in co-operation with the Implementation Committee For Commemoration of Jawaharlal Nehru Centenary and the Amateur Athletic Federation of India.

WIN GREAT PRIZES. OVER Rs.4.0 LAKHS

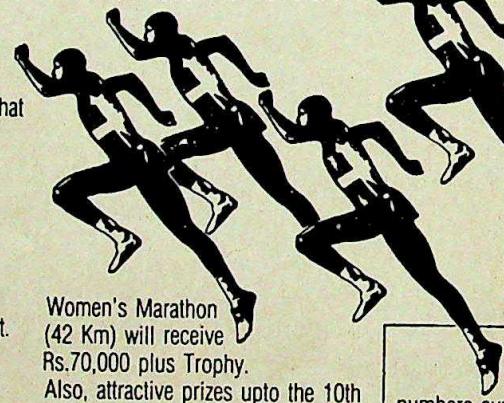
The winning men, women, boys, girls and veterans will receive trophies, medals and attractive prizes of over Rs.4.0 lakhs. Certificates will be given to all participants.

SPECIAL FEATURES

■ Winner of The Men's and Women's Marathon (42 Km) will receive Rs.70,000 plus Trophy. Also, attractive prizes upto the 10th position in this category.

■ Winner of the Men's and Women's Half Marathon (21 Km) will receive Rs.10,000 plus Trophy.

■ Other categories:
Men's Quarter Marathon (10 Km)
Women's Quarter Marathon (10 Km)
Boy's Under 19 (10 Km)
Girl's Under 19 (10 Km)
Boy's Under 14 (5 Km)
Girl's Under 14 (5 Km)
Veteran Men 45 and above (5 Km)
Veteran Women 35 and above (5 Km)



■ Attractive trophies, medals and prizes for all participants upto the 5th position in other categories.

■ The run will also be held simultaneously in all State Capitals, Districts and Taluk Headquarters.

HOW TO ENTER

Entry Forms and Chest numbers available at Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium, Delhi and all State Athletic Association Offices at a cost of Rs.2/-.

Last date for submitting completed Entry Forms: 28th February, 1989.

Come, run for your country.

INCAB LEADERS IN CABLE MAKING.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TENNIS

Advantage Zeeshan

A young claimant to Vijay and Ramesh's mantle

IN 1983, at Wimbledon, he was thrilled merely to play the picker boy for Vijay Amritraj. In 1987 he experienced a sense of arrival being the reserve on India's Davis Cup team which Vijay captained. The next year he crossed rackets with the Indian legend himself in the final of a $25,000 tournament in the US—succumbing to the veteran's class 6-3, 6-1.

And now finally, he is bidding to supplant the inimitable Vijay in the national squad. There is even the likelihood of his playing the singles instead of Vijay in the Davis Cup tie this May. The 'A' of Indian tennis is slowly finding a replacement in the 'Z'.

But is Zeeshan Ali really so good?

Or is too much being read into the fact that he has won the national singles title three years running, as well as the Satellite Masters recently, and has managed to surge up in the ATP rankings from a lowly 950 to an impressive 126 in just one year? Is the young son of coach Akhtar Ali forged of the same mettle as Vijay and Ramesh Krishnan?

Says Sumant Mishra, Indian Davis Cup captain in the '50s and now national selector: "Zeeshan can go as far as Vijay and Ramesh, maybe even farther." This may not be a widely shared assessment. Yet what is certain is Zeeshan is not being seen as another Nandan Bal or S. Vasudevan whose promise extends only to the subcontinent, or the enfeebled world of international junior tennis, but is being viewed as the next star in that solitary orbit India has been able to maintain in world tennis for more than three decades now, starting with Ramanathan Krishnan.

Zeeshan, who turned 19 on January 1, has age on his side. But set against the fact that the Borgs, Beckers, Agassis—even Vijay—and countless others on the international circuit arrived well before graduating from their teens, the advantage pales.

But Yashwant Singh, Delhi Lawn Tennis Association secretary, argues, Zeeshan is at the right age to mount an all-out charge: "If you start too early you might burn out fast. Zeeshan can play 10 years of top-flight tennis."

Age apart, what knowledgeables unanimously claim in Zeeshan's favour is the all-round quality of his game. He is reckoned to have all the strokes—especially a superb back-hand slice. There is unanimity too on his major drawback. Though Zeeshan's first serve is normally big—here too he needs to strive at consistency—his second is very weak. Vijay calls it "not bad, but worse". Vijay feels Zeeshan also needs to work on his forehand and volleying.

With the help of rigorous weight-training Zeeshan has managed to get a grip on his other chronic problem—injuries. He is no stranger to the rigours of the professional circuit, and knows that lack of fitness—as often marks Indian players—is where all aspirations could come to nought. While Vijay feels he needs to be more agile—mere quickness not being enough—others such as Mishra feel Zeeshan is now superbly fit.

But what of tactics? Of mastery of different surfaces? Of exposure to the nerve-straining grind of the topmost bracket? The three are interlinked, and enough of the last will lead to fluency in the first two. What Zeeshan needs now is relentless exposure to the big league.

Then there is the question of specialised coaching. Father Akhtar Ali has fashioned Zeeshan's game, but now it is felt he needs specialists in various areas. Says commentator and former national player Naresh Kumar: "After Ramesh, Zeeshan is the best. But in tennis, progress is a series of plateaus. Zeeshan has reached one. To move up he must graduate from his father's coaching and go abroad." So, Zeeshan will soon be doing a stint in the US with former tennis star Pancho Gonzales.

What managers of Indian tennis find most praiseworthy about Zeeshan is his unswerving commitment. From the day he returned from the 1983 Wimbledon—an impressionable young boy glamoured by the excitements and trappings of top-class tennis—the game has dictated his every breath. He has set himself clear-headed, definite targets: "To get below 100 in the ATP quickly, and to end the year among the top 60." Vijay, however, is a trifle non-committal about Zeeshan's prospects. "He's good and should be able to get into the top 100, but he is not in Ramesh's class."

Zeeshan however plans to give the game his all this year. He hopes to be in the main draw of Wimbledon and the US Open. Then there is the Davis Cup, and a long schedule of Grand Prix tournaments. Though 1988 was his big break year, Zeeshan recorded no memorable victories nor made much money (spending all he did in travelling). Both may accrue in 1989. Even if they don't, the year will certainly provide the definitive clue to whether the mantle of Vijay and Ramesh can one day sit upon the wiry shoulders of young Zeeshan Ali.

—TARUN J. TEJPAL

PRADEEP MANDHANI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

modipon limited

MODINAGAR (U.P.)

Chairman's Address to the 23rd Annual General Meeting held on 27th January, 1989

Shri K.N. Modi
Chairman

Friends,

I extend to you all very warm and hearty welcome to the 23rd Annual General Meeting of your Company and wish you very happy and prosperous New Year.

Performance

I am glad to report that during the year ended 30th June, 1988 the Company's performance was good. The turnover has increased from Rs. 153.63 crores last year to Rs. 166.76 crores and net profit after tax was Rs 9.39 crores.

Dividend

The directors are pleased to recommend raising the dividend from 20% last year to 40% for your approval.

Optimistic Economic Outlook

The Indian economy which passed through one of the severest stresses and strains during 1987-88 due to the worst drought in the history of the country is again on the path of growth due to the right policies and dynamic approach of Rajiv Government. The good monsoon this year has given further momentum to development. Dynamic and practical thinking and liberal policies to make our economy cost and quality competitive has greatly helped in overcoming difficulties and assuring growth even under the worst conditions. In the current year, agricultural growth and foodgrains production is expected to be all time records. Industrial growth around 12% and improvement in the infrastructure like power and transport will also be impressive.

Not only there have been notable achievements on the economic front, our Prime Minister has taken many bold decisions on the political front also. The historic visit to China after 34 years by any Prime Minister of India has helped to bring peace and tranquility on Indo-China border. There will also be greater cooperation on the economic front and trade will get encouragement. The Prime Minister of India has visited Pakistan after nearly three decades which has brought the two countries nearer. During this visit, three agreements have been signed which should help in bringing peace and cooperation between India and Pakistan, reduce tension on the Indo-Pak Border and help in solving the Punjab problem. The defusing of tension on various frontiers should ultimately help in reducing defence expenditure and funds so saved will help faster economic development.

With the achievements during the last four years, one can look forward with optimism to faster development in the years ahead. Therefore, the 8th Five Year Plan is being made more ambitious. If all of us cooperate with the Government, maintain peace, harmony and political stability, there is no reason why the 8th Five Year Plan targets should not even be surpassed, which are very modest looking to the needs of the country.

The Government is taking decisions in proper directions to take India into the 21st century with confidence and to reduce the technological gap. History has ample proof that development largely depends upon technological change and innovation. Therefore, while on the one hand, there is a need to further liberalise the import of technology and encourage private foreign capital, on the other it is equally important that whatever technology is imported, it is properly digested and adapted as has been done by Japan and Korea etc. and import substitution is given due emphasis. Our future to a great extent will depend on how we are able to get and absorb sophisticated technology not only in industry but also in other sectors and how dedicated we are to achieve our goal to remove unemployment and poverty. This can be possible with greater cooperation from industrialised countries, establishing more joint ventures, investing more on research and development, encouraging scientific education in all facets of life and creating a congenial atmosphere for good industrial relations. The balance of payment continues to be an area of concern but if we are able to improve quality, reduce price and create an exportable surplus of items needed abroad, we can do wonders even in this field. The recent upsurge in the exports of a few items like jewellery and readymade garments is a pointer to this.

Polyester Industry

The 1985 Textile Policy rightly encouraged manmade fibre industry because of shortages of natural fibres like cotton and wool. Since the announcement of this policy, there has been a considerable increase in the capacity of polyester filament yarn, nylon yarn and polyester staple fibre but there is also great under-utilisation of installed capacity.

Due to the duty structure and consequent higher domestic prices of yarn, fibre and fabrics smuggling became profitable. It is estimated by certain sources that in terms of landed cost, the smuggling is around Rs. 9,000 crores which is a great national loss. In order to ensure cheaper cloth to the masses, control smuggling and ensure better utilisation of capacity, it is of paramount importance to look into the prices of basic inputs and duty structure. It is a well known fact that the prices of petrochemical products are going up in the international markets which has raised prices of DMT, MEG and Caprolactum. There has also been revaluation of currency of a number of exporting countries which has further escalated the cost. When import duty is levied at an ad valorem rate with

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

higher CIF price, the landed cost is loaded making the imported inputs costlier than those produced domestically. The only short term way out is to change the method of levying import duty from ad valorem to specific and in the long run to increase domestic capacity.

In order to ensure full utilisation of the idle capacity, provide cheaper textiles to the consumers and check smuggling, following suggestions need consideration :

Import duty on basic inputs should be reduced and made specific.

The basic inputs to producers ofCaprolactum, DMT and PTA should be made available at international prices.

Excise duty on nylon and polyester yarn, polyester fibre and blended fabrics should be restructured to bring down the price to the consumer.

If these suggestions are accepted, the capacity utilisation will go up and the revenue will also increase even with lower rate of duties on larger volume. Certain proposals on these lines with detailed data have been submitted to the Government by the industry which needs sympathetic consideration.

It is also necessary for long term growth of the industry that the domestic capacity of basic inputs are further increased to match the demand, save valuable foreign exchange and ensure easy availability.

As I mentioned earlier, research and development plays a very important role in the development of the economy, more so in a sophisticated industry like man-made fibre. In foreign countries, new uses of fibres are being found for industrial applications which have greatly benefitted their economies. We should also carry out R&D work in a much bigger way.

Though at present there is an excess capacity in the industry, most of the units are below optimum level. In future, to ensure lower overheads and economise on capital cost, the existing units should be allowed to expand their capacity to the optimum before establishing new units.

Modernisation and Expansion

I am happy to report that expansion of nylon filament yarn has been fully completed and the installed capacity has increased from 4760 tons per annum to 6000 tons per annum. The effect of this expansion will be reflected in the current year's turnover and operations. The company has been granted a letter of intent to further expand nylon filament yarn capacity to 12,000 tons per annum. The management proposes to take positive steps to instal the latest spin-draw and spun dye yarn technology to produce larger quantity of specialised yarns.The company has also undertaken expansion of capacity of polyester filament yarn from 1723 tons to 3500 tons per annum and holds a letter of intent to expand it further to 15,000 tons per annum under the minimum economic size scheme of the Government.

Research and Development

The management believes that research and development is of paramount importance. Hence there has always been thrust on research and development. The R&D Department has been able to improve the quality of yarns and has developed new products from time to time through modification of process and equipment.

In the Chemical Divison, the Company has received provisional registration in India for GOAL, a sophisticated broad spectrum herbicide which will be of immense benefit to the farmers to get rid of weeds and improve yields. An agreement has also been signed with Messers ELI LILLY & Co. of USA for the formulation and marketing of 'Beam', speciality rice blast fungicide which is more effective than any other fungicide available in the market and will help to boost rice yield and quality significantly.

HIGHLIGHTS

- **The turnover increased from Rs. 154 crores to Rs. 167 crores and net profit after tax was Rs. 9.4 crores.**
- **The company proposes to double the dividend from 20% to 40%.**
- **The right policies and dynamic approach of Rajiv Government has put the economy again on the path of growth after worst ever drought.**
- **With good agricultural production and record growth in GNP, one should expect an increase in demand and boost in industrial growth.**
- **The historic visit of the Prime Minister to China and Pakistan should help to bring peace and reduce tension on borders.**
- **With the achievements during the last four years one can look forward with optimism for faster development in the 8th Five Year Plan.**
- **To take India into the 21st Century with confidence and reducing technological gap, there is a need to further liberalise the import of technology, encourage foreign and private capital and adapt technology in the similar manner as has been done by Japan and Korea etc.**
- **There is a need to check smuggling of manmade fibres and yarn by levying import duty on basic inputs on a specific basis and restructuring import and excise duties on inputs and on yarn, fibre and fabrics.**
- **Expansion of capacity of nylon filament yarn completed and that of polyester filament yarn taken in hand. Nylon filament yarn capacity is proposed to be doubled to 12,000 tons and that of polyester filament yarn from 3500 tons to 15,000 tons.**

Acknowledgement

The industrial relations were cordial and all employees worked in a team spirit for the growth and prosperity of the company. The management appreciates their services and I would like to place on record their dedicated work and congratulate them.

I would also like to thank our collaborators for their continued support, guidance and valuable assistance on various matters. I am also thankful to the commercial banks, the financial institutions, Government of Uttar Pradesh, Central Government and other organisations for cooperation and support. I am also grateful to the members of the the board for their valuable advice.

Thank you

modipon limited

Note : This does not purport to be record of the proceedings of the Annual General Meeting.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CRICKET

Blows Before the Battle

Controversy dogs Indian team for West Indies

FOR once Indian cricket fans cannot complain about the lack of pre-tour excitement. The action began even before the 23 probables selected last fortnight for the West Indies tour began to go through their paces at the conditioning camp at Madras. Biceps were indeed being flexed and blows were being delivered—but off the pitch. And if entertainment was free for the public, the price was being paid by the game.

Already, Mohinder Amarnath had mocked at the selectors and then added a dubious record to his illustrious record-book, as the first Indian Test star to be fined by the Board of Control for Cricket in India (BCCI), Dilip Balwant Vengsarkar had screamed at an umpire and earned much opprobrium, Navjot Singh Sidhu was charged with culpable homicide. Even those who managed to stay out of the headlines were nagging the board for more money. Indian cricket was already looking bloodied even before the team had taken guard against the fiery Caribbean pace machine.

In the off-the-pitch battles at least, the stars were losing. The "bunch of jokers"—Amarnath's echo of Sunil Gavaskar's favourite epithet for the selectors—had the last laugh. They threw Amarnath out and also slapped on him a fine of Rs 20,000 with the added threat that in case he did not pay up, the amount would be deducted from his benevolent fund, a kind of provident fund that the board has maintained for Test cricketers since 1976. "His name was considered, but since he has not played any competitive cricket—either for the Ranji or Deodhar trophies—last season, it was decided not to include him," said Ranbir Singh, the soft-spoken honorary secretary of the board effectively announcing the end of 'Jimmy' Amarnath's two-decade career in international cricket.

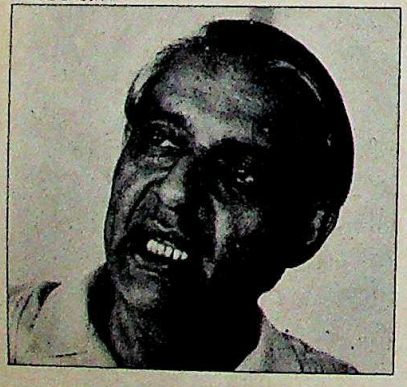
Amarnath may have paid for his tirade against the board. But the chairman of the selection committee, Raj Singh Dungarpur, who found himself at the centre of the media storm, insisted that the decision was sound. "In the last 11 innings he played against the West Indies at home, Amarnath managed to score only 57, of which 43 were made at Calcutta. He is 39, and his prowess against pace may be more of a myth," he observed.

The committee also refused Amarnath permission to present his case through a lawyer. "The board is a sports organisation, not a law court, so it was felt that players should speak to officials across the table, and not through lawyers," explained Ranbir Singh.

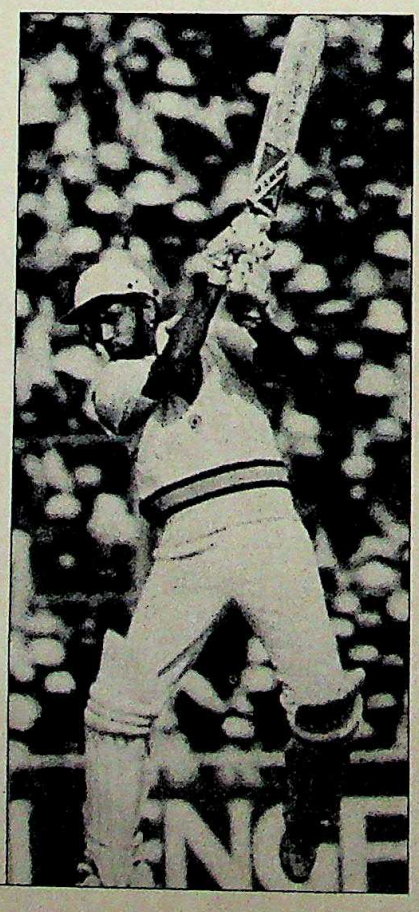
But two other Test cricketers whose names were also embroiled in controversies recently managed to get the nod from the authorities. Sidhu, who was charged in a murder case in Patiala was included in the list of probables and was then permitted by the court to leave the country. This will be the first time a sportsman will represent the country abroad while on bail in such a serious case.

Dilip Vengsarkar almost lost his captaincy when, playing for his company, Tatas, in a tournament in Bombay, he argued with an umpire, kicked the stumps and led his team out of the field. The Bombay Cricket Association's (BCA) umpires subcommittee headed by former India captain Nari Contractor lodged a strong protest, but the BCA decided to be soft aware of the strong lobbying to have Krishnamachari Srikkanth appointed as captain instead.

NAMAS BHOJANI



Raj Singh Dungarpur feels that the 39-year-old Mohinder Amarnath's "prowess against pace may be more of a myth".



SACHIN TENDULKAR

First Class

IT is a record many batsmen would be proud of—a total of 423 runs scored in five Ranji Trophy matches at an average of 70.5. What makes the statistics extraordinary, though, is that the batsman in question is a 15-year-old schoolboy in his first season in first class cricket.

No wonder then that though young Bombay batsman, Sachin Tendulkar, had played cricket only at the school-level till last year, his precocious batting talent fuelled considerable speculation on whether he would be included in the Indian squad for the forthcoming tour of the West Indies. As it happened, it was felt he was too young, to be exposed to the rigours of a Caribbean tour.

Veterans are nearly unanimous that Sachin will soon be sporting the India blazer. "At his age Sachin demonstrates tremendous cricketing IQ. It is God's gift. He plays 10 years beyond his age," says Milind Rege, Bombay selector and former Ranji Trophy player. Sachin began playing cricket when he was just 11, at the Shivaji Park in central Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dilip Vengsarkar almost lost his captaincy when he argued with an umpire, then kicked the stumps and led his team, Tatas, out of the field.

PRASHANT PANJIAR

The controversies only highlighted the fact that players are getting on the wrong side of the authorities too frequently now. But many sympathised with Amarnath. Said former skipper Ajit Wadekar: "There is a limit to tolerance, and no player is a puppet in the hands of board members who ill-treat most of them without any reason."

On the eve of their departure to Barbados, the players are expected to raise the question of payment for the West Indies tour. The board has pegged it at Rs 60,000 per player, just Rs 10,000 more than what was given for the last West Indies tour in 1983. The players are demanding more and, if reported attempts at reviving the old Players' Association are successful, may even present a 'united front' to the board.

Yet, Indian cricketers know that their real problems will begin only a fortnight from now as they step on Caribbean soil, for the first time in 18 years without the assurance that Sunil Gavaskar will be there to take the sting out of the merciless West Indies pace attack. It will be a long tour, starting with the match against the President's XI at Barbados on March 2 and ending with the Fourth Test in early May. With Malcolm Marshall in the lead, the West Indies speed merchants are in full cry and, as they demonstrated in Australia, quite willing to resort to the kind of intimidation that makes Harold Larwood's bodyline look benign. Only Vengsarkar, Srikkanth, Kapil Dev and Ravi Shastri in patches have shown the ability to stand up to true pace. And Vengsarkar will come in for special attention from Marshall with whom he has a long-running rivalry.

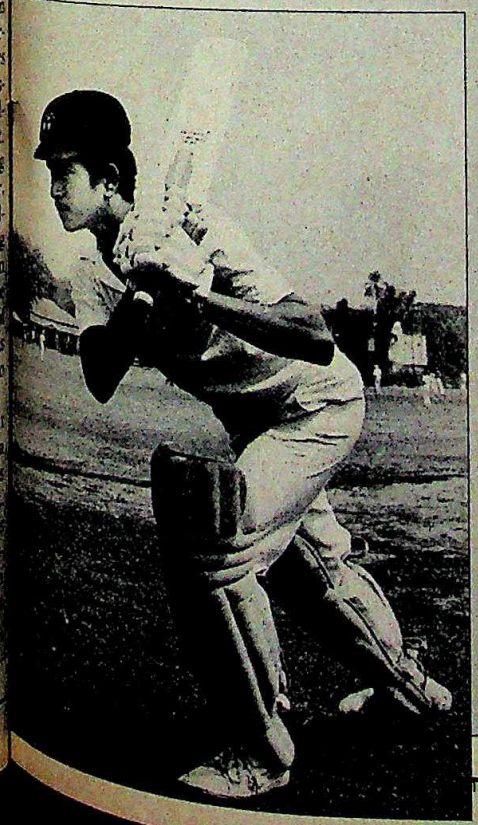
Most of the players will be visiting the West Indies for the first time. "On this tour, Vengsarkar, vice-captain Srikkanth, Kapil and Azhar are going to be crucial members," observed Dungarpur.

The real test will be for Vengsarkar—the world's No.1 computer-ranked batsman—who will be carrying the burden of a captaincy away from home. As Sunil Gavaskar noted, Vengsarkar would have to personally perform well or else his captaincy would be in danger. Yet, for India to return with their heads held high more than one batsman will have to display nerves of steel.

—M. RAHMAN

coached by Ramakant Achrekar.

It was in April last year that he hit the headlines partnering his Shardashram Vidyamandir schoolmate to establish an unbeaten 664-run partnership in the Harris Shield semi-finals breaking a 74-year old world record. In the finals he scored 346 not out announcing the arrival of a voraciously run-hungry cricketer. Rege decided to induct him into the Cricket Club of India (CCI) team. Players under 18 are prohibited from using the dressing rooms at the august CCI—they had to change club rules to make Sachin an honorary member. "He was the backbone of the CCI team last season," recalls Rege. "It was interesting to watch how he adapted himself to playing with grown-up men."



Sachin Tendulkar: great talent

Sunil Gavaskar was also surprised by Sachin's abilities. Gavaskar noted that not only does the schoolboy have a wide array of strokes, he also displays an exceptionally calm temperament, remaining unfazed by the celebrity players around him both on and off the field.

In his Ranji Trophy debut for Bombay against Gujarat at the Wankhede Stadium late last year, the schoolboy who bats at number four, began his innings with two rousing drives to the boundary. His name was quickly enshrined in the record book—not only as the youngest player to make a Ranji debut but also the youngest Indian to score a century in first class cricket. Sachin, who is shy but supremely confident, confesses that he was a "little bit disappointed" at not making it for the West Indies tour. "I am not at all nervous, but the selectors are the best judges. I am very happy at getting the opportunity to play for Bombay and my ambition is to represent the country," he says.

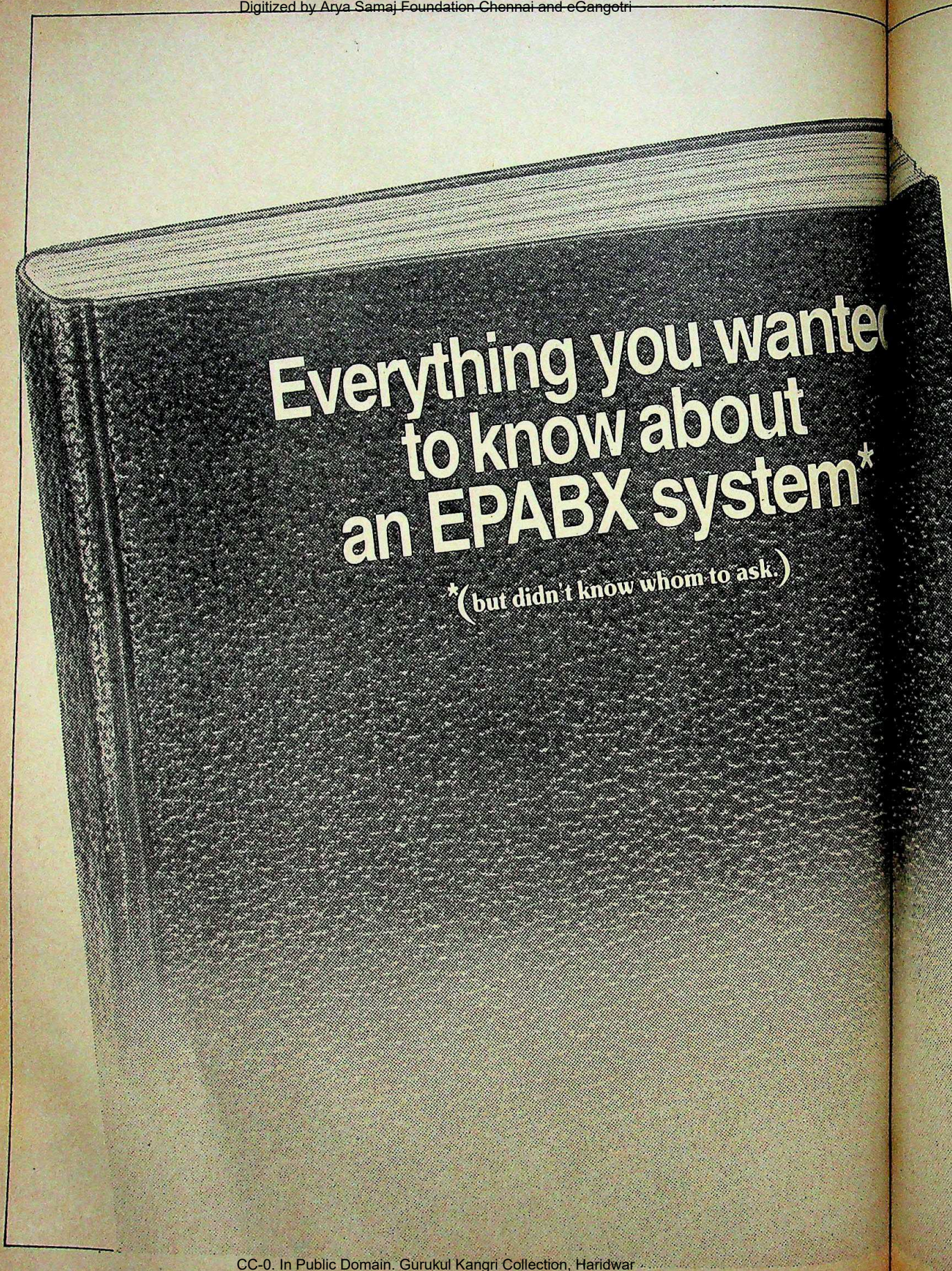
Sachin's heroes are Gavaskar and West Indies captain Viv Richards, but his style of playing is unlike either of the two batsmen. He has a stance like the great West Indian batsman Rohan Kanhai, packs a lot of power in his drives, and for an elegant strokemaker, has an uncanny ability to find the gaps between fielders.

It may not be too long before he fulfils his ambition to play for the country—India will tour Pakistan later in the year, and Sachin could well find a place in the team.

—M. RAHMAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BLUE STAR
the hi-technology Company

Seek the expertise of the professionals. People with 30 years' experience in hi-tech electronics.

Every other EPABX system promises to revolutionise your world of office communications. So how do you tell the difference. Examine the advantages Blue Star offers.

Blue Star – a solid electronics foundation.

When you get OnLine, you're buying the expertise and capability of a company with 30 years' experience in hi-tech electronics and 300 trained applications and systems specialists.

OnLine comes to you with the technical back-up of world leaders, Jeumont-Schneider, France.

Modern manufacturing facilities.

Our assurance of reliability starts right at the factory. A modern electronics complex where every component goes through stringent tests on sophisticated equipment and is assembled with meticulous care.

All to ensure that you get an EPABX system that works. With minimal downtime. A system that will boost your efficiency.

Support Services – a turnkey package.

Our trained engineers with the stamp of Blue Star professionalism and expertise take on turnkey responsibilities – system selection, installation, commissioning, interfacing and networking, cabling and operator training. And they will always be on call should you ever need any help.

OnLine comes to you with:

- Special software packages for hotels, banks, offices, hospitals.
- Unmatched support services.
- Data communication capabilities.
- Flexibility for expansion.

For more information contact:

Communication Systems Department
Blue Star Limited
Sahas, 414/2 Veer Savarkar Marg, Prabhadevi
BOMBAY 400 025. Telephone 4306155

- Delhi: Telephone 6834262
- Bangalore: Telephone 575660
- Madras: Telephone 472056
- Calcutta: Telephone 289103

OnLine
EPABX Systems from Blue Star.

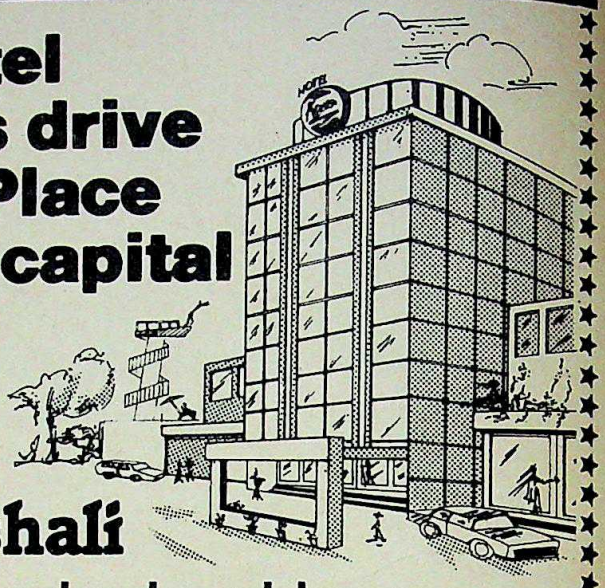
Manufactured under licence from Jeumont-Schneider, France.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A STARRY OPPORTUNITY FOR HOTELIERS

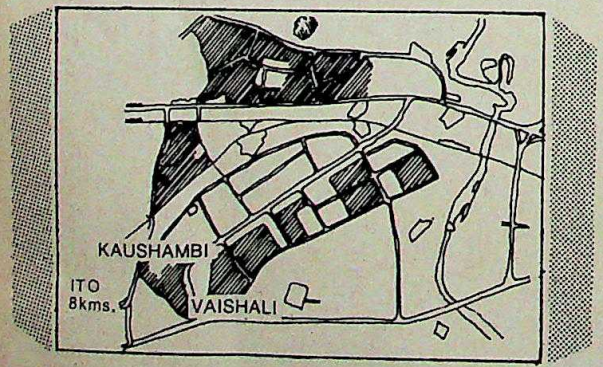
Build a luxury hotel at just 10 minutes drive from Connaught Place – the commercial capital of the Capital.



Allocated area available at Kaushambi & Vaishali — the posh townships being developed by Ghaziabad Development Authority

Highlights :

- Extremely reasonable land price ranging from 4000-5000 rupees per sq. metre depending on location.
- Land situated in the new townships of Vaishali and Kaushambi.
- Location on the side of wide roads — easily accessible.
- Surrounding green belt — ideal for land scaping.
- GDA will make the land available with all infrastructural development facilities available on site.



Pay in 10 years

- Preference will be given to parties having a sound reputation in the trade and those who have good rapport with internationally reputed hoteliers.
- Applicants will have to pay 30% of the money within 3 months of the issuance of allotment letter and will be given possession of the land in terms of agreement to be executed by him within one month thereafter. Remaining 70% of the cost will have to be paid by him in 20 six monthly instalments with interest charged at normal GDA rates.
- Applicant will have to complete the project within 4 years of possession of land. Failure to do so will result in penalty being imposed on party and land being returned to GDA.
- Internal services on the site will have to be developed by the applicant as part of the project.
- Applications must be accompanied with details regarding requirement of land, a simple project report indicating the status of the hotel — the rough architectural plan etc.
- Applications must be accompanied with a draft for Rs. 1,00,000/- drawn in favour of Vice Chairman, Ghaziabad Development Authority.
- Order and decisions of Vice Chairman regarding the applications will be final.
- For further details, terms & conditions contact Secretary, Chief Architect & Town Planner or Chief Accounts Officer GDA on any working day.

ANIL KUMAR SHARMA
SECRETARY

P.N. MISRA
VICE CHAIRMAN

Apply to : Vice Chairman,
Ghaziabad Development Authority
Vikas Marg, Ghaziabad.

Last date for receipt of Applications 31st MARCH 1989

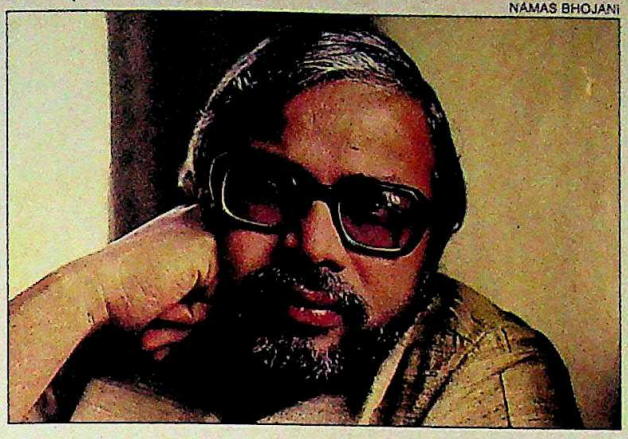
adEnvoys

A BEAUTIFUL CITY — OUR COMMITMENT

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NAMAS BHOJANI



N. CHANDRA

Mean Street Moghul

Hit director brings realism to films

THE song is driving people crazy. *Ek, Do, Teen*...they hum from the shower to the office. From the office to the bedroom. And everywhere else in between. The film from which it came like a virus that doesn't go away hasn't done badly either. Director N. Chandra's *Tezaab* is far and out the dark horse of 1988. And if it continues to gallop at the present pace, perhaps of the decade.

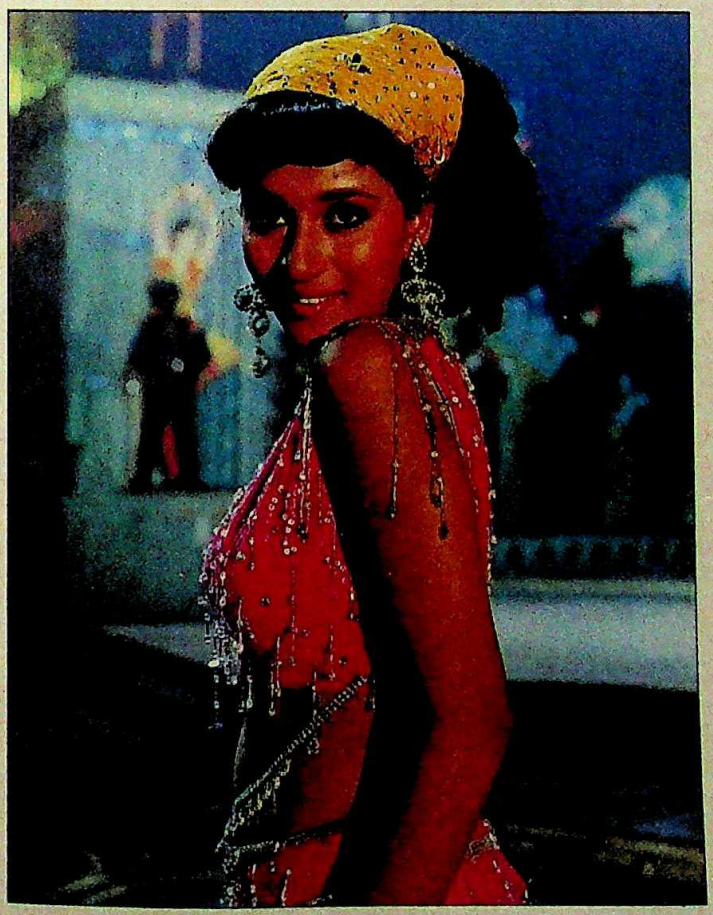
But Chandra who? The little known director who grew up in the chawls of Worli *nakka*, stepped into the glare of success with three super hits in three years: *Ankush, Pratighaat, Tezaab*.

Ek was *Ankush*. This Rs 12-lakh film about four frustrated unemployed men who roam the mean streets of Bombay was a hit in 1986, the year the blockbusters crashed. The film captured the anger and angst of the youth.

Do was *Pratighaat* in 1987. A Telugu remake and starless, it was the epiphany of the political pot-boiler: the vaudeville politician-villain had truly arrived in mainstream Hindi cinema. That year, too, the multi-starrers tumbled.

Teen is *Tezaab*. The first draft of the anti-hero stereotype for the '90s. Amitabh Bachchan's invincible version of the hero is out. Chandra's vulnerable, more realistic avenger has taken centre-stage. The film, about a young idealist tripped by a corrupt society into a descent into an urban hell strikes a chord with the audience.

Madhuri Dixit in *Tezaab*



This film does have stars: Anil Kapoor. And glamour: Madhuri Dixit. The two were not unknown, but it is *Tezaab* that has catapulted them onto magazine covers. The money has been flowing in. And the cynical pundits of Bombay no longer talk about Chandra in terms of lucky beginnings and freak successes. Now they want to know the secret of his success.

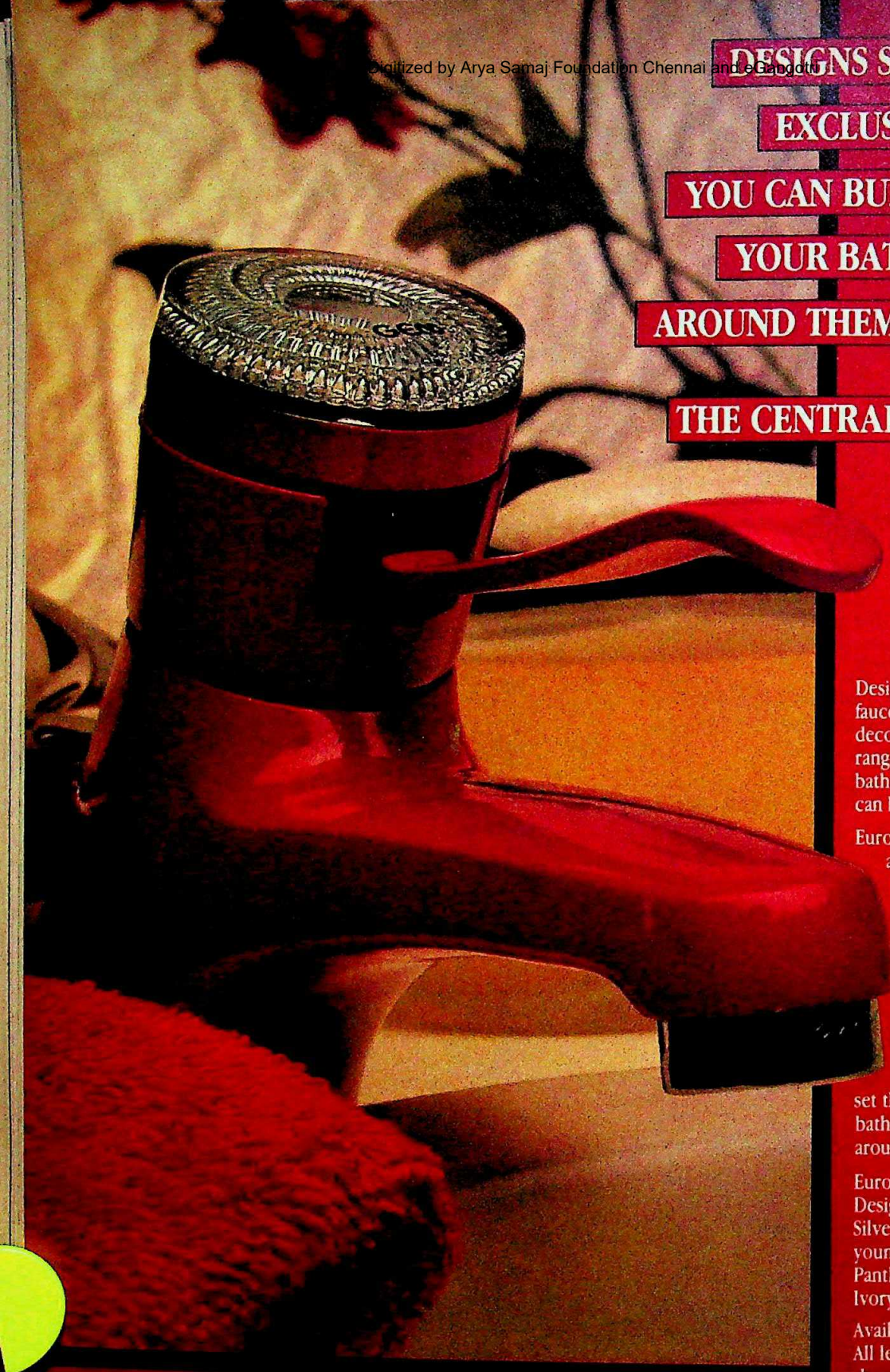
In effect, what makes Chandra run?

Chandra (Chandrashekhar Navekar), 34, believes his hot line to the masses keeps him ahead in the race. "The new generation has changed its ideology. Their attitude towards their parents, to society, to life itself has changed. I believe that film makers like Manmohan Desai have lost their connection with the masses," he asserts.

The angry young man no longer sweeps the box-office. The male Cinderella fairy story of the man-from-the-chawl-who-gets-the-princess-and-the-palace no longer spell-binds. Moreover, this persona spawned in Prakash Mehra's *Zanjeer*, nurtured by Salim-Javed, the story writing duo, and fitted out by Manmohan Desai and others for Bachchan and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



DESIGNS SO EXCLUSIVE, YOU CAN BUILD YOUR BATHROOM AROUND THEM.

THE CENTRAL MOTIF - GEM

Designer bathrooms need faucets that complement the decor. GEM now presents a range of such exclusive bathroom fittings, your decor can be built around them.

Euromix is styled elegantly along the latest European lines. Technologically perfect, superbly designed and immaculately finished. This single – lever mixer is designed to give you that 'just right' water temperature and volume at the touch of a finger.

Euromix bathroom fittings set the style in the most luxurious bathrooms in the country and around the world.

Euromix is now available in Designer Chrome, Antique Silver, Silver Touch and in fantastic young colours like Fiery Red, Panther Black, China White and Ivory.

Available at :
All leading sanitaryware showrooms.

EUROMIX from GEM

IN TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION WITH FRIEDRICH GROHE

Gem Sanitary Appliances Pvt. Ltd. A-57 Wazirpur Industrial Area, Delhi 110 052

The final word in design & luxury

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

his clones has become passe.

What Chandra has done is brought "dirty realism" into commercial Hindi cinema. His films might be loud and crude. But they contain the raw stuff of life, stylishly shot. Says film maker Suresh Jindal: "His films come from the gut. They hit you like a sledgehammer."

Chandra scores because he is talking about what he knows. He does not need redeeming cosmetic touches. "My villains are villains. I know about my frustration and the frustration of my friends. The Kali phenomenon (the politician-goonda in *Pratighaat*) is present in all townships. The goondas have the police in their pockets. Why should we not show this?"

Others have done so too, and perhaps with more violence. What gives Chandra his Midas touch is his ability to have conceived of an anti-hero for the times. The Chandra "hero" is a man, not superman. He is less fairy tale, more down to earth. "Amitabh Bachchan is treated like a demi-god by writers. He is made into a super power who can fight 15 people at a time. In my films the hero will run away if 15 characters chase him." Elaborating, Chandra explains: "In *Tezaab*, the police banish Anil Kapoor from the city of Bombay. A friend complained to me: '*Kya hero-banaya*... Amitabh would have returned and bashed the inspector.' But you see, in my film, Anil starts serving the sentence because he is the common man."

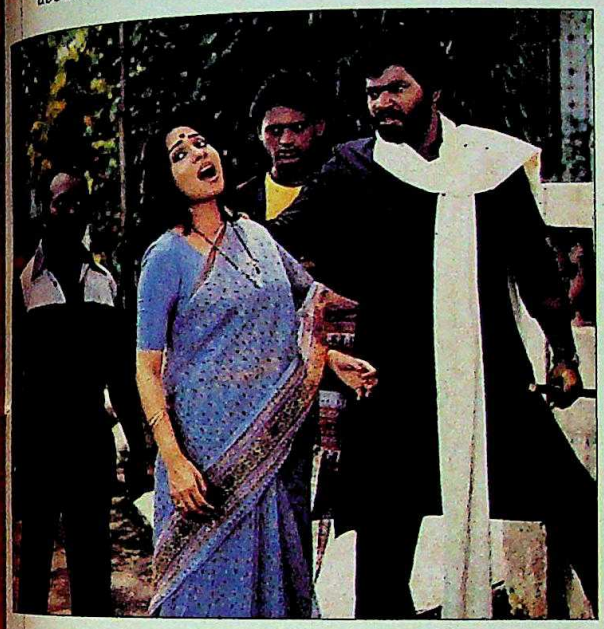
Obviously, the audience now wants a closer identification with the hero on the screen: the great romantic escape is slowly losing vogue. In *Ankush*, the character played by Nana Patekar goes to jail. He does not bash up those escorting him. It is, Chandra explains, not one man against another, but one man against the system that he wishes to project. Chandra claims he does not believe in personalised vengeance. "I have been trying to go against films like *Zanjeer*, which started this trend. It is the system my heroes fight."

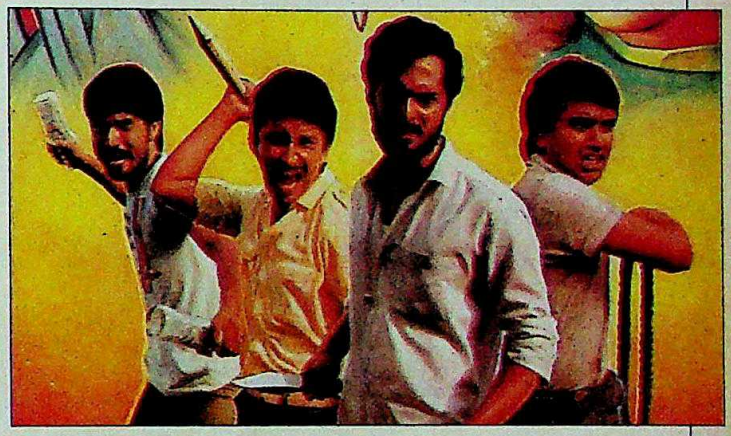
Chandra and his anti-heroes are also different in that they treat the street as life's best school, not teachers or elders. In *Tezaab* Anil Kapoor's sister runs up to him as he is being led to jail and cries: "What will happen to me now?" A tearless Anil Kapoor declares: "Life will teach you everything, you do not need to depend on others..." Normally, in Hindi films the brother would have said he would break the walls of all the prisons in the world and fight her battles for her. Chandra's greatest asset remains his instinctual understanding of the frustrations of the common man. And it is the painful paradox of the lesser person succeeding while the better fails that he tries to transform commercially onto the screen.

But success also brings its cross. Chandra now finds himself at a critical juncture. Does he go the *Tezaab* way—big budget, big stars—or go back to making small films? For a while at least he is going rural: *Yugandhar* is about the landless. Both *Yugandhar* and *Hamla* are for other producers—the latter for Madan Mohla. His next home production *Narsinh* is with Sunny Deol, but the tryst with Anil Kapoor is not over—story sessions for a new film with him are on.

There is one further question. On the highway to success, with money and fame courting him, will Chandra stop hearing the rhythm from the mean streets he has left far behind? The rhythm that established him as a box-office *dada*. *Yugandhar*, *Hamla*, and *Narsinh* should conclusively answer that question.

—MADHU JAIN in Bombay





Chandra's films though crude contain the raw stuff of life, stylishly shot.

Pratighaat (left) and *Ankush*

to cruise through the underbelly of the ugly Indian metropolis—unlike many of our slice-of-life film makers. He is from there. Chandra grew up in Worli *nakka*, in the middle of the madding crowd. And for his scripts he now just dips into this rags life. "There were only poor people around me: my friends, my relatives. We only heard about places like Napean Sea and Warden Road," he recalls.

Once school was over, Chandra and his friends loitered without intent on the streets of Dadar, Tardeo and the red light area. For a while he dealt in smuggled goods: "stretchlon pant pieces" in Musafir Khana or Shuklaji. "Many of the incidents in *Ankush* come from this period," claims Chandra.

Then followed a long spell as film editor in the Film Centre where his father worked. Chandra's first break came in 1971 when he got a job as clapper boy in Gulzar's *Parichay*. The apprenticeship gave him a "philosophy of life" and a taste for the stylish and the lyrical. Says Chandra: "I was his disciple. He not only taught me film making; he taught me a total approach to life."

There the similarities end. Pygmalion opted for the low road. Gulzar's approach is cerebral and poetic. Chandra portrays life as he sees it, without the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FESTIVAL OF FRANCE

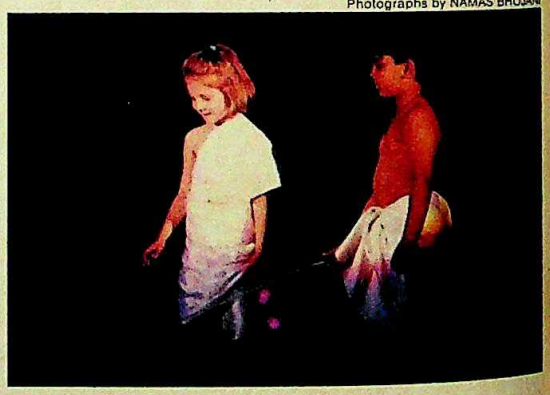
Finesse and Fantasy

Photographs by NAMAS BHOJANI

THE French called it *La Rencontre*—The Encounter. But they could as well have called the opening of the Festival of France 'The Apocalypse'. For the basic objective behind the grand conception of the opening was to transform dramatically the image of France in India, revealing a modern, high-tech society in place of the traditional image of a country producing excellent wine, cheese and perfumes.

The choice of the city for the inaugural show made French intentions very clear. Not the capital—New Delhi—but the modern, Westward-looking metropolis, Bombay. Then came the audacious concept for the show—its location was not an enclosed theatre or even a huge sports stadium, but the magnificent bay in south Bombay. The Rs 4-crore extravaganza was set in the city's Golden Arc, stretching from the sands of Chowpatty, along Marine Drive, to the multi-storey grandeur of Nariman Point.

A huge, 14,000 sq-metre set was put up on the beach at Chowpatty, with a giant computer-cum-spaceship and a pyramid encased within a cliff rising from a lunar landscape. A barge with a massive water-pump which churned 200 tonnes of water in an hour was beached behind the set, to create a 12-metre-high water-screen as the backdrop. Powerful projectors threw dancing images on the elliptical screen. Another set of projectors turned the marble facade of the 22-storey Air-India building into a giant video screen. Along Marine Drive, six video screens and 400 speakers transformed the bay into an enormous amphitheatre. Lasers and searchlights, and a tonne of fireworks launched from barges in the sea, completed the futuristic show.



A laser-lit Nariman Point (top); Indian boy and French girl at finale of Encounter

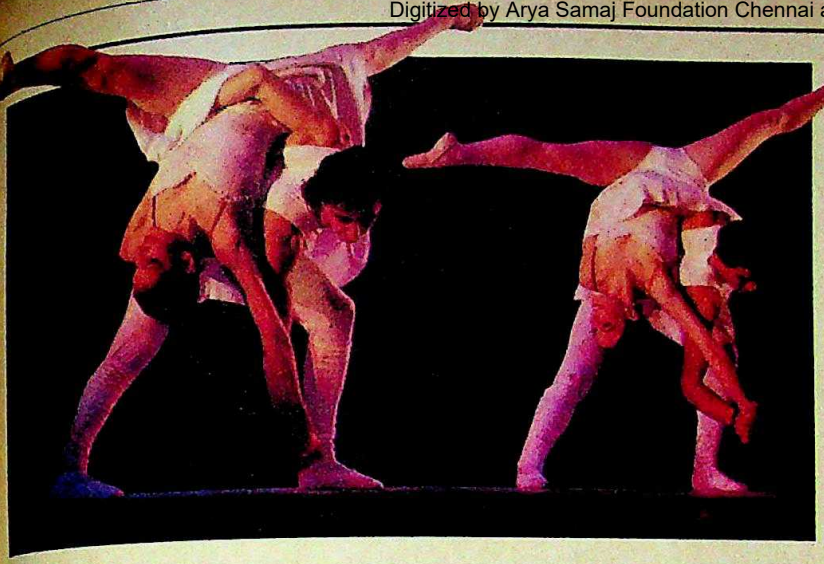
In the event, the *son et lumiere* show came as a high-decibel anti-climax. And even among the invitees with a clear view of the sci-fi Chowpatty set, the reactions were mixed. "It was a marvellous production, with superb synchronisation of so many diverse media," said film maker Jabbar Patel. A Congress(I) MP, on the other hand, complained: "There was too much happening at the same time."

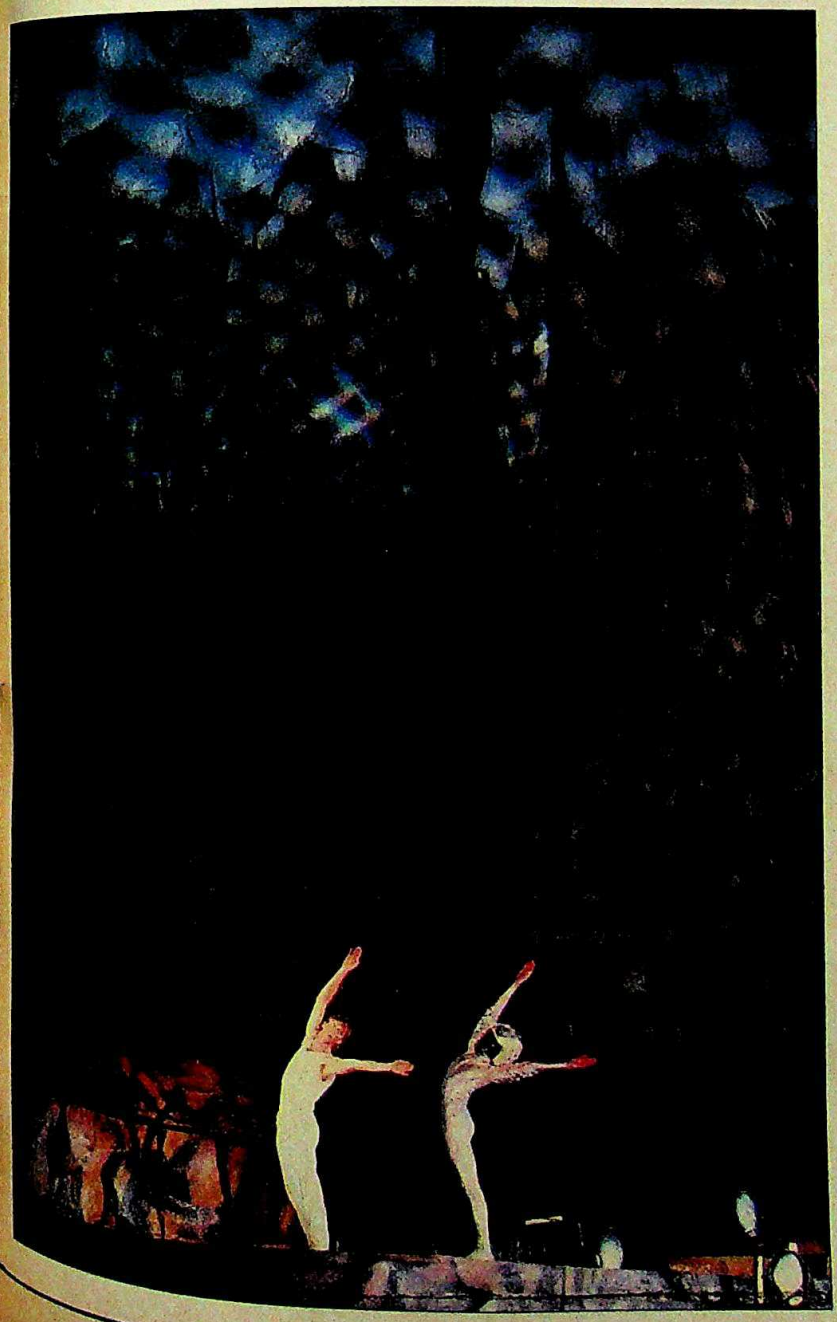
At the centre of the ambitious production, conceived by the young jazz musician Daniel Hamrol, was a simple dance drama choreographed by Gigi Caciuleanu, director of the National Choreographic Theatre in Renne. The theme was the encounter between man and technology, from the time of the Pyramids to the age of the computer spaceships. This also provided the high point of the production, with a 3,00,000-watt sound system submerging the entire bay in Hamrol's haunting music.

But the French failed to score as effectively with the main message—of a highly modern country eager to export its technology. For that message to come across in a show on such a gigantic scale, much more money was required—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





France's leading *son et lumiere* producer, Jean Michel Jarre, spends up to $ 8 million (Rs 12 crore) for his extravaganzas.

Perhaps the French Government, and the private companies which supported the show, were also eager to project a commercial message, and too intent on erasing its traditional image in India. In the scores of video images which accompanied the dance, one section was devoted to the achievements of French industry. Not a single sequence evoked the familiar perception of a predominantly rural country of lush vineyards and quaint towns, and a gay, stylish capital which sets the trend in international fashion.

In the end Encounter failed to satisfy the Bombaywallah's eternal craving for a mind-boggling spectacle. The French had been only too aware of the handicap of opening a festival after the cultural bearhug by the Soviets, who had put on a fabulous inaugural show at the Jawaharlal Nehru Stadium in New Delhi. The Festival of the USSR stretched for more than a year, with even the finale, Ballet on Ice, drawing huge crowds. Nothing France has in the realm of the traditional performing arts could have matched that. So they decided to strike with laser beams instead. As French President Mitterrand said: "Some aspects will be very new, just as they were for the French with the Festival of India in France. There cannot be a one-to-one reciprocity in this. We cannot find epic tribal singers. What the French had to offer (at the inaugural show) was a futuristic kind of thing."

If the Soviets came with bears and ballerinas, the French have come with businessmen and biologists. Unusually for a cultural festival, the emphasis in the Festival of France is on science and technology. But there is culture too. After the official speeches at the formal opening at Bombay's Tata Theatre which preceded the Chowpatty spectacle, there was a half hour of ballet by four dancers from the Paris Opera Ballet. For three days after that, the Lyon Opera Ballet presented some lively modern ballets under the aegis of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR). Haute couture guru Pierre Cardin presented his Spring and Summer Collection at a glittering fashion show hosted by the Oberoi Hotel. And in Delhi, the works of some of the best-known 20th century artists were put on display.

More culture is to follow—a French production of Moliere's famous comedy *The Imaginary Invalid*; jazz concerts featur-

Scene from a ballet (top); computerised water screen with dancers in foreground

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

love your blues
BLUE LAGOON

The French Festival unwinds on Marine Drive: laser blitz

ting well-known musicians like Didier Lockwood; an exhibition of photographs by Marc Ribound and a film week in 10 cities. The festival will be rounded off later in the year with performances by the celebrated mime Marcel Marceau, the rock group Indochine, a fashion show by Yves St Laurent, a seminar on writer Romain Rolland's thought, and a film of Peter Brook's mammoth theatrical production of the *Mahabharata*.

In the first few weeks of the festival, however, it was businessmen and technocrats in blue suits who seemed ubiquitous. The programme was crammed with technical and business meetings—on the nuclear industry, pharmaceuticals, radiation therapy, water, leather, remote sensing, immunology, telecommunications, aeronautics, transport, chemicals and astronomy. Eight ministers and around 500 bureaucrats, scientists, businessmen and journalists converged on Bombay during Mitterrand's visit. Some companies, like the telecommunications giant Alcatel-CIT, which is making a strong bid against competition from C-DOT (Centre for the Development of Telematics) for setting up a digital exchange plant in Uttar Pradesh, not only sent delegations but launched an advertising blitz. Details of a vaccine project which will make India self-suffi-

PAINTING EXHIBITION

Art Hors-d'oeuvres

IT was a "no" to remember. In 1863, the official Salon de Paris threw out the paintings of Edouard Manet. Manet—with his different strokes—and his followers showed their works in a parallel exhibition called the "*Salon de Refuses*" (Salon of the Rejected). The public came to laugh. But that day a new movement was born: impressionism. The sneering academic painters had inadvertently altered the course of art history.

Starting with the birth of impressionism, an exhibition, titled "Birth and Life of Modernity", which opened at the National Gallery of Modern Art last fortnight, spans the art movements in France up to the Second World War.

These were the heady, banquet years of French art: impressionism, post-impressionism, abstractionism, symbolism, fauvism, cubism through Dadaism and surrealism. Pupul Jayakar, Chairperson, Indian Advisory Committee of the Festival of France in India, describes these decades as a "magnificent and creative series of explosions," resulting in "the birth of modern art". Paris, like a magnet drew the best and the boldest from Europe and the US.

And the French have been wise in putting their best up front by beginning the Festival of France in India with this exhibition. The paintings may not always be the best or the most well-known. Claude Monet's *Nympheas*, for instance, hardly compares with his huge canvases of water lilies in which the play of light on water is so magical. Similarly, the two Cezannes—a still life and a landscape—

Paul Gauguin's '*Areaarea*'

are masterpieces but not his best. Unfortunately, there is only one Van Gogh. The *Guinguette*, an early Van Gogh which shows a Montmarte cafe, is enchanting. But where are the bold, wild strokes of his cypress trees, and his sunflowers? Where, alas, is the turbulence of the late Van Gogh and the early Cezanne?

The exhibition which includes nearly a hundred works of art—80 of them paintings which are from the Musee d'Orsay or the Musee Nationale d'Art Moderne at the Centre Pompidou—did have its teething troubles. There was hard bargaining over the quality of canvases which would journey to India. In fact, one of the French experts, Madame Cachin, resigned when there was quite a bit of furore over the repeated request for more and better Van Goghs.

Still, the masters are present, even if not at their best. Several Picassos, Modiglianis, Renoirs, Bonnards, Braques, Matisses (the classic *L'Odalisque a la Culotte*), Chagalls, Soutines, Legers, and one Gauguin. Some of the earliest works of a few maestros have been included. For instance, Picasso's *Les Pains* (Bread), done in 1909, shows the hesitant beginnings of Cubism. Similarly, Matisse's *Le golfe de Lecques*, a masterful landscape with bold colours and strokes which shows his fauvist beginnings, is a far cry from his cubist abstractions which came later.

Many of the paintings are just middling. Numbers and big names do not always add up to quality. But there are enough gems to make it an exhibition to remember. Long after the sound, fury, light and lasers of the Bombay inaugural have faded, the images that will linger will be those currently adorning the walls of the New Delhi gallery. —MADHU JAIN

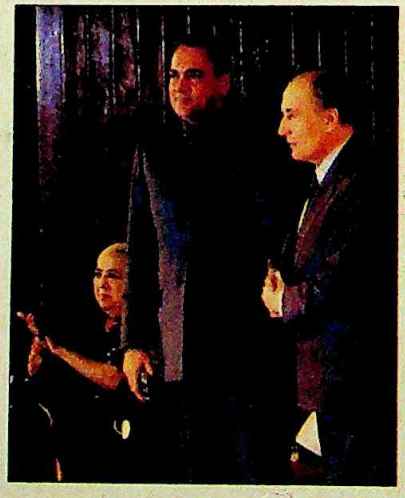
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fireworks at Chowpatty Beach (above); Rajiv and Mitterrand at the inaugural

cient were finalised in New Delhi. France also offered to sell nuclear power plants to India, a proposal which is being seriously considered by the Atomic Energy Commission. "We are the fourth largest exporters in the world, but French products constitute only 2 per cent of India's imports," said Benoit Battistelli, the French trade commissioner in Bombay. "Around 250 French companies will participate in the various events during the festival, which should bring the economic relations between the two countries to a natural level."

But the Indian side complained that the balance of trade was unfairly weighted against them—last year, for instance, while India imported French goods worth nearly Rs 800 crore, its exports to France were less than half this value. Sensitive to such criticism, especially with a socialist head of state committed to helping remove North-South disparities as is President Mitterrand, the French have set up an export promotion office in Paris to help Indian businessmen in the European market. And Mitterrand repeatedly assured India that even after Europe is converted into a single, big market of 320 million people after 1992, France will continue



to help Indian exports to the region.

Already, in the last two years, Indian exports to France have gone up by nearly 20 per cent annually. More interestingly, tourist arrivals from France have increased by as much as 50 per cent every year after the Festival of India in France four years ago. "It may surprise people to know that tourists from France now rank second after the United Kingdom," said Daljeet Aurora, director-general of the Festival of India which took up the joint responsibility of organising the French Festival before the Soviet one had ended.

But for the moment, the grand, high-tech inaugural show has left many Indians dazzled, if a little disappointed, while bringing the French face to face with aspects of India which came as nothing short of a surprise. Caciuleanu acknowledged that he had come to Bombay believing that it would be impossible to find modern dancers to participate, and ended up hiring more than 80 dancers, a majority of them students of the young dancer Shiamak Davar. "For me this was the real encounter, dancing with Shiamak and the others. They were fantastic."

The French dared to have an unusual inaugural show, and succeeded in generating more interest in the event than was possible with a traditional opening. The audacious nature of the enterprise extended also to the presence of Mitterrand and Rajiv Gandhi on the beach in the midst of lakhs of excited people. The VVIPs, of course, were enclosed in a fibreglass box which was tested against both an AK-47 and a .303 rifle at 183 metres, the distance of the performance from the nearby buildings. But now the French are faced with the more difficult challenge—to sustain interest in the festival till it ends in November on a traditional note: a grand mela featuring folk artistes and the celebrated French cuisine.

—M.RAHMAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When a decision has to last a hundred years, concrete proof helps.

Proof 1: QUALITY
The name Raymond is synonymous with the highest standards of excellence and reliability.

Proof 2: STRENGTH
A decidedly higher compressive strength than the specifications set by BIS.

Proof 3: BLAINE
The finest blaine guarantees the desired strength with a lesser quantity of cement.

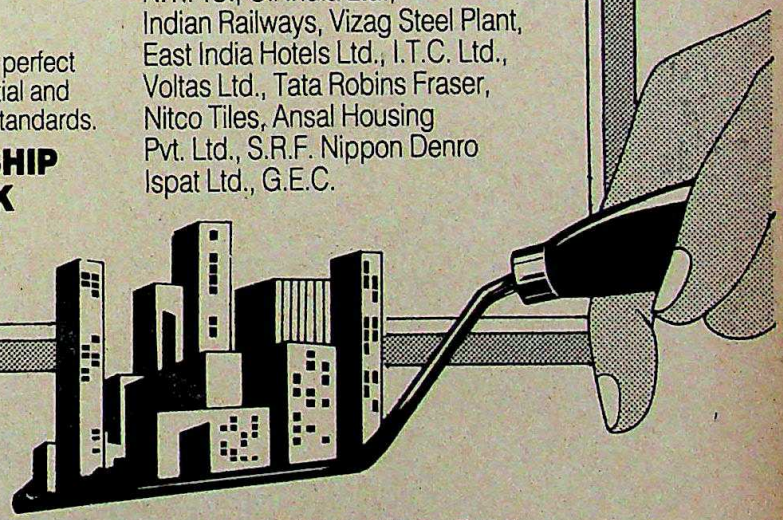
Proof 4: SETTING
Raymond Cement assures perfect setting as it has a better initial and final setting time than BIS standards.

Proof 5: DEALERSHIP NETWORK
The Raymond network of authorised dealers makes sure of 100% genuine cement. Nationwide.

Proof 6: PACKAGING
Automatic rotary packing machines and the toughest non-pilferage plastic and jute bags.

Proof 7: ECONOMY
No other cement guarantees all these concrete advantages. Everytime.

Proof 8: OUR CLIENT LIST
N.T.P.C., Oil India Ltd., Indian Railways, Vizag Steel Plant, East India Hotels Ltd., I.T.C. Ltd., Voltas Ltd., Tata Robins Fraser, Nitco Tiles, Ansal Housing Pvt. Ltd., S.R.F. Nippon Denro Ispat Ltd., G.E.C.



KAILASH CEMENT FROM

Raymond

THE NAME GUARANTEES QUALITY.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

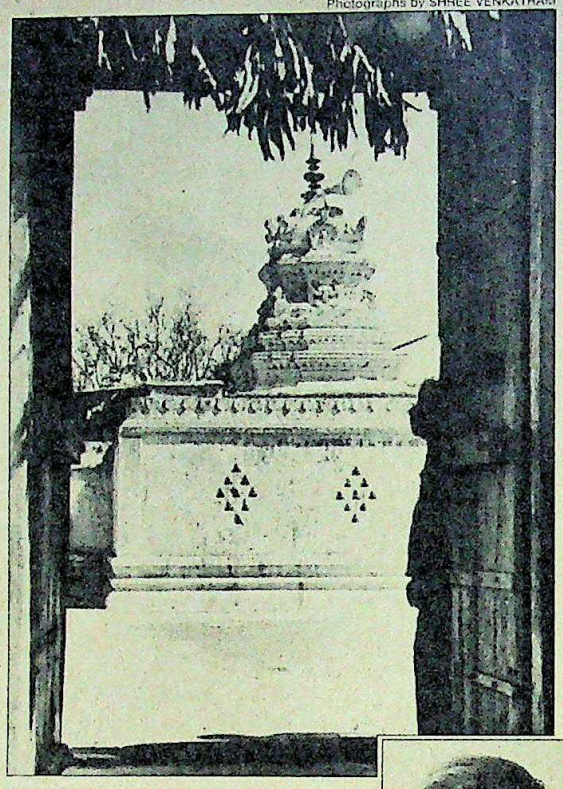
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KARNATAKA

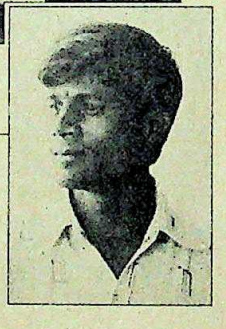
Brave Gesture

Stir over Harijan priest

Photographs by SHREE VENKATRAM



The Jwala Tripura Sundaramma temple; and (inset) Vasu



In some ways these changes have been cosmetic. Vasu concedes that Harijans still don't enter the sanctum sanctorum of the temple.

A Harijan becoming a priest is tantamount to the worst kind of blasphemy for many caste Hindus. Understandably then, the last nine months have not been easy for 23-year-old Vasu, the first Harijan to be appointed *archak* or priest in Karnataka. In an ironic twist of fate, Vasu, whose life as an orphan had made him indifferent to caste divides, has been at the centre of a caste controversy ever since he became a priest at the ancient Jwala Tripura Sundaramma temple at Uttanahalli village near Mysore last year.

Vasu's problems are compounded by the fact that Uttanahalli's 2,000 strong population is dominated by the powerful Lingayats, Brahmins and Gowdas. The number of Harijans and Kurubas, a backward tribe, is only 300, while the opposition to him—led by the Lingayats and Brahmins—is tremendous. While some persons refused to accept *teertha* or holy water from Vasu, others came to the temple to gawk at the dimunitive priest instead of paying obeisance to Goddess Jwala. A priest of the neighbouring Chamundeshwari temple summed up the popular resentment when he said: "We are not against Vasu. But we do not like the fact that a Harijan who knows nothing about pujas and rituals has been foisted on us."

But if the people are against Vasu, the local administration has gone out of its way to be supportive. Temples in Karnataka are under government control. And Vasu was, in fact, brought in by the Deputy Commissioner of Mysore, V.P. Baligar. When one of the five *archaks*' post fell vacant last year, in a complete break with the heredity tradition of priesthood, Baligar advertised in the local papers, putting in a line stating that preference would be given to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes candidates. He received five applications—two from Lingayats, one from a Brahmin and two from Scheduled Castes. Vasu's willingness to face all opposition that might arise from his appointment tilted the scales in his favour. Says Baligar: "Even though 40 years have passed since Independence, Harijans are still being treated inhumanly. I wanted to do something to improve their status in my district. The *archak's* post fell vacant and I decided to appoint a Harijan to a position of respect and authority."

Though there was initial resistance, Baligar insists that his move has been acclaimed by people cutting across caste and political lines. Still, the bitterness is evident in every nook and cranny of the tiny village. Said a Brahmin: "The deputy commissioner has literally thrust an unqualified person on the job. Does he really think that his action will improve the status of Harijans? He has done it to get recognition, so that his name appears in newspapers. Uttanahalli was a peaceful village where Harijans and others lived together. But now seeds of discontent have been sown in the Harijans' minds."

Thundered another resident of the village: "We are not against Harijans. Make them better persons first. Stop them from taking liquor. Give them education. Then give them jobs that require physical and mental cleanliness. Why is it that after some months Vasu was removed from the temple and sent to a Sanskrit college? The deputy commissioner must have realised that the boy was not fit for the job."

True, Vasu has been sent for a year to the Sanskrit College in Mysore. But he will return to Uttanahalli after that. Moreover, in Mysore, he has been appointed supervisor of the Kamakameshwari temple. He maintains the temple's accounts and is responsible for its cleanliness. Even more crucially, since Vasu's elevation to priesthood, Baligar has appointed four Harijans and other backward class men plus two Harijan women as conveners of temple trusts.

Yet, in some ways, these have been mere cosmetic changes, unable to really dent the centuries old prejudice against Harijans. Vasu himself concedes that even after his appointment, Harijans do not enter the sanctum sanctorum of the temple. They maintain an equally safe distance from him, fearing reprisals from caste Hindus. And to date, Vasu has not been allowed to make the *prasadam*.

Still, in a state where not too long ago, a Harijan was compelled to eat his own excreta, such symbolism acquires great significance and marks a beginning. Slowly, people are being forced to accept Vasu—indicated by the fact that a greater number take *teertha* from him now than they did nine months ago. If today a Harijan can be a priest, tomorrow promises to be brighter for the entire benighted community.

—SHREE VENKATRAM

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SUDDENLY THE PICTURE CLARITY OF ALL OTHER TVs DOESN'T SEEM SO CLEAR ANY MORE

Introducing GL Series

The GL series.
If there ever was a breakthrough in TV technology since the introduction of colour, this is it.

The GL series is engineered around one of the most sophisticated instrument of all time.
The human eye.
And with the GL series, what you see in real life is what you get on the screen.

NEW APERTURE CORRECTION CIRCUIT

The astounding picture clarity is the result of an APERTURE CORRECTION CIRCUIT which corrects even the smallest variations in picture resolution.
The result?
Absolutely true to life colours. And picture sharpness and depth like you've never seen before.

UNIQUE AUTO SWITCHING PROGRAM

Other unique features of GL series include an AUTO SWITCHING PROGRAM, which can switch channels after a preset time. Or even switch from the VCR to the TV.

A 24 hour clock. And a stereo simulated sound facilitated by three directional speakers. The GL series also incorporates LARGE SCALE INTEGRATED CIRCUITS, which reduces the number of components in the TV. So failure is almost non-existent. And servicing is easier.

Besides of course the series incorporates all the other features that make televiewing a pleasure.

- Feather touch controls.
- On Screen channel, Volume, Brightness, Contrast, Colour & Colour system display
- Programmable Off-On timer
- Vacation switch
- Automatic fine tuning
- Audio Video mode

The GL series is available in two models with remote and without.Take a look at them today.

The difference will be very clear.

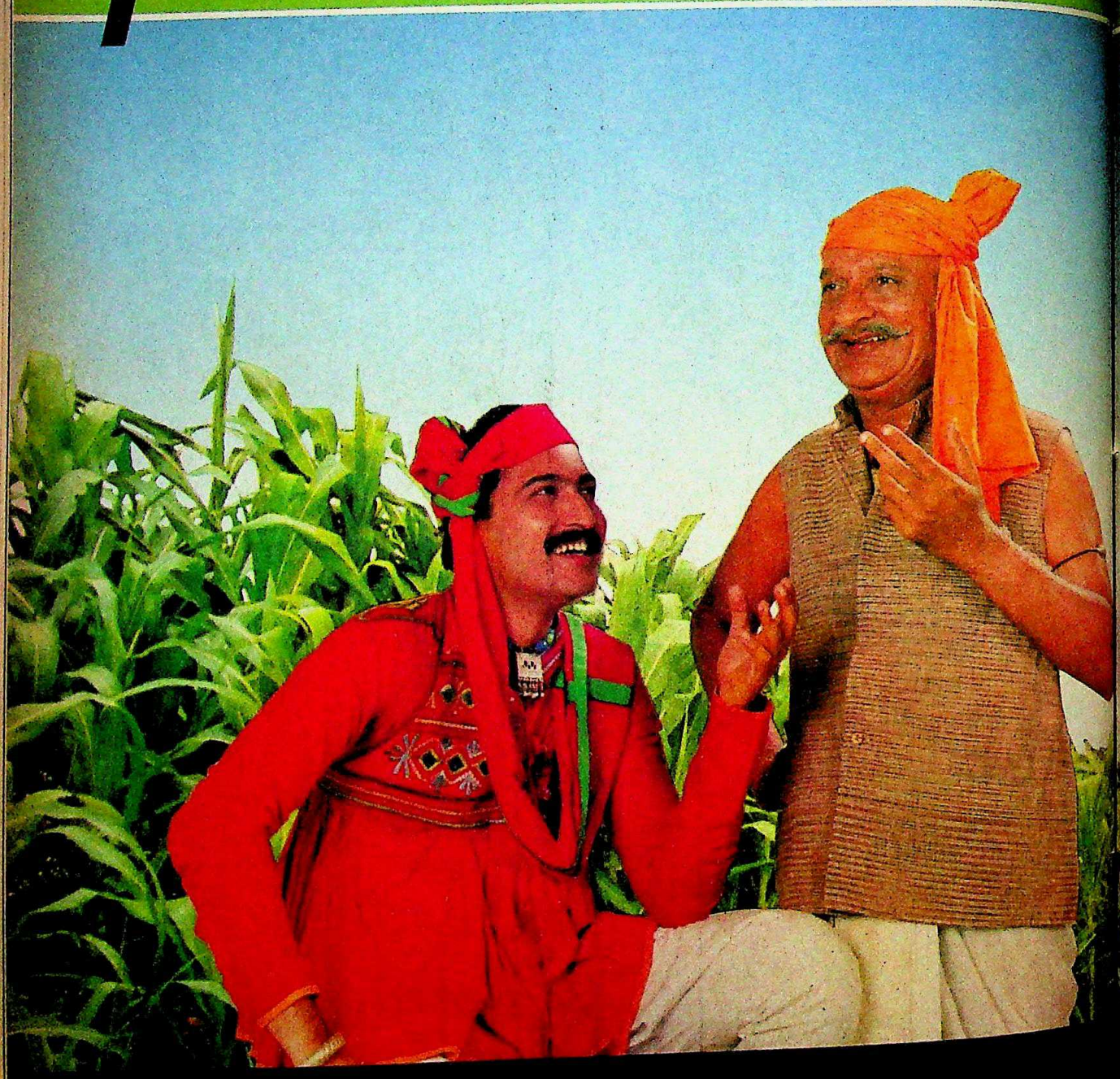
Tulika

CROWN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Finolex gets people



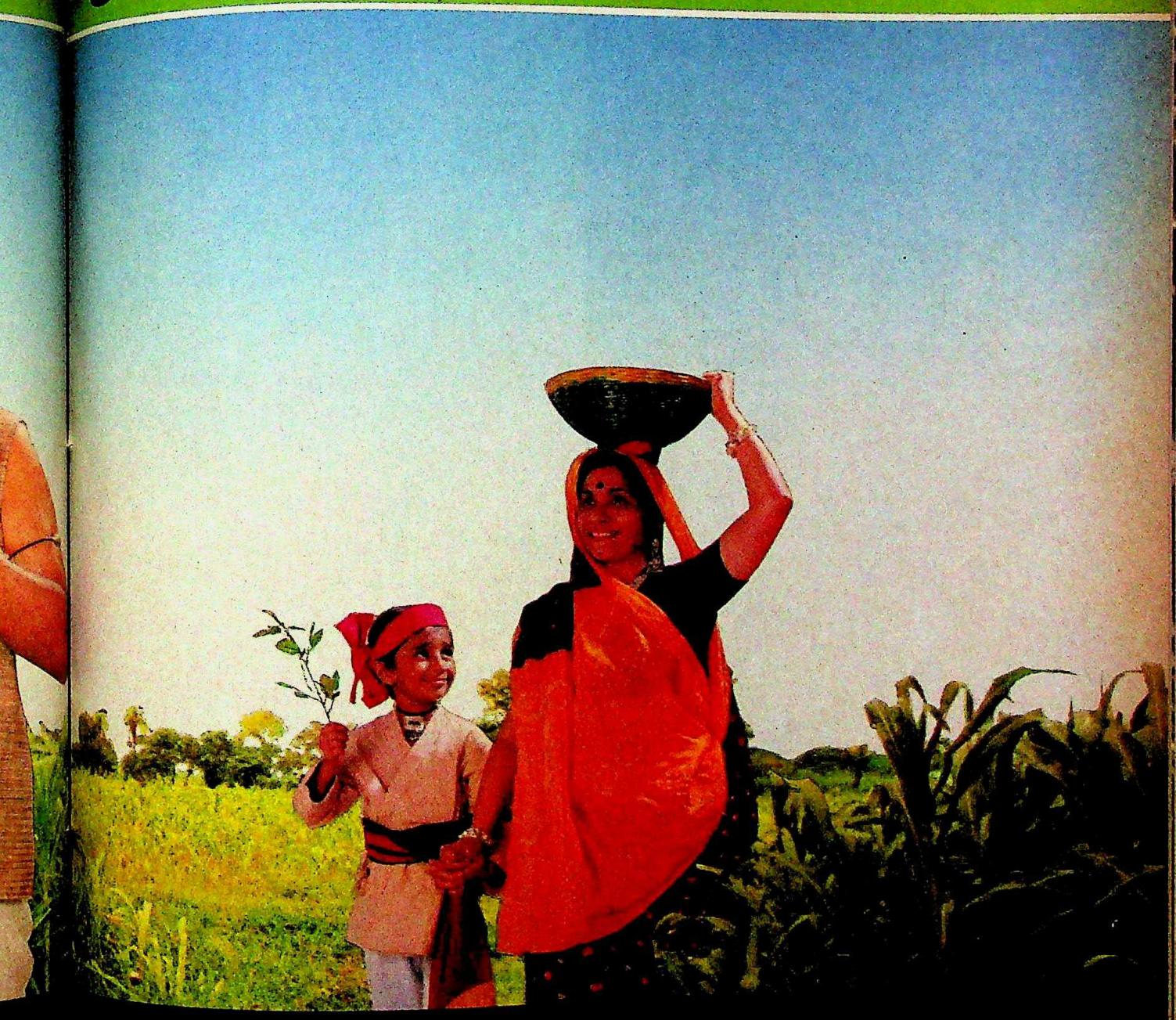
AGRICULTURE

WINDING WIRES AND 3-CORE FLAT CABLES FOR SUBMERSIBLE PUMPS, AND PVC PIPES & FITTINGS FOR IRRIGATION AND WATER SUPPLY

PRATIBHA 95-97

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

le ogether



We're old friends. The farmers and Finolex. Together we've seen parched land being quenched... seeds being nurtured into plants... green fields dancing under the pour of man-made rain... and together we've rejoiced in the fruits of our labour. Yes. Finolex Cables and Pipes are as much a part of the Indian Farmer's life today as excellent quality is a part of Finolex.

Finolex Cables Limited
26 27, Bombay-Pune Road.
Pimpri, Pune - 411 018.

Finolex Pipes Pvt. Ltd.
Block D1, Plot No. 10, M.I.D.C.
Chinchwad, Pune - 411 019.

Finolex

Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The only Indian pressure cooker selling in top department stores in Europe and America

Bloomingdale's, New York. Bullock's, Los Angeles. Dayton-Hudson, Detroit. Carson Pirie Scott, Chicago. Woodward & Lothrop, Washington. Burdine's, Miami. Macy's, San Francisco. Selfridges, London. Innovation, Brussels. Beyenkorf, Amsterdam. Simago, Madrid. These and many other fine stores, in some of the world's most exciting cities, carry the Hawkins Futura pressure cooker.

You, too, can buy the world's most beautiful, durable pressure cooker. Hawkins Futura. 5 litre, Rs 619. 7 litre, Rs 743. For the nearest Hawkins Futura stockists, write to the address given below.

HAWKINS COOKERS LIMITED, DEPT. NO. 118, UDYOG MANDIR NO. 2, 3RD FLOOR, 7C PITAMBER LANE, MAHIM, BOMBAY 400 016. ALL PRICES ARE FOR PRESSURE COOKERS WITHOUT SEPARATORS. MAXIMUM PRICE. LOCAL TAXES EXTRA. ® REGISTERED TRADE MARK COPYRIGHT RESERVED 1988 BY HAWKINS COOKERS LIMITED.

The same excellence in design and manufacture that makes the Hawkins Futura admired throughout the world goes into the traditional Hawkins pressure cookers.

Hawkins pressure cookers. 2 litre, Rs 212 □ 3 litre, Rs 267 □ 4 litre, Rs 310 □ 5 litre, Rs 334 □ 6.5 litre, Rs 372 □ 8 litre, Rs 421 □ 10 litre, Rs 507 □ 12 litre, Rs 594. And 22 litre, Rs 1,127.

Choose the Hawkins that suits your needs best. Get the best in the world. Get Hawkins.

Hawkins®

FUTURA™

The New Generation pressure cooker

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hawkins CASHBACK and Display dealers

Buy a new Hawkins and get Rs. 50 to Rs. 120 CASHBACK on exchange of any old pressure cooker, any size, any make. CASHBACK offer ends March 10, '89. For details, contact any of the dealers listed below:

DELHI:

DELHI: Connaught Place, Jankidass & Co. 23-F • Manohar Departmental Stores Shop No 15-A; Chandani Chowk, Basti. Shop No 1900 Opp. Bank of India • Bakshi Sons Shop No 1851 • Fatehpuri, R.D. Stores. Shop No 6504 □ Gandhi Nagar, Singh & Sons Shop No 1854 □ Fatehpuri, P.D. Stores. Shop No 6504 □ Gandhi Nagar, Singh & Sons. 10-Old Post Office Bldg., Main Bazar • Jnandamal Krishnan Lal & Co. Main Bazar □ Greater Kailash, Mahindra Departmental Store. M-48 A. Part-I □ Hauz Khas, Nirankari General Store E-37 □ INA Market, Bharat Crockery Corner. 197 Mohan Singh Market □ Kalka Ji, Dass Electronics. H-11 Main Road □ Kamla Nagar, Crockery Mart. 11-F □ Kotla Mubarakpur, Bhagwan Dass Agarwal. 482 I. Subhash Market □ Krishna Nagar, Sr. Krishna Bartan Store. D 4 I, Lal Quarters Market □ Lajpat Nagar, Bartan Bhandar 30 Central Market • Bengal Crockery & Glass House. I-18, Part-IIIrd Floor □ Model Town, Bartan Bhandar. 34, Central Market • Sun Bartan Bhandar. 32, Central Market □ Motia Khan Bhandar. 34, Basturkar Market □ Moti Nagar, Bhutani Bartan Bhandar □ Nehru Place, Everbright Stores. 44 □ Rajouri Garden, New Variety Store J-83, Main Market □ Sadar Bazar, Main Market □ Rajouri Garden, New Variety Store J-83, Main Market □ Sadar Bazar, Sharat Crockery House. 6117 Main Bazar • Brij Kishore & Sons. 4522, Pahar Dhiraj Ganj, Main Bazar • Kumar Sons. 6120-A Main Bazar • Kumar Trading Co. 6119, Main Bazar • Malik Light House. 9 Crockery Market • Shahdara, Chandhiok. 6118 Main Bazar • Subzi Mandi (Ghantaghar), Crockery & Hardware Bartan Store. 1 6966, Babarpur Road • Yusuf Sarai, Laxmi Household Emporium. 74 2 • Vishal Store. 1535, Chandrawal Road □ NEW DELHI: Karol Bagh, Amar Bartan Bhandar. 2954 Ajmal Khan Road • Anand Crockery Stores. 157, Gaffar Market Ajmal Khan Road • Sangocha Bartan Stores. 2567, Ajmal Khan Road • Virmani Glass Potteries & Allied Stores. 6 30-31, Ajmal Khan Road • Gift Centre Emporium. 2533-35, Ajmal Khan Road • Vishal Bartan Bhandhar. 2568, Ajmal Khan Road

ANDHRA PRADESH

ANANTAPUR: Arundal Pet: M. Sambamoorty HYDERABAD: Chickadapally, Balaji Emporium □ Nampally Station Road, Anjali Electronics □ Narayanaguda, City Emporium Opp. Canara Bank □ Sultan Bazar, Balaram Khairam • Eversmine Steel Palace • Godwil Trading Co. KARIMNAGAR: Suryaroo Pet, Gupta Emporium, Main Road. KURNOOL: Park Road, Kitchen Ware. NELLORE: Sikharamuarist, Kumar Agencies, Chinna Bazar SECUNDERABAD: General Bazar, Rakesh Steel Works □ Mahatma Gandhi Rd., Kitchen Warehouse Co. 17, Katra Complex □ R.P. Road, Sakinala Steel Palace TENALI: Main Road, Chandramouli Agencies. 7, Roads Junction VIJAYAWADA: Chennai Pet, Jyoti Metals, Prakasham Road • Satyanarayana Metals, Kaleswara Rao Pet □ VISHAKAPATNAM: Main Road, Bombay Gaslight House □ Opp. Police Control Room, Dorn Sons. □ T.S.R. Complex, Kalpana Emporium

ASSAM

BISWANATH CHARALI: Pabhai Road, Udaysankar Stores BONGAIGAON: Main Road, Ravi Prakash Anand & Co. DIBRUGARH: H.S. Road, Diamond Novelty Palace Kamla Crockery Stores GUWAHATI: G.S. Road, Paltan Bazar, Ravi Prakash Anand & Co. □ Lakhtokia, C.M. Stores □ Maligaon, National Variety Stores □ S.R.C.B. Road, Panbazar. R. Champakrai (Assam) & Co. □ S.S. Road, City Centre. Lakhtokia (Jorhat: Chowk Bazar, Rakesh Chandra Das □ Gar-Ali, Roy & Co. KOKRAJHAR: Main Road, Laxminarayan Stores □ NALBARI: N.T. Road, Maruti Electronics □ LAKHIMPUR: N.T. Road, Dutta Brothers. RANGAPARA: M.G. Road, Jain Sons. SILCHAR: Ambica Patty, Ravi Prakash Anand & Co. □ Central Road, Gandheswari Kala Stores TINSUKIA: Daily Bazar, Nazir Ahmed & Sons

BIHAR

BHAGALPUR: Doksana & Sons. D.N. Singh Road. BOKARO STEEL CITY: Bombay Variety Stores. E-13, City Centre. CHAS: Famous Bye Pass Road. DARBHANGA: M.K. Road. D.C. Lal & Sons □ Tower Chowk, Bharat Stores. DEHRIONSONE: Glassina. Cinema Road. DEOGHAR: Baidyanath Electric Stores. Shyamganj Road. DHANBAD: Jagat Bhandar. Shahi Bhawan Shop No. 4. JAMSHEDPUR: Sakchi Bazar, Cooker House. 25 Old Puline • Neel Kamal Steel Centre. 24, Old Alu Line • Singhwal Trading Co., Shop No. 15A. KATHIAR: Bhowmick Stores. Mangal Bazar. KHAGARIA: Mill Road, Sharma Electricals. MOTIHARI: Main Road, Steel House. Saraia Ganj. MUZAFFARPUR: Chhotanj Steel House. Saraia Ganj • Dada Steel & Crockery House. Motijheel • Kitchen King. Saraia Ganj • New Stainless Emporium. PATNA: Crockeroo, New Market □ Boring Road. 6, Emporiums. Nepali Kothi □ Muradpur, Steel Corner. Opp. Bankipur Post Office • Steel House, Kankarbagh Road. PATRATU: Main Road, Kamala Bhandar. Ranchi, Hasan Bagh Road, Jayant Agencies □ Kanke Road, Trade Well, Near Jawahar High School. Main Road, Kailash Crockery House. SITAMARI: Main Road, Shree Chandnika Store. SIWAN: Main Road, New Asha Stores. Darbar Cinema Compound

CHANDIGARH

CHANDIGARH: Sector 15-D, Indian Crockery House. Shop No. 45 □ Sector 17-E, Gupta Sons. SCF-32 • Union Agencies. SCO 23 □ Sector 18-C, Dharam Chand Trunks. SCF-17 □ Sector 19-C, Aggarwal Jee Stores. SCF-30 • Jain Glass House. SCF-14 New Town 38 □ Sector 35-C, New Indian Crockery House. SCO 89

GOA

MARGAO: Ramchandra Building, Mayur Agencies. Shop No. 17. MARGAO: Behind Municipality, T.D. Parsekar And Co. P. Box No. 65 □ 10, New Market, D.D. Sadekar And Co., Opp. Cine Lata, Vaman Govind Shinde. VASCO-DA-GAMA: Barkatali Traders, Dattaji Building

GUJARAT

AHMEDABAD: Ellisbridge, M.s. Mahalaxmi Vasan Bhandar. Juna Sharda Mandir Four Rasta, Railway Pura, Akbarally Kadarbhai. 581 6, Kerosene Bazar □ Three Gates, Bombay Bhagat Char Rasta. VADODARA: M.G. Road, Popatlal Krishnalal Kansara, Station Terrace

HARYANA

AMBALA CANTT.: Kesera Bazar, Budh Ram & Sons □ Saudagar Bazar, Jagat Singh & Sons. HISSAR: Moti Bazar, Kewal Krishan Inder Sain. JAGADHARI: Railway Road, Near Industries. FARIDABAD (NIT): Market No. 5, Grover Agencies. PANIPAT: Hafwai Hatta Bazar, Jia Lal Jain Dass. PANIPET: Insar Chowk, Prem Electric House. SIRSA: Rori Bazar, Aggarwal Bartan Bhandar. YAMUNANAGAR: Jagadhari Road, Kara Enterprises

HIMACHAL PRADESH

BILASPUR, Near Bus Stand, Jeevan Ram Ved Pal. JUPPAL: 3, Super Bazar, V.K. Emporium. Dr. Shimla. KANGRA: Main Bazar, Gupta Sewing Machine. KULLU: Akhara Bazar. MANDI: Gandhi Chowk, Roop Chand Dalip Chand. NAHAN: Bhagwan Das & Sons. Main Bazar, Dharam Pal & Sons. SHIMLA: Lower Bazar, Mohan Lal, Rajeshwar Lal Jain & Sons • Sant Lal Inder Sain Aggarwal □ The Mall, New Bazar. Sahni Bros. Departmental Store

JAMMU & KASHMIR

JAMMU: Raghunath Bazar, Lakshmi Das Raj Jain. New Market. SRINAGAR: Residency Road, Street, Yasin Lal Jain & Sons □ Tankeypura, Anuja Agencies

KARNATAKA

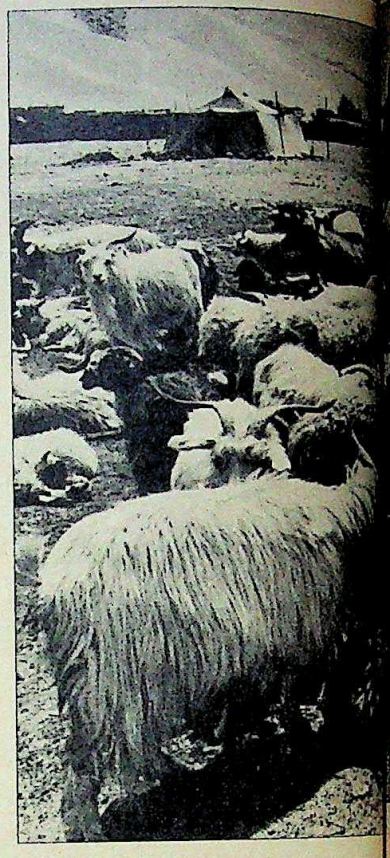
BANGALORE: A.S. Char Street, Shri Vasthimal Bhandar & Co. 154, 155 □ Avenue Road, Ramesh & Bros. Begaricoil Building. 314 • Bheru Steel House. No. 330 • Paras Steel Corner, Avenue Road, Opp. Circle □ Banashankari II Stage, Neelam Enterprises. No 27 Shop No. 1, Custom Complex. 11 □ B.V.K. Iyengar Road, General Electricals. 174-175 • Liberty Agencies Kumar Mansion, 824 Venkata Vijayalaxmi Talkies • Raja Trading Company, Kumar Mansion, 824 Venkata Vijayalaxmi Talkies • Raja Trading Company, Opp. Kalyan Mantap Talkies □ Chinmaya, Balaji Electricals. Mission Hospital Road □ Gandhinagar, M.G. Road, Queen's Super Market. 31 □ D.V.G. Road, Novelty Stores. 36 Gandhinagar, M.G. Road, Queen's Super Market. 31 □ D.V.G. Road, Novelty Stores. 36 Gandhinagar, M.G. Murphy House, Gupta

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PASHMINA

Reviving a Splendid Tradition

A lucrative export market waits to be tapped



WHAT'S soft and cuddly, has a touch of class, and is guaranteed to bring a warm glow to even the most unromantic?

A pashmina shawl. The very word *pashm* means soft in Persian. As for warmth, it is said to be enough to hatch an egg in. No wonder it is prized as a family treasure and passed down through generations the world over.

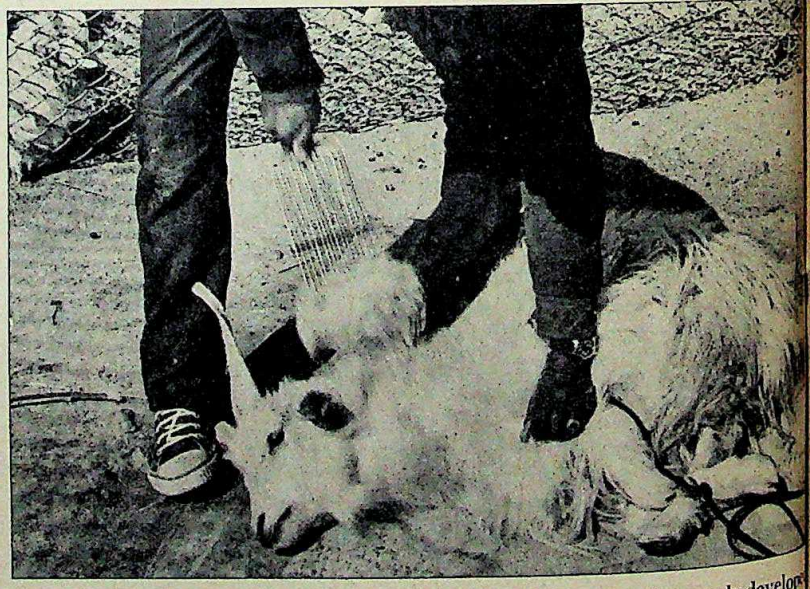
Its origin is so intricately interwoven with Kashmir and the stark desert highlands beyond, that in the West pashmina wool is better known as Cashmere. Yet, ironically, India has—through sheer neglect—been pushed into a tiny corner of the world pashmina market. While China and the Soviet Union each produce 750 tonnes of pashmina wool every year, and Mongolia dominates the world market with as much as 1,000 tons a year, India now produces a measly 30 tons.

It is a shame that while a huge export market for the high-priced Cashmere shawl remains to be tapped, yarn production is too low for any revolutionary production increase. Worse, it does no justice to the remarkable skills of thousands of men and women across the Kashmir valley who have, through generations, honed the craft of shawl-making into a fine art. Not a shuttle bruises the softness of the yarn and not a knot creases the embroidery. A thin reed passes through the loom with each thread and the end of each silken thread is woven back into the pattern. The more intricate embroideries can take a year of work, 12,000 perfect stitches a day. And a month's quiet labour goes into spinning enough yarn for a single shawl.

For Kashmiri households shawl-making is a major cottage industry and it is unfortunate that they cannot produce more and make more money for their rare talent just because unscientific and archaic methods of goat-rearing and culling keep the yarn yields so low. Efforts now under way have the potential to revolutionise pashmina production in Jammu and Kashmir. But the revolution has to begin 6,000 feet above the Kashmir valley in the rarefied Zanskar moonscape.

The Changthang—literally, northern meadow—region of Ladakh is the home of the Changra goat, which nature has endowed with a pashmina undercoat to counter the high-speed winds and temperatures that dip well below −30 degrees Centigrade in winter. Estimates put the number of Changra goats at about 1.4 lakh. These have been reared by poor Changpa (or Changthangi) nomads and villagers for centuries for meat, milk and pashmina. Since he sees pashmina as only a by-product, the Changpa's goat-rearing has generally been crude and primitive—leading inevitably to a loss in quality as well as quantity.

The nuclei of the Government's efforts in Changthang are at two state farms. Though the first was set up as early as 30 years ago, the farms have only recently begun to bear fruit, opening up vistas for the country's pashmina industry. Already, the yield of down per goat has risen from 400 gm a year to an average of 640 gm (for males) at the farms (The Mongolian male gives about 550 gm). And mortality among the young, as high as 40 per cent in general, has been brought down to just 1 per cent at the farms. To crown it all, "we have been very successful in getting white colour pashmina," says veterinarian Dr Mohammed Deen, who heads the goat farms project near Upshi in Changthang. Grey or brown pashmina may be as fine but white commands the market.



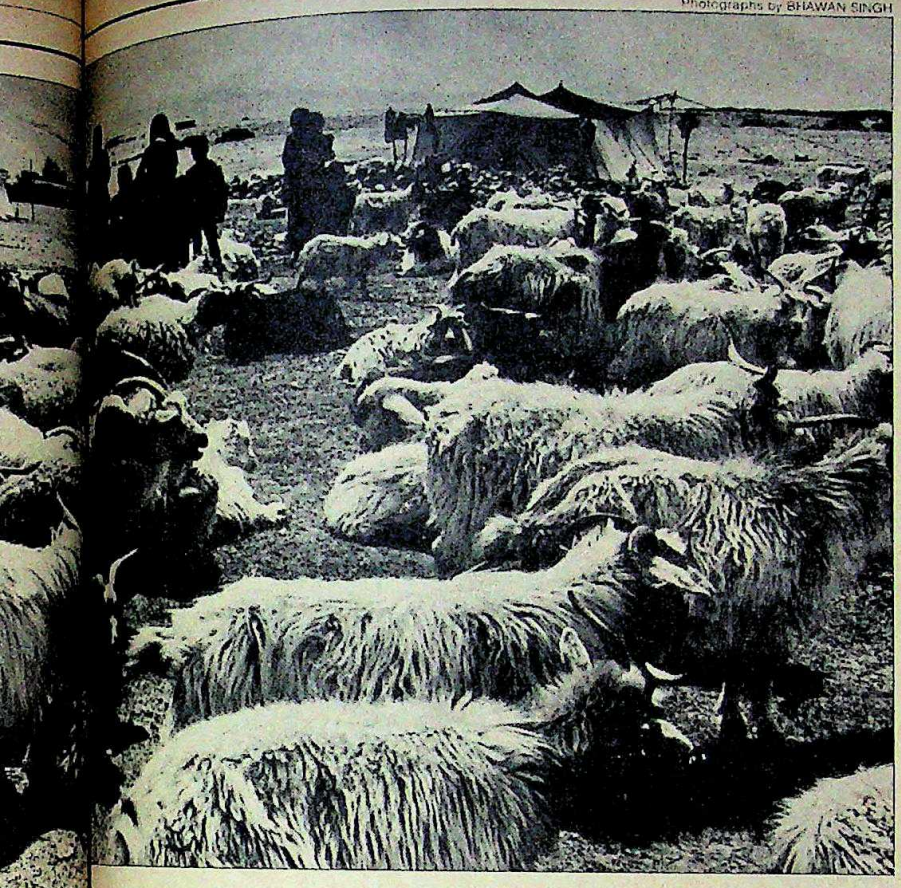
Culling the down with a newly develop comb: better technique

India could build on its advantage quality while marketing its pashmi "Changra down is the finest in the world says Dr Deen. While the Soviet r pashmina is 15.7 microns in diameter

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by BHAWAN SINGH



Nomads herd Changra goats, and (right) a craftsman works on a shawl: victims of neglect

an average and the Mongolian between 10 and 15 microns, Ladakh offers a thinness of just 8 to 12 microns (about a tenth of a human hair's breadth.)

However, the Ladakhi fibre's length isn't so flattering. It's not naturally shorter; it's just that the culling done by the wandering Changpas is inefficient. Some of them often shear the goats, thus reducing the length of the down (which forms an undercoat under the outer fur) and depriving the animals of their cooler coat in summer. Deen is extremely proud of a new iron comb he recently developed at Leh. With more and finer teeth than older varieties, it culls the down from under the shaggy outer coat much more efficiently than traditional wooden combs.

If the Changra goat is generally short on yield, this is partly because of uncontrolled mixing of breeds. One of the trickier jobs the goat farms have undertaken is keeping a watch on mating. Their records of who sired whom on the farms would impress even Harold Brooks-Baker, the British peerage expert.

Having established a stock of pure-bred goats, Deen and his colleagues are now distributing studs to Changpas free, on the undertaking that the animal won't be slaughtered before it has done four years of service. Dr Tsering Phonsog, assistant director at the Upshi project, says they also offer cash incentives to Changpas with good studs to exchange them in order to avoid inbreeding.

Such incentives are necessary because the Changpa isn't much bothered about breeding his goats. That's only to be expected, since for centuries Kashmiri traders paid the ignorant herders next to nothing for the down. Mohammed Yaseen, deputy general manager (marketing) with the Jammu and Kashmir Wool Board, says that a couple of years ago he came across a Changpa woman who had exchanged an armful of raw pashmina—probably enough for a shawl—for a pair of plastic slippers worth about Rs 15.

The board, formed in 1981, set out to try and ensure better returns to the Ladakhis. Last year, it raised the floor price for raw pashmina to between Rs 200 and Rs 270 per kg for different grades. Every year now fetches a higher price. The board's workers tour Changthang every summer announcing the year's price and offering to buy up stocks. "We go to the breeders, so that they are saved from the middlemen," says M.L. Kaul, the board's general manager. Before this, the prices the Ladakhi herders got—often Rs 50 a kg—were a plain rip-off. For even the raw stuff fetches at least Rs 400 a kg as soon as it crosses Zoji La into the valley. And a richly dyed and embroidered shawl can fetch a whopping Rs 20,000.

Now, the board is trying to take pashmina down-market. It manufactures a 'rough' pashmina with low quality yarn and no finishing—like the special *purza* wash in which threads are smoothed. This 'rough' grey and white streaked shawl—which feels soft enough—is marketed for Rs 720.

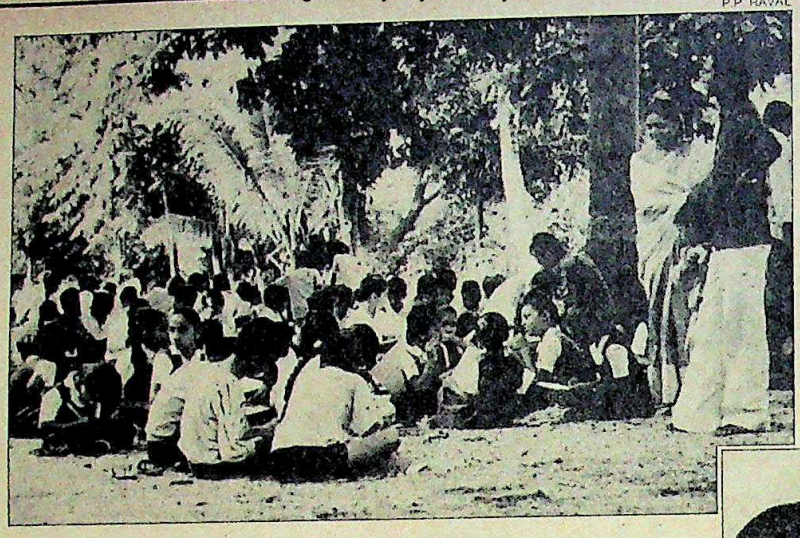
Clearly, a whole new market is waiting to be tapped within the country. And, of course, if the softness of the yarn is combined with hard marketing, the Pacific is the limit for export.

—DAVID DEVADAS in Leh, Nyoma and Srinagar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

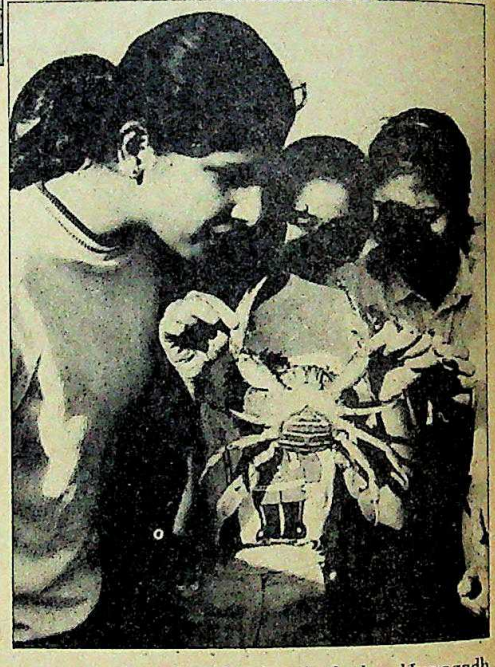
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

P.P. RAVAL



Children at nature camp; and (below) inspecting a crab: amazing interest

SANAT CHAVAN



GUJARAT

Discovering Nature

Camps foster ecological awareness in children

TILL recently, Hitesh Chaniara, a 10th standard student from backward Keshod town in Junagadh district, could not tell a jungle crow from a house crow. Now he can. "The jungle crow is totally black while the house crow has a grey border around its neck," he says proudly. Similarly, Manish Patel, 15, of Ahmedabad, can distinguish a little egret from a cattle egret.

Hitesh and Manish are among thousands of enthusiastic students in Gujarat who have begun to discover nature and its marvels. Thanks to the efforts of a handful of professionals and the state's Forest Department, more and more teenagers in the state are participating in nature education camps. As Sanat Chavan, a senior forest official closely associated with the nature education drive, puts it: "The attraction that ecology and environment preservation hold for school-going kids is just amazing."

Students find the nature camps exciting. Spread over three to four days, each camp comprises about 50 students and two organisers. At the camps organised by the Forest Department the students don't have to spend anything. Participants stay in tents in thick forests, do animal and bird watching, learn about the importance of trees, soil conservation, and a host of other nature topics. Says one student: "When I grow up I would rather prefer spending one hour with nature than 10 hours in a disco."

The concept of nature camps originated in the mid-'70s thanks largely to Law Kumar Khachar, a nature lover and recipient of an award from the WWF (World Wildlife Fund, now Worldwide Fund for Nature). Khachar stumbled onto the concept when he invited some young people to a bird ringing programme aimed at studying the migration pattern of birds.

Encouraged by the response, he got in touch with some schools and impressed upon them the need to encourage students to participate in nature camps. Soon, he was himself organising camps on a professional basis. A three-day camp—held in the Gir forest or in the Hingolgadh Marine Park area in the Gulf of Kachch—costs around Rs 125.

But these camps have one flaw: there is little place for rural children in them. Those who attend them are from affluent, urban families. That's where the forest officials came in. Says S.K. Sinha, a conservator of forests actively involved in the nature camps: "We wanted environmental awareness to grow in rural areas—amongst people who cause maximum damage to forests."

Assisted by two junior officers—Dilip Narva and P.P. Raval—Sinha and Chavan embarked upon an ambitious scheme to impart nature education to rural children. Initially, their camps were not as successful as those organised by professionals. Nevertheless, they persisted. And that their efforts have paid off richly is evident from the growing ecological awareness amongst children in both urban and rural areas.

Rekha Ghadhesaria, a 12th standard student of Shree Kanya Vidyalaya, Junagadh, attended two nature camps and promptly organised one in her village, adjoining Gir. The result was spectacular. The village panchayat passed a resolution banning the villagers from felling trees in the forest area. That's not all. Once a week, a group of 150 students from the school visits the local Junagadh zoo to clean it and water the plants. And during the three-year drought that ended last year, schoolchildren fanned out to nearby villages and extracted written promises from the farmers that they would adopt villages under the tree plantation programme.

Encouraged by the response to its nature education drive—about 1.25 lakh students have attended nature camps in the past few years in the state—the Gujarat Forest Department has now set bigger targets for itself. It plans to expand its scope to other states. Some, like Kerala, have already sought the department's services. So the unsung forest officials of Gujarat may just succeed in doing what the Government, with its money and machinery, has failed to—create widespread ecological awareness before there are no wildlife and forests left to be concerned about.

—UDAY MAHURKAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In people we trust and invest

That's Management with a human face

Steel is not SAIL's only mettle. Alongwith the investment on the modernisation of its equipment, it is updating its people too. With the trust that they have the talent to respond to new challenges. Since skills have to catch up with technology. Restructuring the approach and attitude into a vibrant work ethos. All through self-analysis, motivation and openness in communication. Resolving outstanding issues with reasoned solutions. Above all, treating employees with concern and customers with care.

People are our measure of excellence

STEEL AUTHORITY OF INDIA LIMITED

A LEADER STILL TAKING THE LEAD

m&m/SAIL-88

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

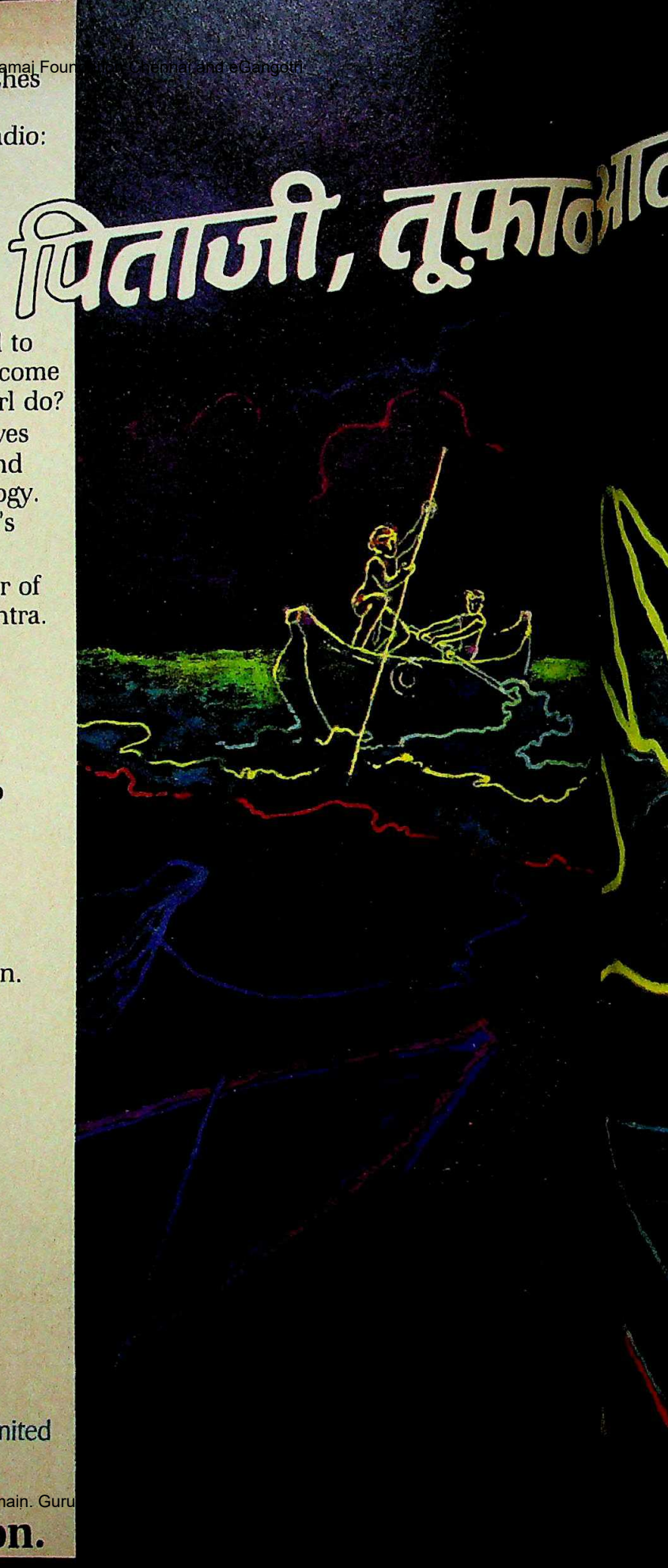
Sita's voice is ragged with fear. She hurtles down the beach and splashes into the water, calling her father back. She has heard the warning over the radio: "Cyclone approaching at 100 kmph. Expected to hit coastal area in eight hours. Fishermen stay home!"

Krishna heeds his daughter's call and turns his boat shore-wards. He's braved rough seas before, but this would be madness. He could ill afford to miss a day's fishing, but if he did not come back, what would his wife and little girl do?

Every day, Meltron touches the lives of thousands of people like Krishna and Sita. Through communication technology. Technology based on electronics, that's on par with the world's best.

Meltron has been the torch-bearer of the electronics revolution in Maharashtra. A revolution that has snowballed and gathered momentum, with dozens of ancillary units springing up all over. Meltron has played a catalytic role in the process of change sparking off change. Because of its commitment to the development of technology in the service of the common man.

Meltron marches forward into tomorrow with the confidence of a leader. Working towards the goal of national unity through communication.



MELTRON

Maharashtra Electronics Corporation Limited

Bringing people closer through communication.

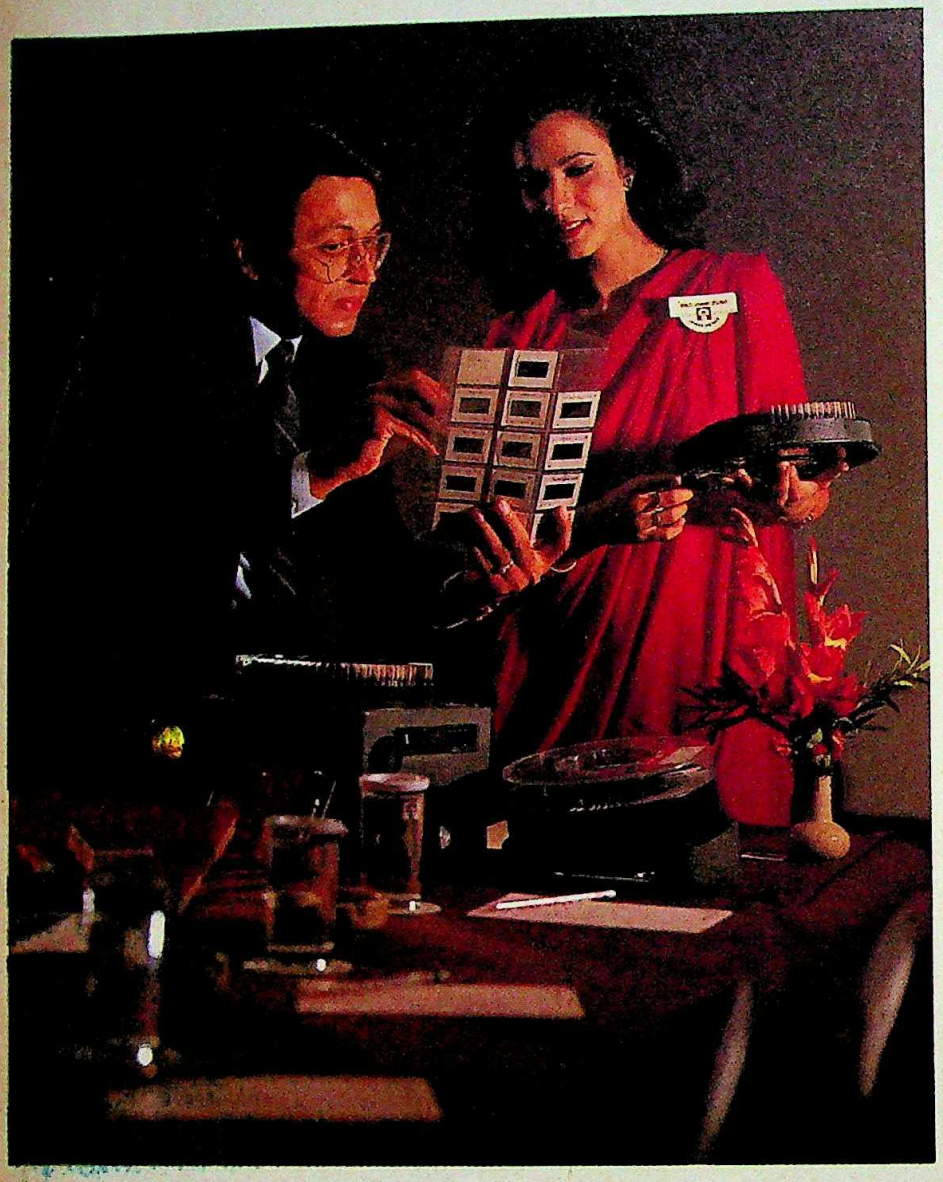
CC-0. In Public Domain. Guru

ME 458A

तूफान आने वाला है!

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Perhaps, Peter Drucker should have come to India to write this chapter



'Business grow with closeness'

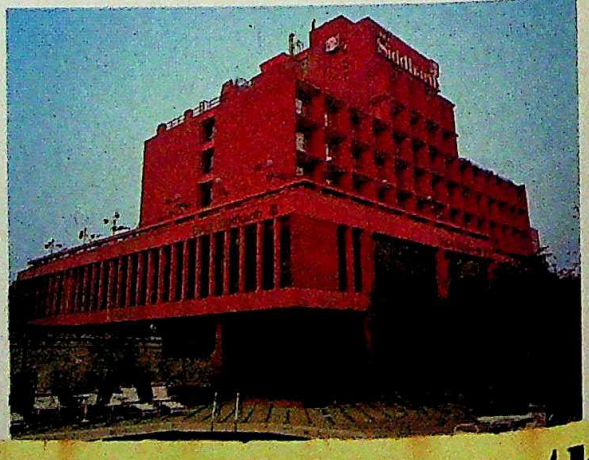
Why only Peter Drucker, anyone can learn from the 'Practice of Management'. It's a chapter that we've constantly opened to keep pace with your business and trave needs.

At Hotel Siddharth, exclusive 5 s service is capsuled in a winning smile.

From our multi-faceted spread o restaurants, recreation and conferencing facilities to the peop who make your dreams come tru

Take a spot check into a warm n world. Because that's the essence this small hotel with a big heart!

For reservations, contact:
Bombay: 494 5255-58, 233606.
Madras: 479440.
Bangalore: 77351, 77263, 77287.
Calcutta: 440808, 432189.



You're among friends

JAYPEE HOTELS

Hotel Siddharth

3, Rajendra Place, New Delhi-110 008.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridw

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Superb Cameos

Fine sketches of a bygone era

PORTRAITS OF AN ERA
by TARA ALI BAIG
Roli Books
Price: Rs 150; Pages: 184

MANY men and women who have distinguished themselves in other walks of life have harboured a secret and a not-so-secret desire to be writers. Often, one is thankful that they did not stumble into writing. But it is a great pity that Tara Ali Baig, who confesses to "always having aspired to be a writer", did not take up writing full time, instead being mother to four children, a social worker of note and a diplomat's wife, with all its attendant chores. Had she done so, she would have carved out a permanent niche for herself as the Jane Austen of India.

The cameos of her life and times she has painted are done with such sensitivity and charm and economy that they must rank with the best writing on the subject in the 41 years of Independent India. Tara Ali is no respecter of persons, however great. With her sharp eye, her gentle but telling wit, an ability to sum up men and situations in a phrase, she can be devastating.

Men and women of the Independence generation come tumbling out of her *Portraits* in their human condition and she is passionate in fighting for those who have not received their due. Above all, she observes persons from her perch, even though she may have been part of the milieu, recording the good and the foibles of those who have become icons.

Let us take two of her portraits—of Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. She records: "Everyone recognised the force that drove Nehru and his dedication to the birth of a nation, for which those who loved him made the most sacrifice"; or Nehru's "one-hour morning *darshan* when he could be like the kings of old, giving the comfort of his personal attention to petitioners...." She is equally sensitive on Indira Gandhi: "She had learned long ago...that she must exploit the ambition of the greedy and play her cards always very close to the chest.... In the process she promoted many of the evils of expediency and corruption that have since had such a deleterious effect upon the country."

Tara Ali fights for the extraordinary people ignored today—General Thimayya, for one. "In Cyprus, a stamp was printed in his honour, and a road named after him. In his own country there is nothing."

The qualities that shine through the account are sense and sensibility, Jane Austen's virtues. She sees the warts in men and situations, draws them faithfully, yet does not succumb to cynicism.

Baig: sharp eye

And she has placed her finger on the nub of the problem, despite the rhetoric one hears against elitism, that grassroots education, being more caste-oriented, had not thrown up "sufficient leadership of a constructive nature". Yet inner faith persuades her to believe that "...the potential of India is so enormous and the change in these last 50 years has been so rapid, we may indeed see a brave new world in this subcontinent without the need of a bloody revolution to achieve a golden millennium".

However, it is difficult to reconcile her sensitivity to the great and the not-so-great of her days with her reticence on her family. Husband Rashid, in particular, remains a strangely shadowy character, flitting in and out of her account almost as an interloper. "I can only say this", she says, "that he was a good man and he loved his country."

Tara Ali can retort that she is writing about an era, not about her family. Perhaps she will next write her autobiography, despite the autobiographical aspects of the present account. Or, if she wants to guard her family secrets, she could attempt an autobiographical novel. It would be worth waiting for.

—S. NIHAL SINGH

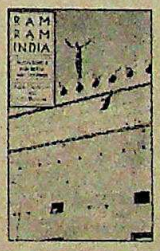
EXTRACT

ONCE during her first prime ministership she sent out a curious invitation to a large number of women in Delhi with a request to wear the invitee's regional costume. The resultant fancy dress party had to be seen to be believed. There were ghagras so heavy, the women were hardly able to walk in them, Maharashtrian saris trailing yards of cloth across the lawn, groups from Assam and Coorg, Bengali over-the-shoulder pallavs minus the housewife's keys, Punjabi salwar kameez and the ritual gold-bordered white saris from Kerala. My one and only Dacca sari was all I could muster for this butterfly occasion. When I asked Indira what her saffron sari and the large string of brown-beaded rudraksha represented, she said calmly, 'All India'. She was hardly enchanted when I remarked that this sounded more like RSS and the Hindu mainstream.

Vagabond Way

Racy account of a cycle ride

RAM RAM INDIA
Notes from a ride in the subcontinent
by ALEX THOMSON and NICK ROSSITER
Collins (distributed by Rupa)
Pages: 265; Price: Rs 174



THERE are three kinds of travel writers. One, the Knowledgeable Voyager, who knows his subject, takes copious notes, and writes the first draft of history. Then, the Insightful Observer, who like Eric Newby or Paul Theroux combines literary flourish with keen observation to create individualistic but credible portraits of lands travelled in.

And finally the Adventurous Wanderer, who forages unknown lands with the spirit of the vagabond, and leaves behind an irreverent account which may not ennoble us, but certainly delights. Thomson and Rossiter, BBC journalists, fall firmly in this category.

Unlike the Duncan brothers of Vermont, who pedalled across the ends of the earth, Thomson and Rossiter were modest in ambition. But their vertical bicycle ride through India—Himalayas to Kanyakumari—was fraught with danger. The timing was not quite perfect—the late autumn of 1984—inse-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cure months for a tourist. Indira Gandhi was assassinated, elections were announced and Bhopal was asphyxiated.

And though their purpose was rather noble—raising money for Oxfam—an All India Radio producer actually pitied them for working for the CIA. While describing their journey through Punjab, which they undertook at grave risk, Thomson writes: "We tell people we are students, partly because of the safe neutrality of the label and partly because journalists are banned in Punjab."

Predictably, they were visited by intelligence spooks, country bumpkins who'd put even inspectors Clousseau and Ghote to shame. The cyclists got away by convincing the sleuths they were semi-literate whites whose brains were in their sturdy feet which had brought them so far.

Thomson and Rossiter got away by telling the bumbling sleuths they were semi-literate whites whose brains were in their sturdy feet.

They encountered all sorts of people. At Dal Lake, they weren't allowed to rest until they bought something from one Mr Bul Bul Far Out Groovy Flower Power Man. At PWD rest houses they inevitably confronted chowkidars unable to furnish a room until they met his higher-up, usually a civil engineer, who with "trust in God" gave them a room by signing an incomprehensible chit. And at roadside dhabas (which became a leitmotif of the countryside) they discovered onions were "indispensable to omelettes as eggs are".

But the book disappoints with its errors, almost as if Collins hired their proof-readers from Penguin India. It is one thing to ride with cavalier disregard over a nation, but over a dictionary? Kashmir's Jawahar Tunnel becomes "Jarwarhar Tunnel", the Bhakra becomes "Bakra" and the Khalistani supremo in Mother Country becomes "Jagjit Chohgan Singh". These are particularly galling when people in this country have come to expect such high standards of accuracy from the BBC, and when Thomson is amused by Indian English in which Geoffrey Boycott and Ian Botham are expressed as "Jafferee Boycut" and "Iyam Bowtharm". They have even misspelt the word every news editor warns subs about: "concensus". After that you don't mind if the largest Indian state appears as "Madya" Pradesh.

Yet you actually welcome their calling a seedy Delhi Hotel as "Hotel B..g..t", as the letters "r", "i", and "h" have fallen off from the neon sign, dimming the brightness somewhat. But giving the book its glow.

—SALIL TRIPATHI

MANEKA GANDHI

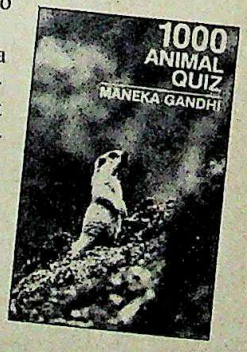
Animal Love

BEWARE, Maneka Gandhi is here. That luscious silk sari, she would say, is 3,000 silk cocoons boiled alive. Those smart leather shoes mean a little calf dead. For that lipstick, some poor fish was killed. And for the string of pearls, several full-bloomed oysters were done to death.

Maneka, 32, does not eat meat, wear jewellery, put on lipstick, cut flowers or use elephant feet as dustbins. "All the years when you don't know how animals are exploited, it's different," she says. "But when you do, you can't." She does, however, write 10 columns a month on animals, runs an animal hospital and gives phone-in advice to people who have questions like: "My dog has a rash, what do I do?"

It was quite natural therefore that publishers Rupa asked her to do a book on animals, called *1000 Animal Quiz* with questions like: What's the offspring of tigers and lions called? How do zebras greet each other? How many species will be wiped out by 2000 AD? "We're alienated from nature. This is a small step I'm taking to harmonise," says she.

The research began in a 13-volume animal encyclopaedia, Sanjay Gandhi's gift to his wife on her 21st birthday. For three months, Maneka waded through books and journals while son Varun Feroze prompted mom with questions like: "Why do bees buzz?"



Maneka at her animal hospital; (right) her book

Alas, the book has no colour and illustrations, a serious shortcoming. The questions are interesting, but the answers are tucked so far away, that turning the pages is tiresome.

Still, animals may yet be the making of Maneka, frustrated politician-turned-satisfied animal rights' activist. Her columns have generated clubs and ahimsa boutiques. She's offered land, homeless puppies—she already has 10 stray dogs at home—and pocket money from little boys.

Maneka is now planning a "Buy a bird" raffle: everybody buys a caged bird and then releases it on World Animal Day, October 2. And after animals for adults, there is a similar riddle book brewing for six-year-olds. "What shape is a camel's spine ?" Answer: "Straight, of course."

—SIMRAN BHARGAVA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SYMBOL OF QUALITY & STYLE

JIYAJEE

SUITING-SHIRTING

Available at Mill's SUMANGAL showrooms and other leading stores.

Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ATLAS COPCO GET

Introducing third generation rock drilling tools to complete our comprehensive package

For half a century, Atlas Copco have been world leaders in developing and manufacturing compressors and drilling equipment. Catering to the mining, construction, water-well drilling and industrial sectors.

Anticipating customer need for increased productivity, we have now extended our range to third generation rock drilling tools. Made with the latest technology from Secoroc, Sweden, these rock drilling tools improve performance by up to 15% and reduce costs.

By manufacturing drilling tools, we can assure customers a complete drilling package, manufactured and marketed by us. Our comprehensive package includes recommending the right product, developing and supplying suitable packages for different rock formations and training personnel from customer organizations on site.

Besides, our service doesn't end with merely selling a product. It continues with a spares and service back-up, offered through

Regional Offices: Bombay: Bonanza Industrial Estate 'E' Wing, Ashok Chakravarty Road, Kandivli (East), Bombay 400 101 Phone : 6883375/6883037/47 Telex: 1697
Calcutta: 522/524, Budge Budge Trunk Road, P.O. Maheshtala, 24 Parganas 743 352. Phone : 776080/776284 Telex: 8147 Madras: Race Course Road, Guindy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

THE CUTTING EDGE!

ng tools, we
a complete
factured and
ompre-
des recomm
t, develop
packages
s and
customer

esn't end
oduct.
es and
d through

country-wide network of over 50
es outlets and 16 service
ves. All manned by highly
ed and experienced personnel.
hat's more, you can be sure that
r response time in solving your
blems will be much shorter,
ce we manufacture and market
e total drilling equipment.
e, with Atlas Copco's complete
ge, reliable and trouble-free
uipment is yours under one roof.

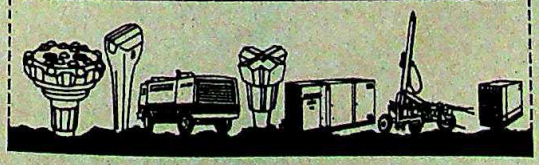
I am interested in Atlas Copco products. Please send me more information on:

☐ Rock drilling tools ☐ Drilling equipment ☐ Compressors

Name:_____

Address:_____

_____



Atlas Copco

Atlas Copco (India) Ltd.
Registered Office:
Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Building,
Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay 400 002
Phone : 315623Telex: 2364

397

...ras 600 032. Phone : 431033/4/5 Telex: 202 Delhi: 22A, Shivaji Marg, New Delhi 110 015. Phone: 53051/52153 Telex: 63351 Secunderabad: 8/9, Rasoolpura,
...derabad 500 003. Phone: 825367/8 Telex: 6294 District Sales Office: Sveanagar, Dapodi, Pune 411 012 Phone: 83418 Telex : 248

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

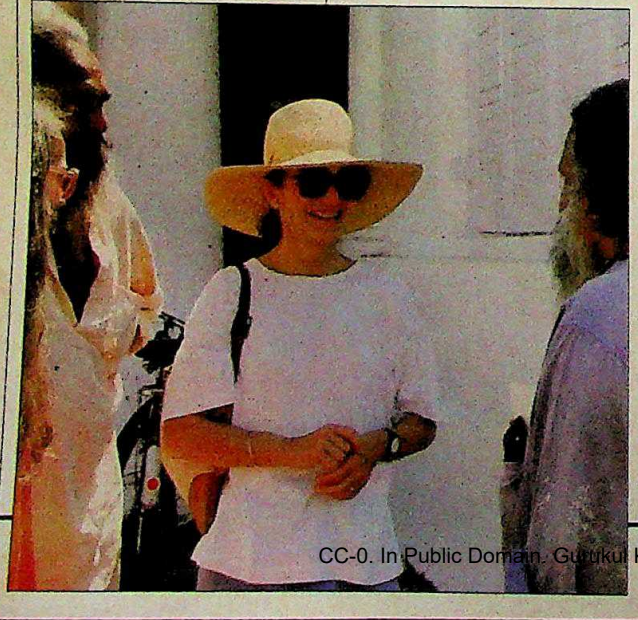
BHAWAN SINGH

Cardin: Indian links

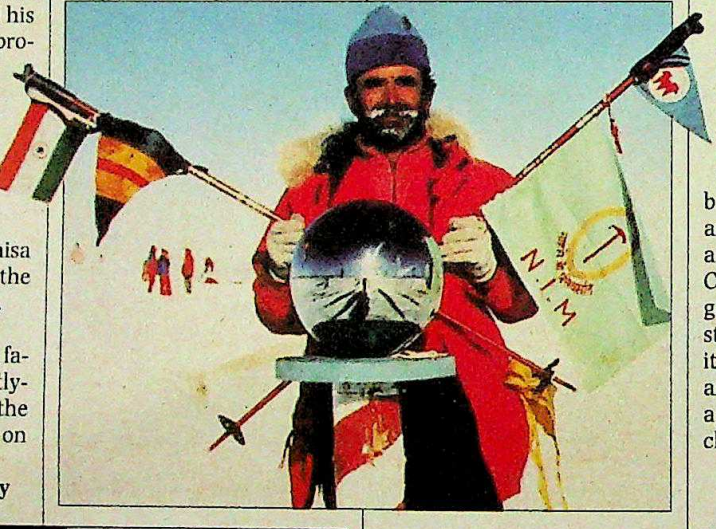
◆ A mini-sari? Or pleated pyjamas? Those who were expecting fashion's high-priest **Pierre Cardin** to revolutionise Indian haute couture with his *desi* creations displayed at the Surajkund Crafts Mela in Haryana, were in for a disappointment. Though the creations at the show carried his stamp, Cardin did not improvise on ethnic outfits. "It hurts me to cut into a beautiful sari," he said. But he has given licences to Indian manufacturers to make trousers, shoes and ties mainly for export to Russia. "Even Raisa Gorbacheva favours the Cardin label," he preened.

◆ There was something familiar about the elegantly-dressed lady watching the opening episode of *Kennedy* on television in her plush suite at the Asoka Hotel in Kovalam near Trivandrum. In fact, she looked suspiciously like the actress playing the First Lady in the serial—or did the actress resemble her? She was meant to. **Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis** has just finished a quiet holiday cruising through Kerala's meandering backwaters. "It was a thrilling experience," gushed an ecstatic Jacqueline.

Jacqueline: exotic holiday



◆ Heights is his thing. He has scaled over 10 peaks. But where do you go when you've reached the top? Well, down of course. **Colonel J.K. Bajaj** has just become the first Indian to reach the South Pole at 0 degree latitude in Antarctica.

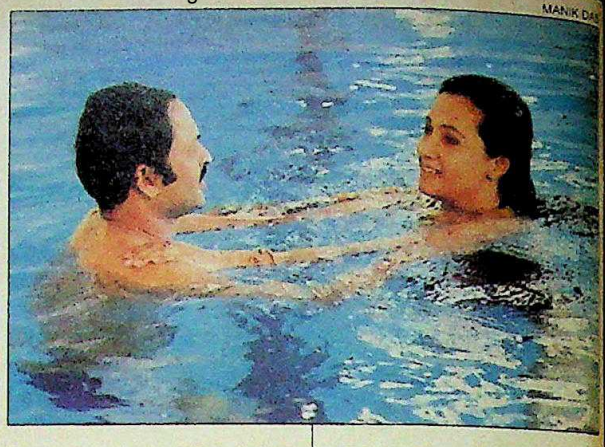


Bajaj: new conquest

Bajaj, principal of the Nehru Institute of Mountaineering, Uttarkashi, was considerably lower than the Indian Antarctica station at Dakshin Gangotri. He was part of the 11-member international expedition which skied over 1,200 km in 50 days in numbing temperatures. Quips Bajaj: "Robert Scott (the first man to reach the South Pole) was destined to reach there and I was determined to."

◆ For firebrand Congressman **Subrata Mukherjee**, there could not have been a better way to cool off than to jump into a pool with sexy nymphet **Moon Moon Sen**. Politics does make strange poolfellows. But in this case, Mukherjee was only taking the plunge into his alternative career—acting. The romantic scene was from the Bengali teleserial *Chowdhury Pharmaceuticals* now on the air. But even a scantily-clad Moon Moon failed to penetrate his political defences. "I don't intend switching careers," he said smugly.

MANIK DAS



Mukherjee and Moon Moon

◆ Old soldiers never say die. The Grand Old Man of the Indian Army, **Field Marshal K.M. Cariappa**, has just celebrated his 90th birthday and still looks like an old warhorse snorting to go into battle. "I would like to join the army as a second lieutenant and work my way up," said Cariappa, at a parade in Bangalore. Standing ramrod straight as he took the salute, it was only his failing eyesight and hearing that betrayed his age. But the accent is as clipped as ever. "I feel proud of having done my duty as an Indian," he said. So do we, Field Marshal.

MUSHTAK AHMED

Cariappa: birthday boy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Satanic Storm

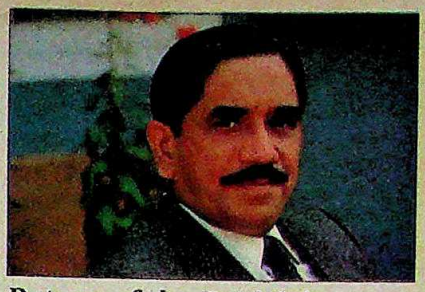
Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* has sparked off an international reaction, the likes of which perhaps no book before it has evoked. The death sentence passed on the author by Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini has raised strong protests and threats of retaliation from Western governments.

COVER STORY 26

Unsettling Verdict

The Supreme Court order asking Union Carbide to pay $470 million as compensation for the Bhopal gas victims raised protests that the company had been let off lightly. And what shocked many even more was the court's decision to quash all proceedings, present and future, against the multinational.

SPECIAL REPORTS 42



Return of the Faithful

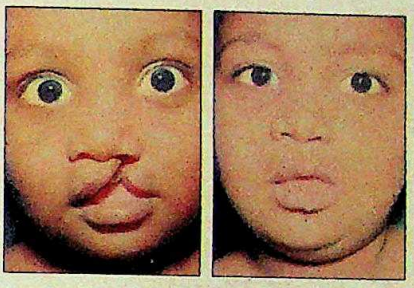
Four years after he was unceremoniously dumped, R.K. Dhawan is back as a prime ministerial aide. More than anything else, his appointment with its emphasis on loyalty indicates a conscious attempt by Rajiv Gandhi to revamp his image and identify himself with the party mainstream.

SPECIAL REPORTS 38

Condemned to Fratricide

With the departure of the last Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the government forces led by President Najibullah got ready for a last-ditch battle with the faction-ridden mujahedin, a battle that promises to be bloodier than any the country has seen in nearly 10 years of fighting.

SPECIAL REPORTS 48



Invasion of the Body Sculptors

Riding a wave of body consciousness that is sweeping urban India is a bevy of plastic surgeons. They are changing the faces of Indians and reshaping the contours of their bodies. What nature or accidents put asunder, they are joining together—at a price. Plus details of aesthetic surgery operations.

SPECIAL FEATURE 132

A Methodical Fraud

The Integrated Rural Development Programme was aimed at uplifting the poor. But in Madhya Pradesh a systematic fudging of records, irregularities and malpractices—to the tune of several crores of rupees—have ensured that the benefits do not reach them. An investigation into the scandal.

SPECIAL FEATURES 140

CONTENTS

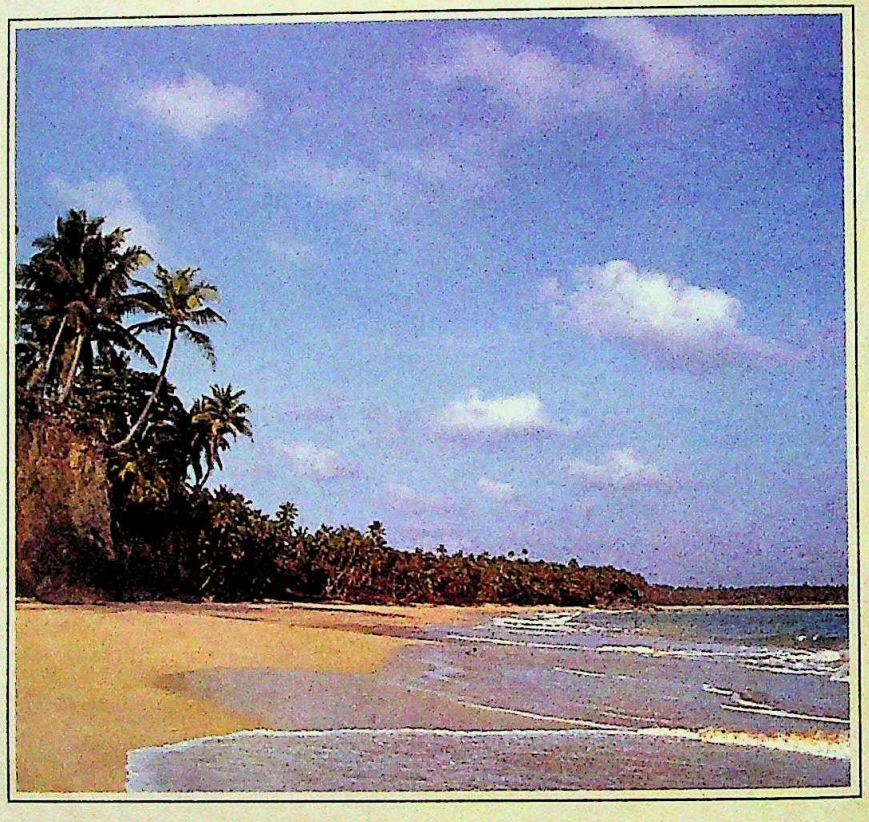
COMMENT 13
CAPITALOOK 14
VOICES 19
INDIANOTES 20
THE FORTNIGHT THAT WAS 23
COVER STORY
Salman Rushdie: Satanic Storm 26
SPECIAL REPORTS
R.K. Dhawan: Return of the Faithful 38
Union Carbide Case:
Unsettling Verdict 42
Afghanistan:
Condemned to Fratricide 48
CURRENT EVENTS
Janata Dal: Continuing Conflicts 57
Bihar: Clerk Power 65
Sanjay Khan: Trying Times 66
Andhra Pradesh: Sweeping Clout 71
Gujarat: Dissident Disease 77
Punjab: Anguished Cry 78
Assam: Role Reversal 85
Bottomline: Topsy Turvy 87
STATENOTES 89
TRADE WINDS 91
BUSINESS
Foreign Exchange Reserves:
Conflicting Perceptions 92
Engineering Trade Fair:
Clean Sweep 95
Motorcycles: Revving Up 98
Technology: Tough Task 105
Medicine: Ayurvedic Hard Sell 109
The Markets: Perking Up 115
THE ECONOMY MONITOR 121
NEIGHBOURS
Sri Lanka: Ballot vs Bullet 122
Pakistan: Missile Missive 129
MEDIAWATCH
Taken for a Ride 130
SPECIAL FEATURES
Aesthetic Surgery:
Invasion of the Body Sculptors 132
IRDP Loans: A Methodical Fraud 140
Roads: Potholed Path to Progress 146
SPORTS
Motor Racing: Formula for Success 153
DEVELOPMENT
Irrigation: Grassroots Initiative 161
SPORTS
Amritraj Brothers: Doubles Trouble 167
Table Tennis:
Bouncing Back with Verve 170
BOOKS
A Bard's Brush 175
Dismal Tale 176
EYE-CATCHERS 180

Cover photograph by DAVID MONTGOMERY/ The Sunday Times

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We walked on golden sands.



The thrill came in waves. In the rhythm of the sea.
The spray flew.
The wind blew.
Our feet sank into the cool sand.
Suddenly, I began to run.
Towards the rising sun.
Then my foot hit a beer can and I stopped short in my tracks.

Dogs on the beach

I was surrounded by a sea of rotting food, empty cans and broken bottles.

While dogs fought off flies to lick crushed ice cream cups.

In one fleeting moment the exhilaration vanished.

The dawn turned to doom.

And the freshness of the sea breeze w overcome by a sickening smell...

Help protect the heritage to which you belong

As you travel, you discover.

India's golden heritage, unparallele anywhere else in the world.

पर्यटन विभाग भारत सरकार

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Beside a sea of filth.

5,000 years of history in countless forts, monuments and shrines.
And the splendorous diversity of nature.
In myriad hues and colours.
Don't remain silent when someone defaces a monument, shows disrespect to a place of worship or pilgrimage, or in any other way damages or dirties the surroundings.
Persuade him.
Prevent him.
Report him.
Help protect your priceless heritage.
It's the only one you have.

We can & We will
Keep India Beautiful

Department of Tourism Government of India

HTA 6240

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"It was the attitude which kept the passengers happy."

This is an authentic passenger statement.

Lufthansa

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA TODAY
THE COMPLETE NEWSMAGAZINE

VOLUME XIV NUMBER 5
FOR THE FORTNIGHT MARCH 1-15, 1989

EDITOR
AROON PURIE

EXECUTIVE EDITOR — INDERJIT BADHWAR
DEPUTY EDITOR — DILIP BOBB
SENIOR EDITOR — PRABHU CHAWLA
PICTURE EDITOR — RAGHU RAI
FEATURES EDITOR — SHEKHAR GUPTA
ASSOCIATE EDITOR — RAMINDAR SINGH
ASSISTANT EDITOR — P.G. MATHAI

CORRESPONDENTS
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT, NEW DELHI — RAJ CHENGAPPA
MADHU JAIN
PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA
SIMRAN BHARGAVA
DAVID DEVADAS
PANKAJ PACHAURI
SURAJEET DAS GUPTA
AHMEDABAD — UDAY MAHURKAR
BANGALORE — CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA
BHOPAL — N.K. SINGH
BOMBAY — M. RAHMAN
SALIL TRIPATHI
S.N. VASUKI
CALCUTTA — KAMALJEET RATTAN
CHANDIGARH — VIPUL MUDGAL
HYDERABAD — AMARNATH K. MENON
LUCKNOW — DILIP AWASTHI
PATNA — FARZAND AHMED
UTTAM SENGUPTA
SHILLONG — RAMESH MENON
TRIVANDRUM — SREEDHAR PILLAI
NEWS COORDINATOR — SANDHYA MULCHANDANI

ART EDITOR — SHIRLEY JOSHUA

CARTOONIST — AJIT NINAN MATHEW
CARTOGRAPHER — B.K. SHARMA
PRODUCTION IN-CHARGE — ANURADHA KAPOOR
LAYOUT ARTISTS — ANUP GUPTA
PEALI DUTTA GUPTA
PRABAL MANDAL
KAMINI SINGH

ASSISTANT PICTURE EDITOR — BHAWAN SINGH
PHOTOGRAPHERS — PRAMOD PUSHKARNA
PRASHANT PANJIAR
NAMAS BHOJANI
SHYAM TEKWANI

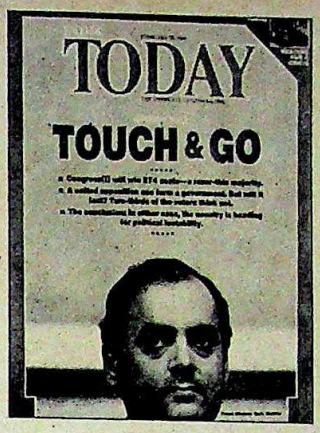
COPY DESK — SABA NAQVI BHAUMIK
NANDITA SARDANA
VIDHU KHANNA

MARKETING DIRECTOR — MOHINI BHULLAR

REGIONAL MANAGERS ADVERTISING
BOMBAY — NEENA MONGIA
NEW DELHI — NAGINDER RISHI
CALCUTTA — MEERA PAUL

ADVERTISING MANAGERS
MADRAS — R. ANAND
BANGALORE — S.J. NAIDU

● EDITORIAL OFFICE: LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD, F-14/15, CONNAUGHT PLACE NEW DELHI 110001. PHONE: 3315801-4, TELEX: 31-61345 INTO IN CABLE: LIVMEDIA, NEW DELHI ● SUBSCRIPTIONS: INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT, POST BOX 69, FARIDABAD HARYANA ● TRADE CIRCULATION: INDIA TODAY CIRCULATION MANAGER, F-14 CONNAUGHT PLACE, MIDDLE CIRCLE, NEW DELHI. PHONE: 3313076-8, TELEX: 31-62634 INTO IN ● ADVERTISING OFFICES: 28 A&B JOLLY MAKER CHAMBER II, NARIMAN POINT, BOMBAY-400021. PHONE: 2026152, 2029326, 2028315. TELEX: 11-5373 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BOMBAY ● 8-9, CONNAUGHT CIRCUS, NEW DELHI-110001. PHONES: 3325378, 3321323 AND 3321273. TELEX: 31-62124 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, NEW DELHI ● FAGUN CHAMBERS, 26 COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ROAD, MADRAS-600105. PHONE: 477188, 479163. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, MADRAS ● 74/1ST. MARKS ROAD, BANGALORE-560001. PHONE: 568448, 579037, 579089. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BANGALORE ● 12CEVEREST46CCHOWRINGEE ROAD, CALCUTTA-700016. PHONE: 445398, 447726. CABLE: LIVINMEDIA, CALCUTTA
● COPYRIGHT 1987 LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. REPRODUCTION IN ANY MANNER IS PROHIBITED. PUBLISHED BY AROON PURIE FOR LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. NEW DELHI AND PRINTED AT THOMSON PRESS INDIA LTD, FARIDABAD HARYANA ● INDIA TODAY DOES NOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RETURNING UNSOLICITED PUBLICATION MATERIAL ●



WEAKENING BASE

The main reason for the Congress(I)'s poor showing in the opinion polls ("Touch and Go", February 28) is the fact that the party is full of nameless and faceless men who do not command any following.

New Delhi — JIMMY KEISHING

DIFFERENT BALL GAME

The closure of *Sportsweek* ("Sudden Death", February 15) conclusively proves that smashing world records in cricket and editing a sports magazine are entirely different things.

Bombay — J.V. NAIK

AUTOCRATIC METHODS

The problem of dissidence in Bihar ("Temporary Reprieve", February 15) is due to the dictatorship of the Congress(I) high command. The policy of imposing chief ministers on states is now proving to be a wrong one.

Begusarai — GANGA SHANKAR

ALREADY IN THE BLACK

Your piece in the column Business-notes ("Attempting a Turnaround", February 15) may be aptly retitled "Already Turned Around", because the Rs 1,400-crore dues of the electricity boards to CIL form part of the borrowed/over draft amount from the scheduled banks at 18 per cent interest which works out to Rs 252 crore per annum. When this figure is accounted for the company will be in the black.

Calcutta — N. SURENDRA SAI

STAR-CROSSED POLITICIAN

With his political acumen, Arjun Singh could have easily foiled the bid to depose him ("Collapse of a Kingpin", February 15). But he was star-crossed and that's what led to his debacle in the war for supremacy.

Ujjain — NAMIT VAIDYA

PUERILE OUTBURST

If Sir Stephen Spender intends to dismiss the works of even R.K. Narayan, Mulk Raj Anand and Nissim Ezekiel as funny ("A Prosaic Affair", February 15), then there is something funny about Spender himself.

Bhopal — SHIVENDU K. SRIVASTAVA

MIGHT OF THE RIGHT

The piece on the BJP ("A New Confidence", February 15) clearly shows the party's political stance and its relation with other national parties. The leftists must have by now got an idea of the BJP's standing at the national level.

Cuddapah — A. SREEKANTH

■ L.K. Advani's view that India is secular because it has a Hindu majority seems to be appropriate. One has only to look at our neighbours to reaffirm this viewpoint.

Bangalore — RAVINDRA GOVIL

CURBS ON TERRORISM

Britain's Prevention of Terrorism Act is indeed to be amended soon ("Extremism on the Wane", February 15) to help intercept funds destined for terrorist purposes. These controls will apply to international terrorism, not just to Northern Ireland. So funding for terrorism related to 'Khalistan' will be covered.

New Delhi — P.C.F. GREGORY-HOOD
first secretary (information), British High Commission

CAUTIOUS APPROACH

Seed imports may not be an entirely wise solution ("A Hard Row to Hoe", February 15). The fears expressed about their import and diseases are real. If proper controls are not exercised, we may end up spending more money on the control of these aliens.

New Delhi — DR G.T. GUJAR

GLAMOROUS TRAP

The nightmarish trend of green-card marriages ("A Dream Turned Sour", February 15) needs to be brought to the notice of Indian girls who want to settle abroad. They need to be made aware of the mental and physical abuse they may be subjected to.

Bombay — LEESA D.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FILL UP

this coupon and listen to your favourite sound: a child's laugh.

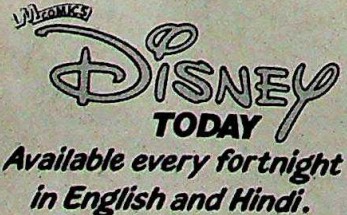
Fun and laughs are as vital to a child as the air he or she breathes. And good clean fun is what the Disney Today comic magazine is all about.

So why not fill up this coupon and make everybody happy.

Save upto 20% on cover price

Mail to:
Living Media India Ltd.
Subscription Department
Thomson Press Building
P.B. No. 69 Delhi-Mathura Road
Faridabad-121 007 (HARYANA)

I want a subscription for my child. Here is my ☐ Annual: Rs. 96/- ☐ 6 monthly Rs. 50/-subscription for the English edition.
I am paying by:
Cheque/M.O./D.D. No. _____
Please mail my copy to.
Name _____
Age _____ Sex _____
Address _____
_____
_____
School _____
Parent/Guardian's signature _____
Please draw remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd.
114



Available every fortnight in English and Hindi.

© 1987 THE WALT DISNEY CO., USA.

■ The article should be an eye-opener for the so-called literate and enlightened parents who want to improve their daughters' future without weighing the pros and cons of the matter.

Patna — DEEPALI SINHA

■ Your summary of professionals in the US is not only inaccurate but ludicrous. Almost none have live-in housemaids the way people in India have servants. Some do manage to bring a distant relative to do household work. But generally this is achieved by dubious means since US immigration laws do not permit bringing in "housemaids".

Atlanta, US — PIARA SINGH

PAINFUL TRUTH

As has rightly been said "the Central Cabinet has become overpopulated by faceless men" ("A New Reality", February 15). Persons who were once recognised as key men have faded out of the national mainstream.

Bombay — J.E. HEERJIBEHEDIN

JUSTICE NEEDED

The administrative tribunal has ordered that the allegations made against the officer of the Ministry of Labour by the commercial artist ("A Verdict for Dignity", February 15) be investigated afresh. Thus, publishing the name of the officer and projecting the judgement in this way appear to be tendentious. Women are not interested in mudslinging. They don't want their condition to be exploited by others, including the press, for their own benefit.

New Delhi — KUMUD SHUKLA

EGG ON ITS FACE

Cheap gimmicks like declaring a public holiday for MGR's death ("Smashing Return", February 15), conferring the Bharat Ratna posthumously on him and pouring public money into Tamil Nadu for campaigning have backfired on the Congress(I). The state's electorate has demonstrated its preference with maturity and intelligence.

New Delhi — S. PRABHAKAR

■ The Congress(I)'s alliance with the AIADMK(JL) would have worked well if G.K. Moopanar had not been so self-indulgent. Rajiv must be wary of such "polished Congressmen".

Kanpur — RAAJ GOPAL MEHROTRA

■ More information about Karunanidhi could have been added. For instance, his outstanding contribution to Tamil literature and his success as a story-cum-script-writer for Tamil films.

Madras — GANESH BASU

BLEAK FUTURE

At last the day of reckoning has come for the Peico top brass ("Dark Days", January 31) who for long had a good time. Wasn't it Eisenhower who said that, "a people that value its privileges above principles soon lose both".

Bombay — R.M. PATANKAR

NUMERO UNO

The sterling cover story on Manu Chhabria ("On the Prowl", January 31) was a pleasant change from other cover stories. Undoubtedly, he will go a long way in firing the inspiration of many a budding businessman.

Bangalore — VIVEKANAND V. KADAM

■ The article prompts the average citizen to resort to economic offences of the worst kind so as to rise from scrap to skyscrapers. Why have such lacunae in the constitutional provisions not been plugged so far?

Hyderabad — K.S. RAJU

BE INDIAN

I wonder how many readers could relate to Madhu Jain's cliche in Newsmakers '88 ("Romantic Rites", January 15) on Amitabh Bachchan's *Shahenshah*—"did not get him past first base". This shows insensitivity to your readers' cultural background and language. Could we keep the magazine Indian?

Portland, US — RAMAMURTHY SIVAKUMAR

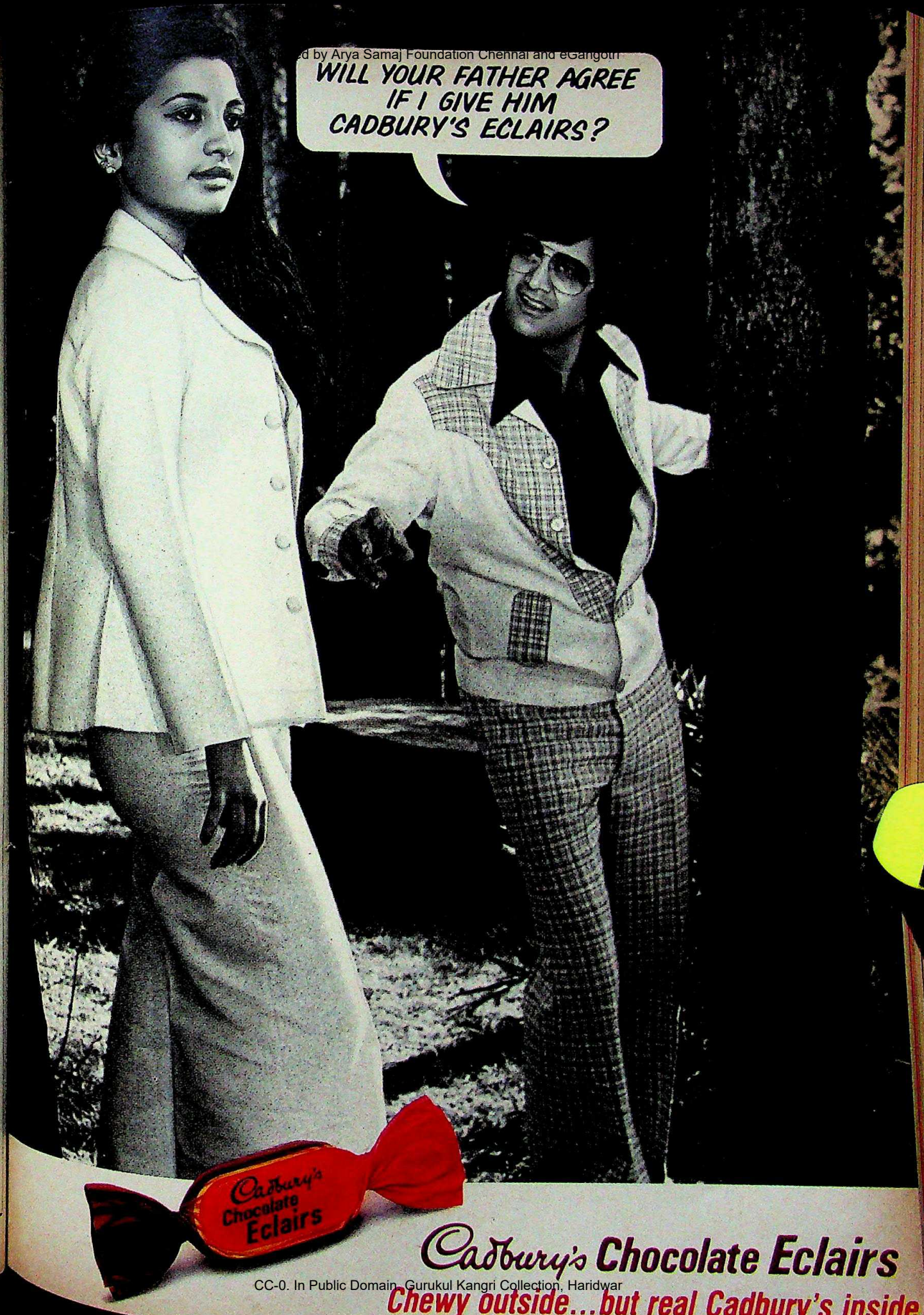
WRONG IMPRESSION

In his write-up on Ayodhya ('A Myth Exploded", January 15) your correspondent has made a reference to my field-work and to the paper presented by me at the recent ICHR seminar in Delhi, creating an impression that I subscribe to the view that the Ramayana story is mythical. This is quite contrary to what I have stated in that paper, viz: "The foregoing evidence from the various sites... associated with the Ramayana story suggests that the story may not have been a figment of the imagination, but may have had a kernel of truth at its base, magnified, of course, through the centuries that followed."

Chandigarh — B.B. LAL
former director-general Archaeological Survey of India

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

d by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



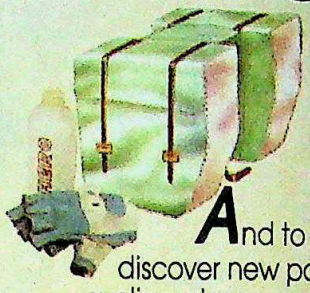
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRESENTING

The Racer's Edge...

It's no jus
But riding to the



camera, n
sunglasses
Light, cl
jersey. Hel
gloves.
Plus pur
tool kit.
And you
your where
But rem
High on
downhill ri
And low
opposing
starting fro
Hero Hav
cycling ti
Racing.
The Hero
the best i
pleasure,
Thanks t
Falcon ge

And to help you discover new paths to cycling glory, here's the Hero Hawk.

Read on to find out what it can do for you.

High gears to cruise. Low ones for climbs.

Use a weekend to push the horizon.

Two bags over your Hero Hawk's rear wheel for camping equipment.

A handlebar-bag for

Ask for the
specially de

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

just racing.
the horizon and back.

camera, maps and sunglasses.

Light, close-fitting shorts and jersey. Helmet and a pair of gloves.

Plus pump, water bottle and tool kit.

And you're geared up to tour where you will.

But remember the gears.

High ones for level or downhill rides.

And low for climbs, opposing winds and starting from standstill.

Hero Hawk for great cycling times!

Racing. Riding. Or touring.

The Hero Hawk means the best in cycling pleasure, always.

Thanks to its imported Falcon gear system.

Its drop-bar handle and centre-pull brakes, designed to international standards.

Its soft nylon grips, sleek seat and easy-on-the-feet metallic pedals with shoe support.

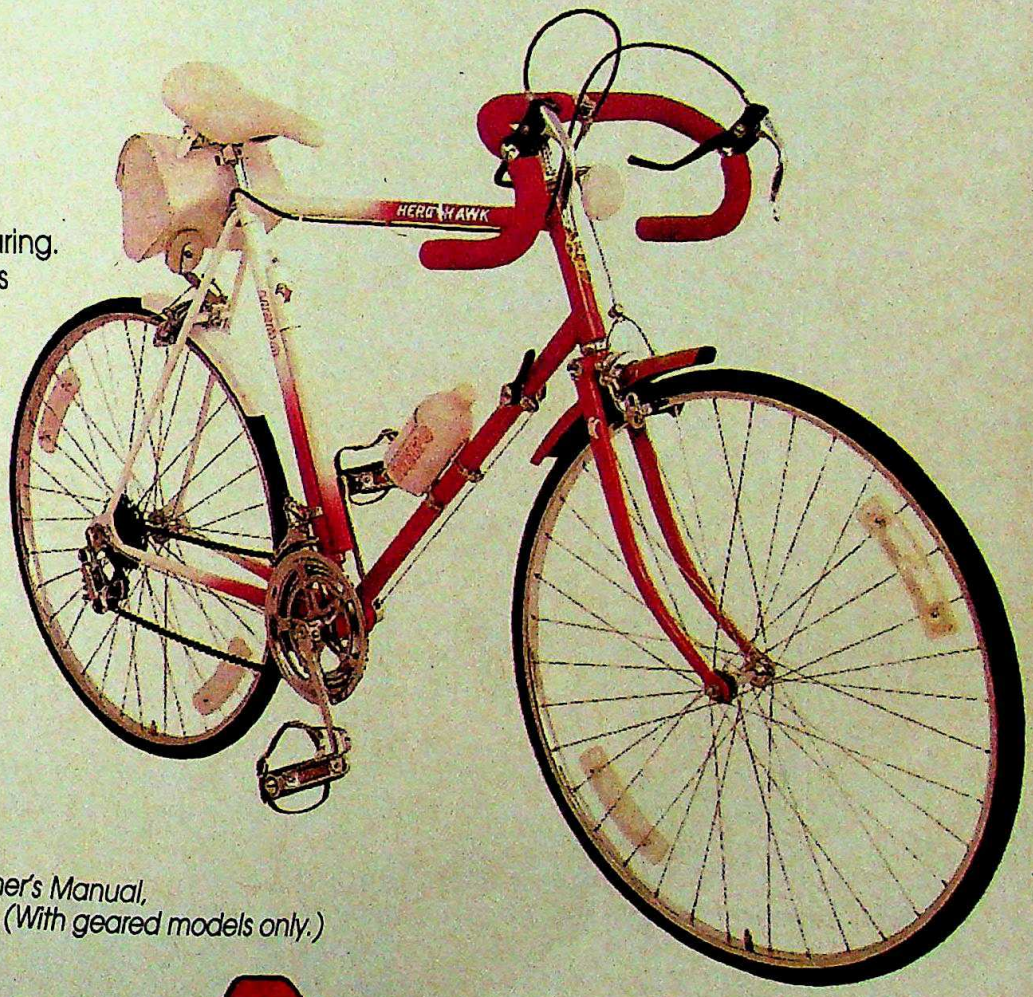
And accessories such as pump, water bottle and saddle bag. (With geared models only.)

For a whole new world of easy racing or touring.

The Hero Hawk.

Discover its edge. Today.

HERO BICYCLES



Ask for the Hero Hawk Owner's Manual, specially designed for you. (With geared models only.)

HERO HAWK

THE RACER'S EDGE. FROM HERO.

HTA 6235

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The only Indian pressure cooker selling in top department stores in Europe and America

Bloomingdale's, New York. Bullock's, Los Angeles. Dayton-Hudson, Detroit. Carson Pirie Scott, Chicago. Woodward & Lothrop, Washington. Burdine's, Miami. Macy's, San Francisco. Selfridges, London. Innovation, Brussels. Beyenkorf, Amsterdam. Simago, Madrid. These and many other fine stores, in some of the world's most exciting cities, carry the Hawkins Futura pressure cooker.

You, too, can buy the world's most beautiful, durable pressure cooker. Hawkins Futura. 5 litre, Rs 619. 7 litre, Rs 743. For the nearest Hawkins Futura stockists, write to the address given below.

The same excellence in design and manufacture that makes the Hawkins Futura admired throughout the world goes into the traditional Hawkins pressure cookers.

Hawkins pressure cookers. 2 litre, Rs 212 □ 3 litre, Rs 267 □ 4 litre, Rs 310 □ 5 litre, Rs 334 □ 6.5 litre, Rs 372 □ 8 litre, Rs 421 □ 10 litre, Rs 507 □ 12 litre, Rs 594. And 22 litre, Rs 1,127.

Choose the Hawkins that suits your needs best. Get the best in the world. Get Hawkins.

Hawkins®
FUTURA™
The New Generation pressure cooker

HAWKINS COOKERS LIMITED, DEPT. NO. 118, UDYOG MANDIR NO. 2, 3RD FLOOR, 7C PITAMBER LANE, MAHIM, BOMBAY 400 016. ALL PRICES ARE FOR PRESSURE COOKERS WITHOUT SEPARATORS. MAXIMUM PRICE, LOCAL TAXES EXTRA. ® REGISTERED TRADE MARK COPYRIGHT RESERVED 1988 BY HAWKINS COOKERS LIMITED.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hawkins CASHBACK and Display dealers

Buy a new Hawkins and get Rs. 50 to Rs. 120 CASHBACK on exchange of any old pressure cooker, any size, any make. CASHBACK offer ends March 10, '89. For details, contact any of the dealers listed below:

DELHI:

DELHI: Connaught Place, Jankidass & Co. 23-F • Manohar Departmental Stores Shop No. 10-A □ Chandani Chowk, Babul Shop No. 1900. Opp. Bank of India • Bakshi Store No. 1854 □ Fatehpuri, R.D. Stores Shop No. 6504 □ Gandhi Nagar, Bhagat Singh & Sons. Shop

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BUILT FOR SPEED

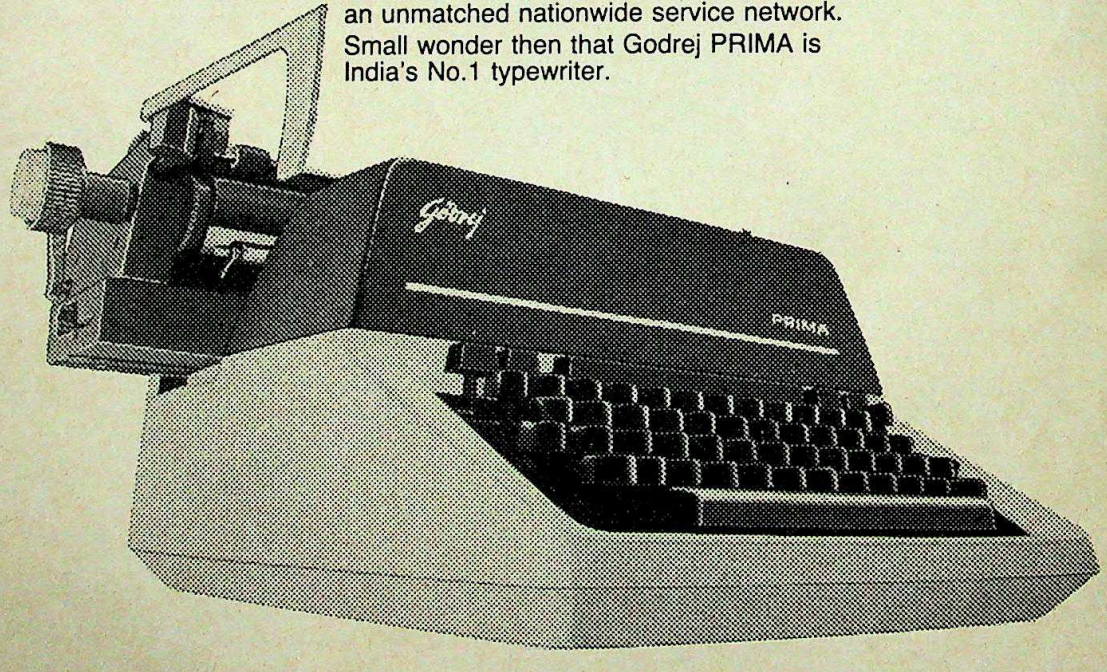
106 words per minute, the super speed achieved on the PRIMA at the National Speed Typing Championship due to its light touch.

123 hours of non-stop typing has earned PRIMA a place in the Guiness Book. That's how durable and trouble-free the PRIMA is.

In fact, PRIMA incorporates a host of features like end-of-page indicator, the vertical line facility etc. And is available in 15 typestyles, most Indian languages and select foreign languages.

As for after-sales-service, PRIMA is backed by an unmatched nationwide service network.

Small wonder then that Godrej PRIMA is India's No.1 typewriter.



BUILT TO LAST

Godrej®
PRIMA

India's Premier Typewriter.

ULKA-11814

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Keep the Lid On

SANITY is a rare commodity in today's helter-skelter world in which people resort to unreason and violence at the slightest provocation. In India this is particularly true of the communal scene. Just about anything and everything becomes a flashpoint for spewing hatred and mayhem for religious, casteist or linguistic reasons. Intellectuals turn into demagogues, politicians into rabble-rousers, and in the process, ordinary citizens are turned into a keg of human gunpowder.

And even though in recent months the genie of communal violence has been bottled for the most part—barring the bloody free-for-all that broke out last month in Jammu—it is visibly restless, waiting for someone to uncork the bottle. With elections round the corner and with the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi controversy still raging, unscrupulous political operators will be tempted to exploit communal passions for temporary gains at the ballot-box. Even the Kumbh Mela, which is supposed to be a mystical and soul-cleansing experience, was exploited by communal activist groups to propagate causes fraught with violent consequences.

Illustration by AJIT NINAN

So it came as a refreshing—and heartening—surprise when leading Muslim leaders of the country, many of whom are known mostly for their provocative pronouncements, reacted with care, caution and temperance to the call given by Ayatollah Khomeini and other fundamentalist Islamic groups to assassinate Salman Rushdie, author of *The Satanic Verses*. In a country often plagued by the virus of communalism, their reasoned reaction came as a much-needed dose of sanity. The issue could well have been used as yet another bellows to fan communal flames. So far it has not.

True, the book was banned in India even before some Islamic countries banned it. True, Rushdie is an expatriate Indian—and a Muslim to boot—who lives in England. So, by all logic, the Islamic backlash should hardly cause a ripple in India. But then, logic ends where fundamentalist frenzy begins. The siege of the Kaaba mosque in Mecca, the hanging of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto—though all hardly related to India—had repercussions here.

The manner in which the communal chain reaction proceeds is now all too familiar: riots in Kashmir where politicians convert the unrest into an occasion for anti-India demonstrations, counter-riots in Jammu, followed by tension in other parts of the country. What's new is that communalism is assuming international dimensions. And India's secular structure, always fragile, is now under greater strain. Whenever the Islamic world sneezes, India appears to catch a communal cold.

The Government has prepared studies showing that huge quantities of money from abroad have been flowing into the coffers of fundamentalist groups in India—especially in Kashmir. And today, the Rushdie reaction, which should have remained confined to Europe and never have come to India after the quick ban imposed on the book here, has already reached Indian shores. Typically, it first came to Kashmir via Pakistan.

And now it has crossed Kashmir's boundaries with unidentified fundamentalist activists threatening to execute prominent Hindu leaders and Indians who have spoken ill of Khomeini. It was in India—following the ban on the book—that the controversy first began to rage and with a perverse logic to India it has returned. Because in the continuing controversy, Indian intellectuals and opinion makers who excoriated the banning of the book on grounds of constitutional protection of free speech have now been painted as anti-Islamic. And by inference, since Khomeini's supporters proclaim him to be the leading champion of their faith—anti-Khomeini. It is ironic, indeed, that the ban, which was supposed to pre-empt any communal controversy on the issue because of the sensitivity of Muslim sentiments, has itself become the cause that sparked it off.

So the reaction of most of the country's Muslim leadership to Khomeini's threats needs to be applauded. They still believe that *The Satanic Verses* is sacrilegious and a deep insult to the Prophet. But while some have reserved comment on the Khomeini appeal, most of them have said that calling for the execution of an author no matter how extreme his views is an unwarranted transgression of limits.

Their reactions are significant. Because even though they are vehemently opposed to the book they are saying that violence is not the answer to religious controversies. And their message should go a long way in reassuring Hindu sentiment which is threatening to become restive because some fundamentalists are hoping to turn the anti-Rushdie crusade into a religious crusade.

The stand of the Muslim leaders is a brave one. They have not only resisted the temptation to opportunistically exploit the issue but have also defied Khomeini. And it would do them credit if they were now to declare unequivocally that the Rushdie book—no matter how strongly they may feel about it—is not an issue for religious or communal agitation in India. They must also oppose all calls for demonstrations of sympathy with Pakistani or Kashmiri fundamentalists on this matter. And the Government must also tell religious and political leaders in no uncertain terms, that having banned the book already, it will do everything in its power to ensure that the lid on the communal cauldron is shut tight and that it will not tolerate attempts by any group to use the issue to promote pan-Islamic fundamentalism.

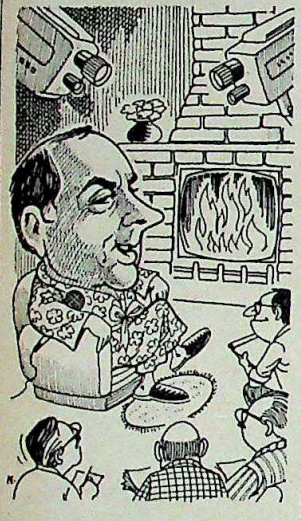
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Taking Stock

● Has Rajiv Gandhi been over-exposed to the public thanks to Doordarshan's unstinting coverage, his high-profile political forays such as his repeated trips to Tamil Nadu, visits to various cultural festivals and *utsavs*, plus the salty language he has been using lately?

Many of Rajiv's closest advisers in ministerial circles as



well as within his own secretariat believe so. The prime minister has, in fact, received a detailed memo outlining the pros and cons of how his image has been projected so far. The hottest controversy now raging within these advisory circles is how to undo what some consider to be severe damage to Rajiv's public persona. High-profile visibility, they say, is all very well when the party is doing all right and when there is something tangible to sell to the public. But it is counter-productive in the face of political crises because reversals and set-backs are magnified many times over.

So, of late, Rajiv has been mulling over several options aimed at building a new image. One of them is to revive the idea of small, low-key, televised "fireside chats" directly with the public on concrete achievements in foreign policy and the economy. Another is to retreat from the public eye for a protracted period and to make fewer—but more statesmanlike—appearances.

Seedy Diplomacy

● This story has been buzzing the capital's diplomatic and intelligence grapevine for some time but has only now been confirmed. It seems that a rather over-zealous western diplomat decided that he wasn't going to rely merely on newspaper clippings and cocktail party conversations with journalists to get his dope on the Indian Opposition.

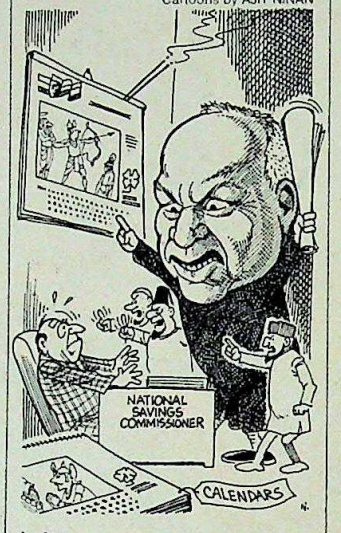
He decided to go out in the field and merrily defied convention. He visited opposition maverick Chandra Shekhar at his house but the Intelligence Bureau spooks posted outside did not miss out on the fact that the diplomat, whom they recognised, alighted not from a Toyota or Nissan with a CD number-plate but from a red Maruti van. Messages were flashed back to the headquarters, and once the identity of the diplomat was established discreet hints were passed on

to the concerned embassy that this just wasn't on. Foreign diplomats were at liberty to meet the opposition leaders but if they used cloak-and-dagger tactics the behaviour sounded more seedy than diplomatic. Needless to add, the diplomat was upbraided and hasn't been seen hitching rides of late.

Calendar Ruckus

● For decades it has printed the most staid, boring documents in the country. But even the Central Government's stodgy National Savings Organisation, which peddles such tax-exempt goodies as the National Savings Certificates, is making news in 1989 with a splash of colour. Of the wrong kind, however, or so some irate Muslim spokesmen

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN



believe.

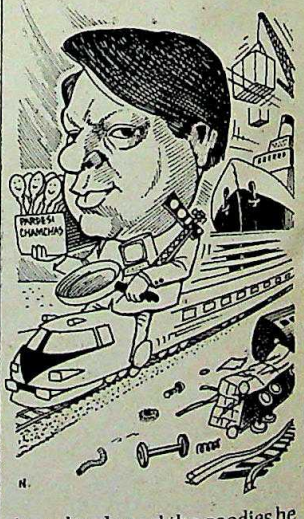
Last fortnight, members of Parliament (MPs) received yet another new year's calendar in their mail. This one was from the national savings people based at Seminary Hills, Nagpur. Soon some MPs were questioning more than merely the justification of a savings organisation blowing up money on expensive six-page calendars. Each page has an episode from the Hindu epics, Ramayana or Mahabharata. The top of each page also bears the familiar Nehru centenary logo: the visage of Nehru superimposed on the tricolour.

Muslim spokesmen argue that first of all a government organisation has no business to spend money on a calendar with a purely religious theme. Secondly, to mix that theme with the Nehru centenary is stretching things a bit far. Syed Shahabuddin, National Conference's Saifuddin Soz and others are planning to raise the issue in Parliament. The Finance Minister will clearly have more to answer for than just the budget deficit.

Foreign Goodies

● Immediately after he took office, Minister of State for Railways Madhavrao Scindia had declared his intentions of steamrollering India's archaic railways into the 21st century. Four years and many accidents later, the plans are yet to get off the terminus, much like the many delayed passenger trains.

But finally, it seems, Scindia is having his way. While it is still not clear whether the French, the Canadians, the Japanese, or the Soviet high-speed locomotives will get the final nod, the Government has accepted the basic argument that the rail system can only be modernised through large-scale imports. Also on the cards are imports of various other kinds of technology and even railway station designs. With so much on the shopping list, the railway minister has a lot of overseas



travel to do and the goodies he has been looking at include West German pantry equipment, even cutlery. So a popular joke in the railways predictably is: Apart from locomotives and rail coaches the minister does not even have faith in the *desi chamchas*. He would import *chamchas* from Europe instead.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It's a great saver

The most economical thing about a Kelvinator refrigerator is its low electricity consumption. Thanks to the 'Power-Saver' compressor that lives admirably upto its name. The moment you start it, it starts saving.

But saving is not all that the 'Power-Saver' does. It cools fast, makes ice even faster. Irrespective of the atmospheric temperature outside. And no amount of voltage fluctuation can disrupt its smooth functioning.

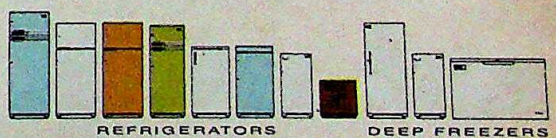
Kelvinator has another surprise in store for you – the spacious storage area. Its thoughtfully designed interior does away with nooks and corners for maximum space utilization.

Tough, all-steel construction and sturdy ABS liner lends extra strength to its exterior as well as the interior. Giving it a longer life.

And a wide range of models and delightful colour schemes give you the widest choice available.

So with all the convenience a Kelvinator refrigerator offers you, it is more than a saver. It's a saviour.

Sold and serviced by :
Expo Machinery Limited
Pragati Tower, 26 Rajindra Place,
New Delhi-110 008.



Kelvinator®
Refrigerator
"It's the coolest one."

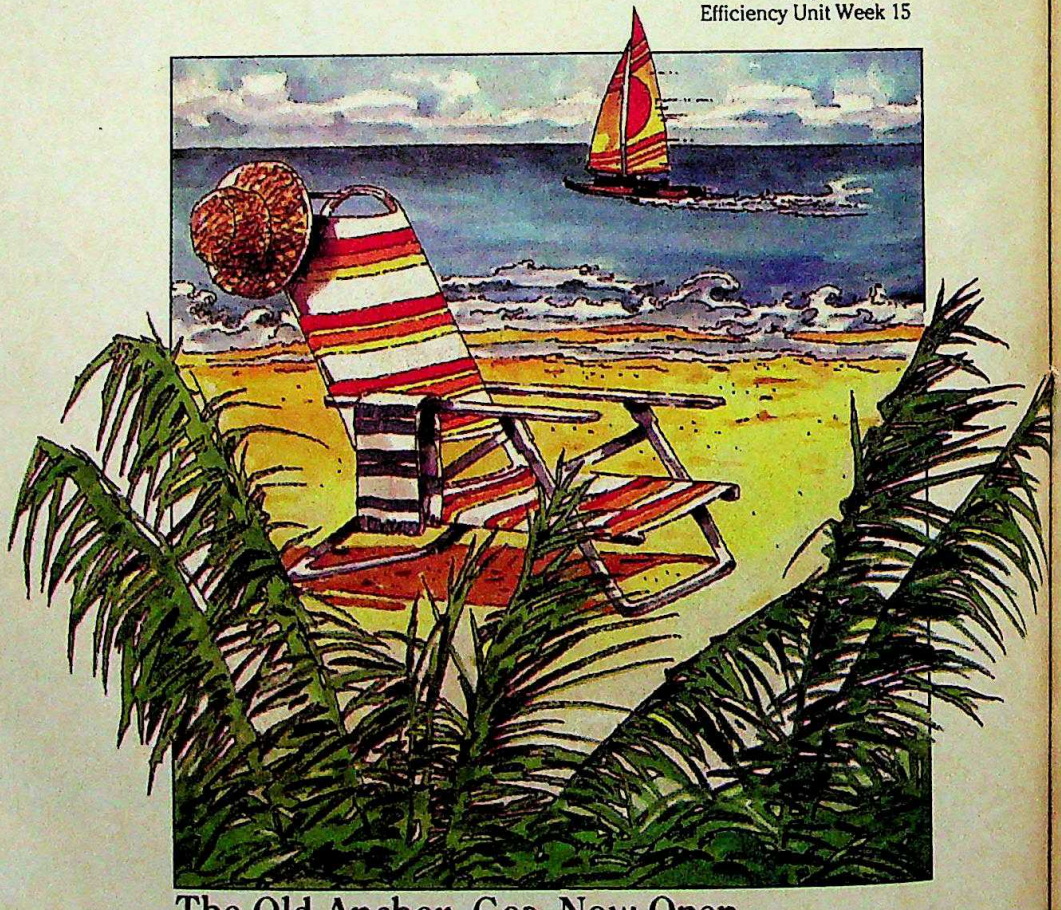
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Vacation Ownership at The Old Anchor, Goa.

"For the cost of just 4 holidays, I'll be enjoying luxury vacations forever!"

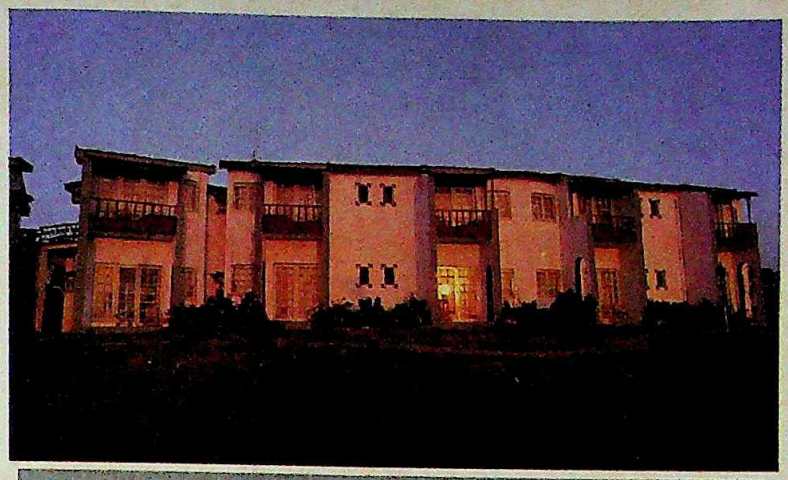
Owner :
Mr. Sanjay Kapoor
Efficiency Unit Week 15



The Old Anchor, Goa. Now Open.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

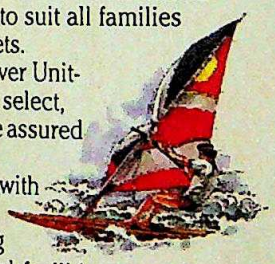


"Vacation Ownership works on a simple principle. I have become the owner of a Vacation UnitWeek to enjoy luxury vacations year after year. This simply entailed a one-time payment. And a service fee whenever I occupy the Unit. Maintenance will be taken care of from the returns on the maintenance contribution I'll pay only once. And from the annual maintenance fee I will pay whenever required."

The Old Anchor : Your luxury resort in the sun

Dalmia Resorts present The Old Anchor, Goa.

A luxury Vacation Ownership resort that offers accommodation units to suit all families and budgets.



Whichever UnitWeek you select, you can be assured of luxury vacations with a host of enthralling recreational facilities.

Because we believe, every vacation should be simply unforgettable.

Costs : As attractive as the holidays

There are 3 types of units to choose from, and 3 kinds of seasons.

	HIGH (Rs.)	MEDIUM (Rs.)	LOW (Rs.)
2-BEDROOM	34,000	27,000	22,000
1-BEDROOM	26,500	21,000	17,500
EFFICIENCY	20,000	16,000	13,500

Let us take the example of an Efficiency Unit in the Medium Season, as it is the best comparison possible with a 5-star hotel room at an average price.

In just four years, your total cost including annual service fee as well as Expenditure Tax will be less than your total cost in a 5-star hotel.

This means, from the fifth year onwards, your holidays will be at only a part of the cost of a 5-star hotel.

Depending upon the unit type and season you actually choose, your savings could commence earlier (3 years) or later (5 years).

And every year, the savings will increase.

A different location every year

The second Dalmia Resort, Misty Meadows, Pahalgam, is slated to open in 1989. (Subject to weather conditions).

And plans are underway to promote many more resorts all across the country.

This means, through our Exchange Program, you can enjoy a different location every year.

Infact, The Old Anchor is also affiliated to RCI® — Resort Condominiums International (subject to RBI approval). So, through the International Exchange Program, you can even exchange your UnitWeek for any of the over 1500 RCI® resorts around the world.

Domestic and International Exchanges are, ofcourse, subject to availability and relevant fees.

The more you discover about Dalmia Resorts, the more difficult it will be to answer one basic question.

What is more exciting : The purchase opportunity. Or the vacations that are to follow!

DALMIA RESORTS INTERNATIONAL

DALMIA RESORTS INTERNATIONAL PVT. LTD.

CORPORATE OFFICE : 1st Floor, Devika Tower, 6, Nehru Place, New Delhi-110 019. Tel : 6441554, 6445971, 6414113. Telex : 031-71095 DRI IN. **SALES OFFICES : New Delhi :** Tel : 3313933, 3310449. **Bombay :** Tel : 2042855, 2042637, 2872413. **Calcutta :** Tel : 433618. **Madras :** Tel : 476284. **Bangalore :** Tel : 564822. **Ahmedabad :** Tel : 400734. **Lucknow :** Tel : 47056.

For complete details, fill in this coupon and mail it back to us today, and find out for yourself how you can save on your vacation costs of tomorrow :

Name_____

Address_____

_____ Tel._____

Company's Name _____

Signature _____

IT

When you'd rather own your vacations.

Govan/DRI/03

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Take the world in your stride.

dinesh

Exclusives ▲ Suitings ▲ Co-ordinates ▲ Safaris

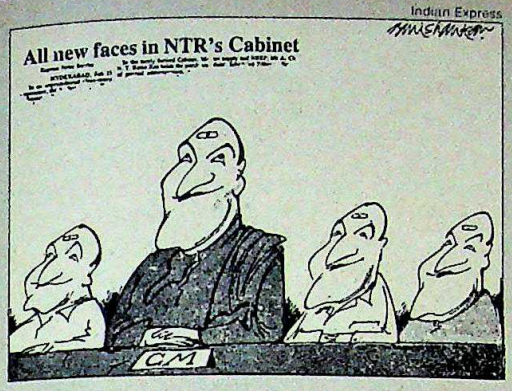
the choice of leading fashion houses, internationally.

Woolmark
PURE NEW WOOL
HI-COMFORT WOOL

everest/88/SDM/261

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



• *The Congress(I) high command is neither high nor does it command.*
■ V.P. SINGH at a press conference

• *Rajiv is so good natured that if you ask him to resign from the prime ministership, he'll say yes. Somebody must have said that Bhagwat Jha Azad is very good and he must have said yes.* ■ BHAGWAT JHA AZAD in March *Newstrack*

• *A farmer's son has to be the prime minister.* ■ DEVI LAL in *Patriot*

• *The prime minister visited Tamil Nadu 13 times. I came back to power after exactly 13 years. It is a lucky number for us.*
■ M. KARUNANIDHI in *The Hindu*

• *He (Karunanidhi) has imagination. He can imagine the future of society, and he will help us write a new script for India.*
■ N.T. RAMA RAO in *Newstime*

• *I have in me all that is needed to ensure my party's victory in Madhya Pradesh in the next election.* ■ MOTILAL VORA in *The Sunday Observer*

• *If he (Bhagwat Jha Azad) were to continue as chief minister to the general elections, the Congress will not even win one seat.*
■ JAGANNATH MISHRA in *Sunday Mail*

• *It (the settlement with Union Carbide) is the best thing that can happen.... I am entirely satisfied with the outcome.*
■ NANI PALKHIVALA in *The Indian Post*

• *The Congress has to be saved from onslaughts by Congressmen.*
■ A.R. ANTULAY in *Current*

• *There is absolutely no crisis. All the Congress(I) ministries in the country are stable.*
■ BUTA SINGH in *The Hindu*

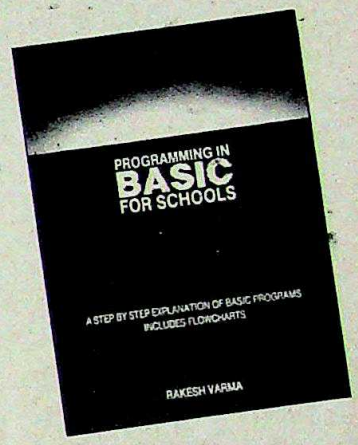
• *What is the justification for banning sex tests when abortions are allowed?*
■ VASANT SATHE

• *I've been inspired not by great writers but by second rate books by third rate writers. I thought to myself that if this fellow can get his trash published, so can I. And I did.*
■ KHUSHWANT SINGH in *Indian Express*

• *We were two bodies but one soul.*
■ USTAD ZAHIRUDDIN DAGAR, on his brother and jugalbandi partner, Ustad Faiyazuddin, who died recently

• *When my heart misses a beat because of a woman, then I know I'm still alive.*
■ MRINAL SEN in *The Sunday Observer*

GIFT COMPUTER LITERACY TO A YOUNGSTER.



Rakesh Varma's 'Programming in BASIC for Schools' is a book that has emerged from years of experience in imparting practical, hands-on BASIC programming skills to children.

Why not gift it to a young friend. And see him or her start the next session, ahead of peers in the all-important discipline of computers.

Please mail a copy of 'Programming in BASIC for Schools' to :
Name _____
Address _____
_____
My name _____
☐ My cheque/D.D for Rs. 35/- in favour of Living Media India Ltd.is enclosed.
☐ I'll pay the postman Rs. 35/- on delivery.
Mail coupon to :

LM BOOKS
Living Media India Ltd.
316, Competent House,
F-14, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001.

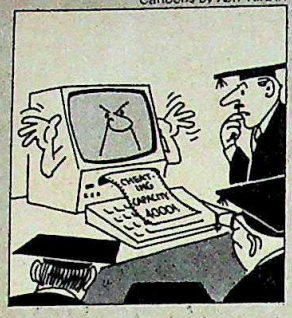
INTERFACE 6440

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN

CRAZY CHIPS



■ Computers, notwithstanding their wide-ranging uses, can only perform according to the way they are programmed. There is a lesson in that somewhere as the faculty of Delhi University realised much to their discomfiture.

Having decided to computerise examination results, the university thought its problems were over. They had, in fact, just begun. The final computer print-out showed that the results of about 4,000 students had been withheld by the machine saying, "results later on, if necessary". Translated into English, the code meant that all 4,000 students were caught cheating and investigations were on. The university computer had apparently got confused between students whose papers were missing and the few who had been suspected of cheating. The students are now wondering whether they will lose an academic year while the computers do a bit of introspection.

KNOTTY MOVE

■ When he decided to get married, Lakshmipathy, an unemployed post-graduate, wanted to do it in style. It was the right opportunity to play out his dreams, he thought. So he told the girl's father that he was an IAS officer, posted as deputy secretary in the Department of Human Resource, Government of Karnataka.

Sure enough, the father, thrilled at having got a promising young civil service officer as his son-in-law, sold his coffee plantation to raise money for the marriage and also promised him a house in the city apart from Rs 1 lakh as a gift. But the conman had not reckoned on the wedding guest list. One of the invitees was a senior officer of the state Government who realised that there was no deputy secretary by that name and quickly exposed the fraud. Instead of tying the knot and becoming a *lakhpati* overnight, Lakshmipathy found his wrists encircled in handcuffs as the police led him up the aisle to the lock-up.

BOW WOW

■ All these days they just wagged their tails at masters and barked at strangers. Considered the most grateful and affectionate of animals, dogs have been known to do anything to help their masters. But if efforts being made by a Bombay dog-trainer Ramprakash Goswami succeed, dogs will get even closer to man and move out of kennels to become a permanent part of living-rooms.

Goswami has taught one dog to talk. A 12-year-old Alsatian, Jackie, which he has trained for a long time has learnt to say 'Ram Ram'. It is not known whether Jackie has demanded to be taught more words so that he can stop barking and convey the message through the spoken word. The clever canine will, however, most probably manage to convince his trainer that talking dogs seldom bark. And once Jackie's vocabulary expands, he will probably take part in the family get-togethers and then mumble to himself that every dog has his day.

SIMIAN STUNT

■ An angry monkey recently decided to vent its fury on students of a girls school in Delhi. The girls who were enjoying the mild winter sun laughed at the simian's antics for some time before the monkey suddenly started chasing the girls and all of them ran helter-skelter. The principal decided to inform the zonal health officer, who is supposed to have authority over the monkeys of the area.

The officer, disturbed from his daily ritual of signing files, advised the principal to take the help of some musclemen or scare the monkey with sticks, while he sought the concurrence of his superiors on the course of action to be taken, The officer however offered to get back after the right method had been found. While he had a powwow with his bosses and referred to the rule books, the monkey had bitten three girls. Moral: don't monkey around with rule books.

BHAJAN DAYS

■ The Haryana bureaucracy has no dearth of ideas. After bringing Pierre Cardin to show off his designs and models in the rustic environs of Surajkund, the state now plans to propagate its development schemes through bhajans. The first in the series of bhajans has already been recorded. The subject: the state's old-age pension scheme. This way the Public Relations Department feels that old men will not only have something to sing about in their sunset years but soon the whole state will be humming paeans to development schemes. And the Government intends to hold a bhajan competition on development schemes and video-record the proceedings so that labourers and farmers can be encouraged to develop the right taste. The noble task will hopefully be considered complete when the whole state is dancing to the Government's tunes.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ghosts from the Past

Illustrations by PEALI DUTTA GUPTA

The death sentence on Rushdie was a reminder that religious demagogues can still transport us back into the Dark Ages.

PARADIGMS of the past intruded into the fortnight that was in forceful measure, bringing back memories both painful and paradoxical. The sentence of death passed on Indian-born author Salman Rushdie by Iran's fundamentalist clergy was a painful reminder that religious demagogues like Ayatollah Khomeini can, in this day and age, instantly transport the world back into the Dark Ages.

But there was also the paradox that the most incendiary literary storm in modern publishing history—and a serious diplomatic cleavage between the East and the West—had been created by perhaps the world's least-read novel.

The darkest image of disaster—the lethal gas that enshrouded thousands while they slept—hauntingly returned with the controversial and omnibus Supreme Court judgement asking a multinational giant like Union Carbide to pay a contentious compensation of $470 million and exonerating it from any further claims.

For the thousands who have suffered for four years or those afflicted for life in Bhopal hospitals, the really haunting question is whether the money will eventually reach them at all. But for India—and the highest court in the land—it is an uncomfortable precedent to have set.

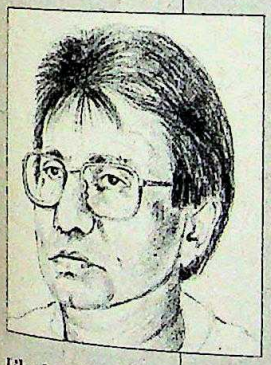
The most dominant reminder of the past, however, lay in the sudden flurry of administrative changes effected by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The return of R.K. Dhawan may have been paradoxical—he was hounded by the government commission inquiring into Mrs Gandhi's assassination. But it also concealed a powerful political message—that Rajiv is returning to his political roots by aping the style and strategy of his late mother.

Dhawan's return is an indirect acknowledgement that Rajiv is adopting his mother's political style.

The return of Dhawan is an indirect acknowledgement that Rajiv's previous advisers and political point men were the wrong choices. But more evidently, it indicates the final paradox—that the man who earned his mandate because he was so different from traditional politicians, is ringing in the old and ringing out the new.

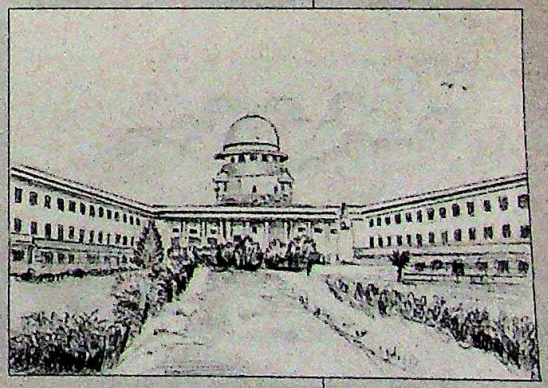
All his recent changes bear the unmistakable stamp of Indira Gandhi—the rewarding of bureaucrats like S.K. Bhatnagar, the former defence secretary, and Sarla Grewal, with gubernatorial positions and the appointment of former Intelligence Bureau bosses and Congress(I) politicians as governors in opposition states. Once more the paradox—the recent gubernatorial appointments are in direct contradiction of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission set up by his own government.

The darkest image of disaster hauntingly returned with the controversial and omnibus Supreme Court judgement.



Like his father Charan Singh in 1979, Ajit Singh is today the biggest threat to opposition survival.

Even the current crisis in the opposition Janata Dal is a paradigm of the past, a sad reminder of the power struggles that led to the demise of the Janata government in 1979. And once again the paradox is extant. If the main culprit in 1979 was Charan Singh, today it is his son and heir Ajit Singh who is the biggest threat to opposition survival.



But such ironies are increasingly becoming meaningless. India's misfortune is that it will always be hostage to its past. There will be enough reminders of that in the days to come. Parliament has reopened in an all too familiar fashion. A presidential address that commends the Government on every aspect of its functioning, including areas like Punjab where it has obviously and disastrously failed; acrimonious exchanges that make a mockery of parliamentary debate and a host of embarrassing questions which are never really answered.

The problem—no less paradoxical—is that the only people who can bring about change are the ones who wind up wanting it the least.

—DILIP BOBB

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LIFE-GIVING WATER MAKES TELEPHONES DEAD

So far, yes. But no more.

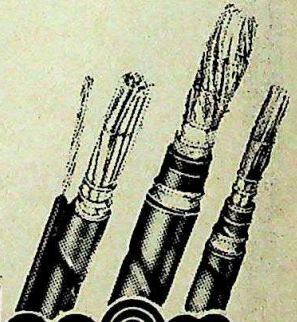
Cross-connections, interruptions, low speech and dead lines. A usual feature of the Indian telecom system, specially during monsoon seasons. A jarring note in our song of glory and achievements.

Enter the JELLY-FILLED telecom cables. Chosen by the Department of Telecommunications, Govt. of India as an answer to the endemic problems due to water-ingress in underground cables. UPCOM Cables Ltd., with the largest capacity in the joint & private sectors, is making an important contribution to this progress.

UPCOM has technical partnership with CEAT CAVI, S.p.A. Italy, one of the world leaders. Ceat Cavi technology and training, combined with UPCOM's qualified technicians have created superior, moisture-proof cables by mastering the art and science of jelly filling—the heart of a good cable.

UPCOM's CEAT CAVI connection also gives it an access to the next-generation cellular and foam-skin cables.

UPCOM CABLES LIMITED
Making telecommunications music to your ears. Any time. Any where.



Upcom
Cables Limited

For more information, cut out the coupon and mail it to the address given below :

Please send me a free Brochure on UPCOM CABLES
Name : _____
Address : _____
_____
Organisation : _____
Designation : _____

9, Rani Laxmibai Marg, Lucknow-226 001

PARTNERS IN COMMUNICATION REVOLUTION

VIDIT :UPCOM :188

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In rewarding your team which backs you up

You deserve a bank that provides for all their needs- VYSYA BANK

Team efforts result in corporate success. Recognition and rewards strengthen relations and results are long lasting. To sustain the motivation, express your concern for them through the expertise of Vysya Bank.

That is – through the varied and flexible schemes of Vysya Bank – designed to support success to sustain.

And this has been the secret of our success – in being responsive, in being proactive to challenges, in going beyond banking through equipment leasing and credit cards, in occupying the premier position in the private sector.

In your pursuits, team up with the winner – Vysya Bank.

VYSYA BANK Now ranked 50th In ASIA

Come, let us grow together.

THE VYSYA BANK LTD

Regd. Office: Avenue Road, Bangalore-560 002.
Admv. Office: 72, St. Marks Road,
Bangalore-560 001.

Chairman: Ramesh Gelli

Kiron/VBL/Corp/889

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

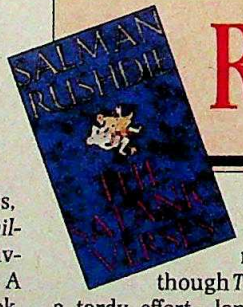
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SALMAN RUSHDIE

SATANIC

THE ironies piled up with the remorselessness of a magic realist's prose. That a book hardly read—or read and little understood—should have so jolted the world and created a literary maelstrom not seen many times since the last world war. That an author who was called impenetrable, convoluted if not confused and, in any case much too elitist to attract international popular attention should have caused such a storm in Khomeini's Iran. That a piece of fiction, dismissed by many reviewers as a complicated allegory, which struggled to stay in the shelves of the western world's bookshops should have become an instant bestseller—one that book chains such as the venerable Waldenbooks of the US found too hot to stock and one that others sold under the counter. One that even Canada, Greece and France were afraid to publish.

Amazingly, before Iranian religious strongman Imam Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's *fatwa* decreeing death for Salman Rushdie, the 41-year-old India-born author, hit the world in its face, not many knew what the controversy was all about. Some nations,including India, had banned the book. Yet even most reviewers were unsure if the book was talking about Islam. They sailed through the passages responsible for Rushdie's plight now *(see box)*. Some thought the book was about evil; others about death; still others about Rushdie himself.



Rushdie was hiding in a London suburb with nearly six million dollars on his head...

Rushdie arrived in the early '80s, finding his metier with *Midnight's Children*—his first fantasy effort *Grimus* having defeated both critics and readers. A sprawling, rollicking, aggressive book, mixing fiction and fantasy with a Joycean exuberance of language never seen in Indo-Anglian writing before, *Midnight's Children* invented new idiom and metaphor to interpret the multi-textured reality of the subcontinent. Rushdie became an international literary sensation, a new master in the Latin school of magic realism, ranked alongside Gabriel Garcia Marquez himself. *Shame* secured this reputation, and though *The Jaguar Smile* proved a tardy effort—lampooned for the author's naivety—*The Satanic Verses* was a much awaited book. With this Rushdie hoped to conclude his fact-fantasy oeuvre of the subcontinent's peoples that would assure him posterity in literature.

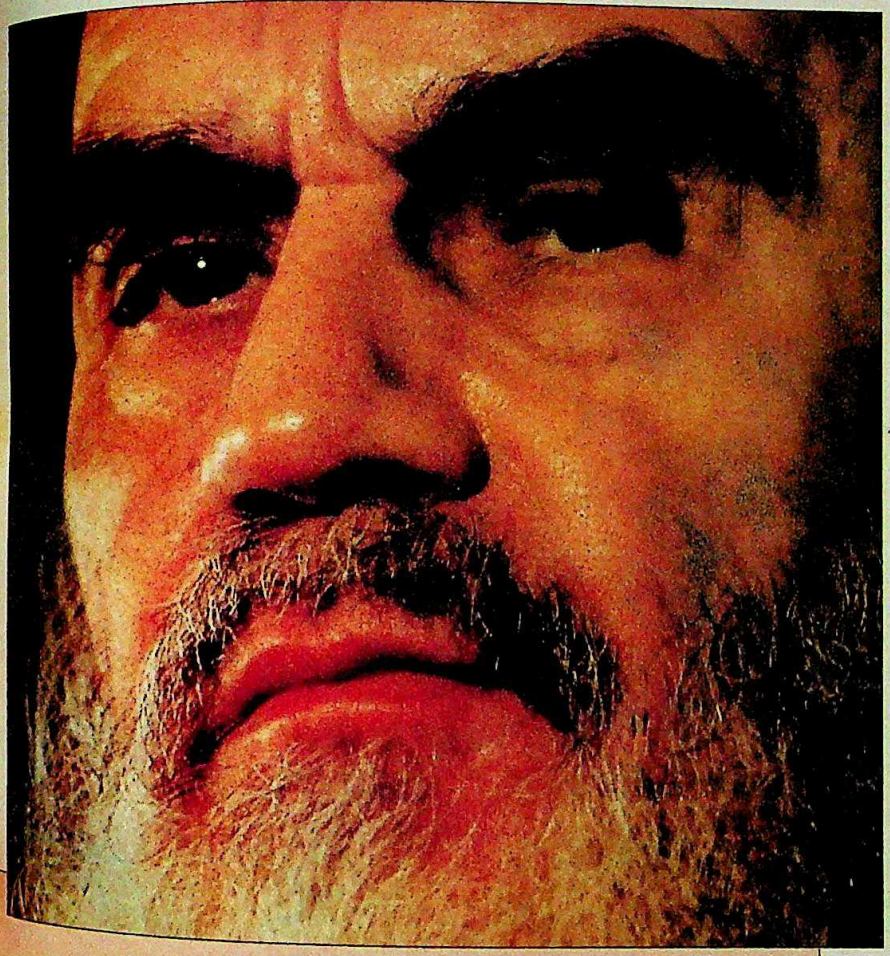
Midnight's Children sold more than 500,000 copies worldwide, and *The Satanic Verses* received a mind-boggling advance of £850,000 (Rs 2.2 crore). More than 65,000 copies of the British hardback edition (price £12.95) have already been sold. In New York sources confirmed the sale of another 50,000. As printers logged fresh orders, publishing sources speculated Rushdie's earnings from the book could touch the £2 million mark. (Rushdie had been planning to buy a house in fashionable Hampstead.) Now, the book is a collector's item, like a blue-chip share certificate to invest in. People are picking copies in bulk hoping that one day it will become a rare and valuable item.

The book is capacious—convoluted

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STORM



...as the Ayatollah's death squads searched for him the entire western world began a fresh isolation of Iran.

plot, array of outlandish characters—with the dazzling language and effects that are the hallmark of his fiction. It attempts to explore the questions of good and evil through the experiences of two Indian actors, Gibreel and Chamcha, who falling out of a plane into England, metamorphose into Archangel Gabriel and the Devil respectively. Gibreel's hallucinations call up the passages that have rocked the world. Rushdie weaves fantasies around traditional accounts of the Prophet's life and calls him Mahound—the Devil. In a chapter that is at the centre of the ruckus he has a dozen prostitutes assuming the names of the Prophet's wives. Rushdie's claim that he is trying to explore through fiction the issue of divine inspiration is not bought by many Muslims.

And therefore "that strange expatriate Indian novelist" who had made waves in New York, the publishing capital of the world, when he pocketed the *Verses* advance from Viking Penguin, was hiding in a London suburb with a price of nearly $6 million (Rs 9 crore) on his head. Officers of Scotland Yard's Special Branch stood guard over Rushdie as an unprecedented international storm raged with the Ayatollah's death squads beginning the hunt and the entire western world embarking on a fresh isolation of Iran.

The storm raised by the book and the Ayatollah's decree that its author be killed had already left more than 20 persons dead and many more injured in India and Pakistan where it was banned anyway. The fury was in full evidence in Bombay last week as the crowd shouting "Rushdie Murdabad" gathered at the Zakaria Masjid near Crawford Market and went on a rampage when police stopped them from moving towards the British Council office. Later as the blazes turned into embers at least eight lay dead. Earlier, for three days the entire Kashmir valley was paralysed. Holding green Pakistani flags, rioting hordes shouted anti-India slogans and battled with the police.

"This is jihaad," declared writer Anthony Burgess. The *New York Times* thundered: "Firmness is required to counter this diabolical business." *Le Monde* chorussed: "The orders of the master of Teheran are a perversion of Islam, just as the inquisition was a perversion of Christianity."

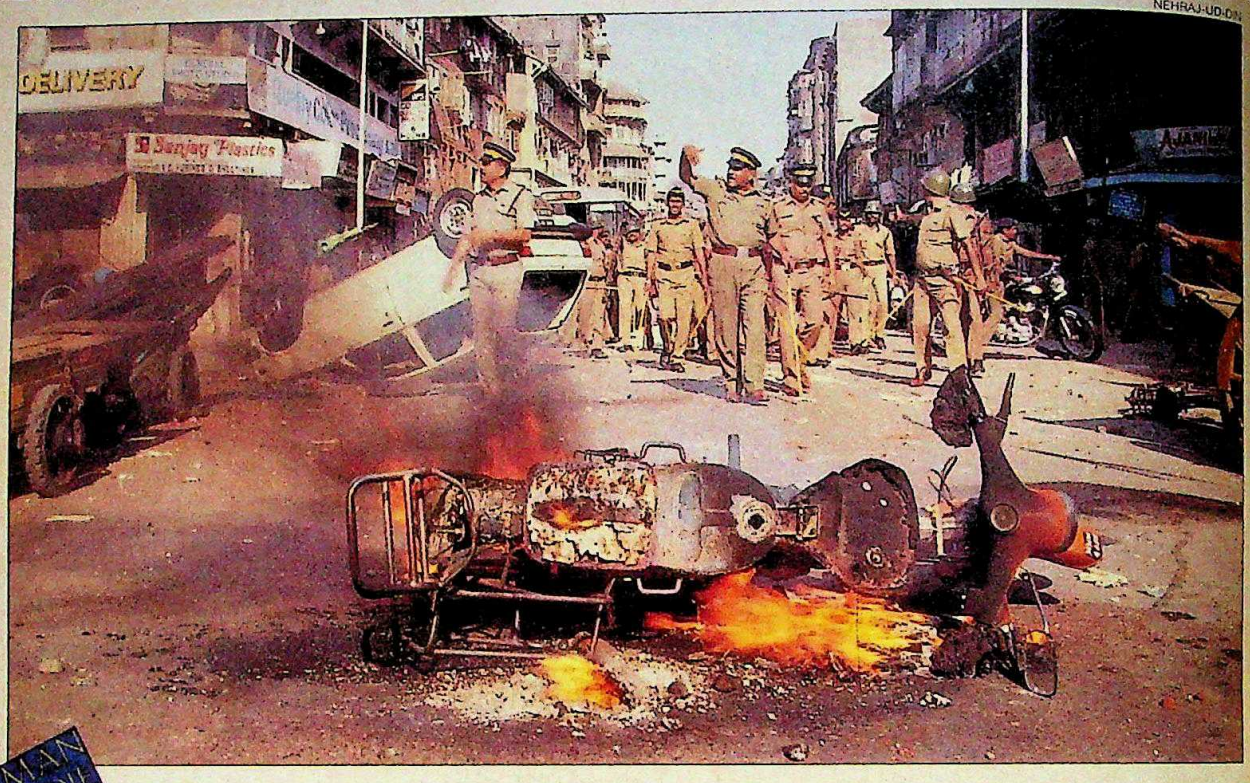
While the world convulsed Rushdie attempted appeasement. "Living in a world of many faiths...we must be conscious of the sensibilities of others," he said in an apology that many thought was platitudinous and even allegorical in typical Rushdie style. Also, it was more condescending than remorseful. "Rushdie should do anything possible. I would grovel before the Atyatollah, "suggested author Farrokh Dhondy. Rushdie's voice was lost in the din of the fractious post-war Iran's politics as IRNA, its official news agency, repeatedly contradicted itself, saying that the pardon had been denied, then granted and finally recanting again.

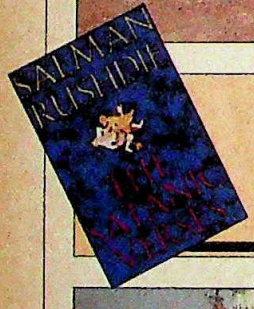
Meanwhile policemen were working overtime in cities as far apart as New Delhi, London, New York and Tokyo, handling bomb threats to shops that stocked the book and protecting its publishers. In Britain police jostled with riot-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEHRAJ-UD-DIN





Violent demonstrations in India and Pakistan have already left more than 20 persons dead despite the ban on the book.

ANIS HAMDANI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rioting in Bombay (left); and Islamabad: mob fury

ers in the wool-town of Bradford (*see box*).

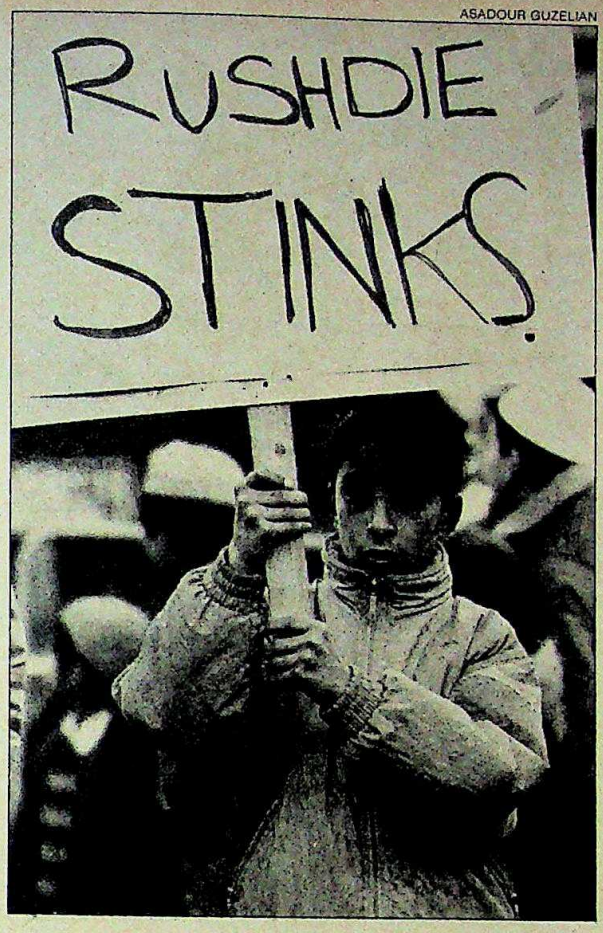
In Rushdie's native city, Bombay, just one telephone call evoked at least a semblance of the fear he must have been living with. A man, speaking in broken English, claiming to represent the Islamic Revolutionary Guards, threatened to exterminate poet Dom Moraes, Shiv Sena supremo Bal Thackeray, Gandhian Usha Mehta, and Hindustani Andolan Convenor Madhu Mehta, for criticising Khomeini's death verdict on Rushdie. The police were investigating the antecedents of Bombay's 9,000-strong Iranian community. Thackeray responded with characteristic bravado: he threatened the city's Iranians with retaliation. In Delhi's Jama Masjid Imam Abdullah Bukhari declared: "Whatever Khomeini has said should happen. It is very difficult for Rushdie to remain alive." Echoed Maulana Abu Said Ahmed, rector of Bangalore's Arabic College: "We love the *paighambar* more than our lives..*jo unki beizzati karta hai woh mardood hai. Islami Sultanat ko use katl karna chahiye.* (Whoever insults the Prophet is an apostate. Islam should kill him.)"

Halfway round the globe, in New York, executives of Viking Penguin wore bullet-proof vests to work. A tell-tale tape recorder hung over the telephone switchboard to record incoming phone calls in case of bomb threats and FBI agents scoured the building, mocked by a copy of *Verses* displayed in a glass case in the lobby. "Terrorism has come to publishing," said Sonny Mehta, the president of the prestigious Alfred A. Knopf. "It is a grave concern when criticism is turned to mortal threats." In London publisher Andre Deutsch said: "I have been in publishing all my life and there has been nothing like this before."

Though Mehta described Rushdie as one of the five or six most important writers in the world and as "a storm-raiser", the Satanic fury of the storm was not what Rushdie or his friends had bargained for.

Around the world indignation elbowed out reason. Iranian President Ali Khamenei announced that an "arrow had been aimed at the heart of Salman Rushdie, the blasphemous bastard". The usually soft-spoken US Secretary of State James Baker reacted in Oliver North-like fashion, declaring: "The action will block Iran's efforts to rejoin civilised society." Announcing the decision to withdraw their envoys from Teheran, the foreign ministers of the 12 EEC countries said in a joint statement that they condemned "this incitement to murder as an unacceptable violation of the most elementary principles and obligations that govern relations among sovereign states".

ASADOUR GUZELIAN



Young protester in Bradford: indignation

FOR Western Europe the crisis came at a most inopportune time, just when they were hoping to profit from Iran's post-war reconstruction. For French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who had just stopped over in Teheran on his way back from India, it was time to make a quick turn-around from cosy postures. His West German counterpart Hans Dietrich Genscher was threatening EEC economic sanctions.

As political rhetoric grew stronger the rag press merrily played the field. The British gutter press was full of insults against Khomeini calling him "Mad Imam" and Iran's envoy in London, Adhnuzade Basti, as "Nasty Basti". British media tycoon Robert Maxwell took the retaliatory lead offering £1 million (Rs 2.6 crore) to whoever "civilised Khomeini". Australian media marauder Rupert Murdoch warned the Muslims in Britain to behave. The announcement was front-paged in Persian script in *The News of the World*. In the streets of Teheran the madness was more than matched by demonstrators screaming "death to Rushdie".

If the controversy split the world, politically it served to coalesce the community of writers and artistes as nothing had ever done, not the annihilation of Jewish writers before the Second World War, nor the persecutions of Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn and Kundera. "The little enmities," as playwright Hanif Kureishi (*My Beautiful Laundrette, Sammy and Rosie Get Laid*) says, "have been forgotten".

Groups led by Harold Pinter and Lady Antonia Fraser gave letters to the House of Commons urging it to act. Even in the dog-eat-dog world of Asian writers and artistes there came an unprecedented identification with the new cause celebre. Said Kureishi: "I am shocked and ashamed by what my fellow Muslims are saying. We must urge Ayatollah Khomeini to withdraw the death threat." Author and TV producer Tariq Ali didn't mince words either: "The spiritual leader of the Islamic Republic was speaking in the language of a mafia godfather."

At the prestigious PEN (Poets, Essayists, Novelists) Centre in Manhattan a bevy of American authors, led by Norman Mailer and E.L. Doctorow, read out of the "condemned" author's book. "If he is ever killed for a folly, we must be killed for the same folly, and we may need be," said Mailer, reasoning, "Since we will then vow to do our best to open all literary meetings with a reading of the critical passages of *The Satanic Verses*." Even more defiantly said Leon Wieseltier, the editor of *New Republic*: "Let us be dogmatic about tolerance. It was blasphemy that made us free. Two cheers today for blasphemy."

But it is the mere insinuation of blasphemy from inquisitors who, on their own admission, have not read the book, that has made Rushdie perhaps a prisoner for the rest of his life. And of course an inerasable part of literary history too.

Until now Rushdie and his *Verses* were the rarefied preserve of the pundits of literature. Today in Britain, Rushdie is a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

household name, a pop star of the literary world. Shop girls at lunch hour earnestly discuss the differences between Shias and Sunnis. Taxi drivers want to know if you are Muslim and what the book and fuss is all about. On television Rushdie's haunting face with the heavy-lidded eyes and unevenly folded lips dominate. State of art media brings images which are archaic, reminiscent of the battlefields of the Holy Wars; the smell of the smoke from the burning books is almost palpable; the angry eyes and raised fists of mobs in Bradford and Teheran electrify.

Strangely, Rushdie had never imagined a threat from Iran. (Interestingly enough, both the Ayatollah and Rushdie have some family origins in Kashmir.) He was, however, deeply depressed by the deaths in Pakistan. The ceremonial burning of his book in Bradford and the demonstrations had disturbed him. But he was not frightened. In fact just a few days before the missive from Teheran, Rushdie was asked by a Muslim conductor of a bus he boarded near his home why there was so much fuss about the book.

Of course, there had been a few death threats. Most of them were written in the same hand. These threats he shrugged off whimsically. Says famous Japanese writer and Rushdie's close friend Kazuo Ishiguro: "He was not worried about physical threats."

The ironies don't cease. Rushdie actually hoped that the entire Bradford episode would help Muslim minority wake up. Says Ishiguro: "He felt that if Muslims wanted to be buried in shrouds, they ought to be allowed to." Bradford Muslims had in fact been campaigning for separate state schools for boys and girls and the right for burial in shrouds.

Rushdie's fears were directed elsewhere. He was very apprehensive about going to the US—the Black Panthers worried him. He told a friend: "The hardest will be to walk on to that stage in the US. There are so many isolated maniacs around." He was also extremely concerned about his wife, whom he married just a year ago.

In Britain he felt safe enough to even laugh about the threats. During his last public appearance at London's Greek Orthodox Church for the memorial service for writer Bruce Chatwin, who had become a close friend after they travelled together in Australia, American novelist Paul Theroux whispered: "Your turn next." Salman laughed at the joke and then disappeared. The previous day also

BRADFORD

The First Sparks

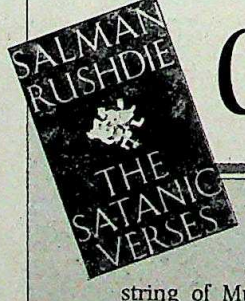
BRADFORD had never seen anything like it. Shaken from a quiet, slumberous Saturday morning, the city stood amazed as some 2,000 of its residents gathered outside the town hall protesting against *The Satanic Verses* and torching copies of the book. It was a public display of outrage, of a kind Britain had not seen in centuries. Holding up placards against the backdrop of what they saw as symbols of authority—the town hall, the police headquarters and the magisterial courts—the protesters heard a string of Muslim leaders decry Salman Rushdie's novel as an intolerable insult to Islam. But as charred bits of the book wafted down the steps of the city square, even the most militant leaders of the protest had no clue of the worldwide blaze they had just ignited.

Until that Saturday, Bradford had been best known as the home of the literary sisters Emily and Charlotte Bronte, and as a city that proudly wore its imperious-sounding title of the wool capital of the world. But suddenly, a city happy to build on its faded imperial glory has been hurtled to world fame. Over the last week it has been more than just traders in wool, businessmen and tourists who have been visiting the town. Making the three-hour journey from London has been a steady stream of journalists and TV camera crews from all over the world. The reason: the fury of the city's 60,000 Muslims.

Said Liaqat Hussein, general secretary of the Bradford Council of Mosques which has been spearheading the British movement for the book's withdrawal from circulation: "Equality of justice is our right. We are told that one man has the right to write a book, but no one talks about the rights and sentiments of the thousands of Muslims in Britain."

Demonstrators burning the book in town hall: mob protest

Photographs by ASADOUR GUZELIAN



Charred bits of the book signalled the lighting of a worldwide blaze...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In fact, the situation in the city has threatened to get out of hand. Youths, angered by Rushdie's statement that he should have written "an even more critical book" after Khomeini's 'death sentence', were said to have called for immediate action. But the situation was quickly brought under control by moderate Muslim leaders.

Surprisingly the Muslim ire has met with approval from Hindus and Sikhs. Said Hasmukh Shah, general secretary of the Virat Hindu Sammelan and a participant at a recent emergency all-faith meeting in the city: "We are totally with our Muslim brothers. It's them today, it could be us next. We also expect the majority Christian community to show compassion towards the minority." Shah's views have found the ready support of the Bishop of Bradford, who declared publicly that the book "should never have been written", even while initiating steps to defuse tensions.

But fear is growing in the Tory-administered city of 225,000 people that the damage has already been done. On the night of February 18, hours after angry Muslim youngsters of the city gave emotive support to Khomeini's call in response to leading questions from TV reporters, a group broke into the Council of Mosques and daubed paint on typewriters and desks in a suspected race attack. They left a note that warned: "Leave Rushdie alone." The attack on the council office has meant putting up protection—like alarm systems and huge steel-girded doors.

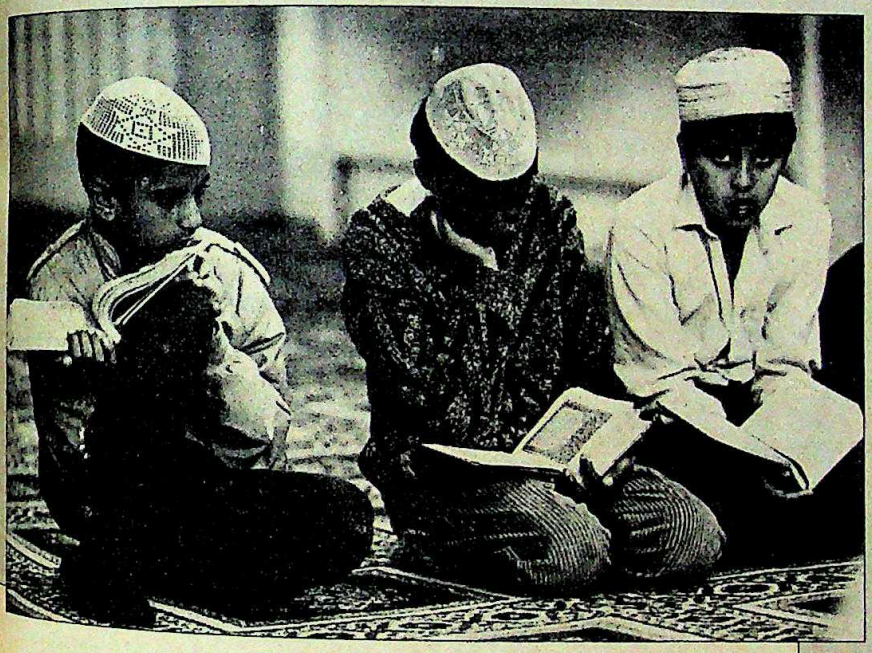
Said Khaliq Kiyani, a race relations officer: "Our religion is not written on our faces. I am not blaming the Muslims but unfortunately the entire episode will be used by right-wing racists to have a go at black people—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs...anybody." Ominous words, but they could be true: Council of Mosques leaders have been getting an increasing amount of racist hate-mail, and on February 22 an arsonist was arrested after trying to fire-bomb the western world's biggest mosque at Regent's Park in London, with a petrol-bomb.

Inspector Roger Holmes, community planning officer for the city, is a worried man. According to him, the Rushdie affair has highlighted more than anything else, an existing gap in understanding between two cultures. Says he: "These are emotive times and people need to measure every word they utter carefully. There has been too much ill-informed comment in the media."

In recent years, the local authorities of Bradford have conceded a number of significant demands of the increasingly vocal and assertive Muslim community. In the most famous case, the community forced the local authorities to serve halal meat to Muslim children in school meals. The council-run catering agency now even uses separate utensils to prepare special lunches for Muslim schoolchildren. Leading the Muslim campaign over the last decade has been Faqir Mohammad, founder-member of the Council of Mosques and secretary of the recently-formed Joint Committee for South Asian Organisations. Says he: "If we had had this joint committee 10 to 15 years ago, they would not have dared to allow the publication of this wretched book. We decided to burn the book only after exhausting other options."

Meanwhile, inside one of Bradford's 37 mosques two groups of children study the Koran. After returning from school in the evenings, it's here that they gather for lessons in Islam. They are encouraged to recite the text aloud by the two young imams instructing them. The girls sit in a separate hall, and it could be a *madrasa* in any town of the subcontinent. But it isn't of course. It's the Shearbridge Road Mosque, on the edge of a tree-lined, cobbled Bradford bylane. As the girls—between five and 13 years—rush through their lessons, Imam Masud Ahmed Qadri, suddenly asks them in Urdu: "Children, have you heard of Salman Rushdie?" They reply in a chorus of affirmation. "So what do you think should be done with him?" he asks. After a minute's pregnant silence, several hands shoot up. "Chop his hands off," replies Safina Khan, 13, in English. "Hang him—he's written wrong things about the Koran," adds Azra Bibi, 12. However extreme that may sound it is nonetheless an indication of how inflamed Muslim passions are. Says Hussein emphatically: "We will not take the law in our hands. But one thing is clear: Rushdie will never lead a normal life, even if the book is withdrawn."

—DIPANKAR DE SARKAR in Bradford



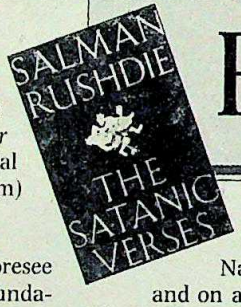
Young Muslims at the Shearbridge Road Mosque: return to roots

"What should be done with Rushdie?" asks an imam in Bradford. "Chop his hands," is the answer.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Wife Marianne (extreme right) with escort: living in fear



For the gregarious Rushdies being forced to go into hiding will be like death.

at the dinner to launch his wife Marianne Wiggin's book *John Dollar* (also Viking and also controversial because it deals with cannibalism) there was little security.

ONE reason Rushdie did not foresee the threats from Islamic fundamentalists is that he was preoccupied and upset by the hostile reviews of his book in the British press. What had brought out the claws of some of the journalists was the unprecedented advance Rushdie had been paid. The literary world also resented the fact that Rushdie had changed his British agent and his publisher. Rushdie's new American agent, Andrew Wylie, had worked out the fabulous deal. Novelist and close friend Angela Carter believes the hostility goes even deeper: "There was a tone of contemptuous sneering. They had restrained envy and contempt for a long time. I think there is a very strong element of racism, this is very similar to the attitude towards the Jews." What the literary establishment could not accept, according to Carter, was Rushdie's new-found role as a public personality, and even a spokesman for the Third World.

Another bitter irony in the present situation stems from the fact that Rushdie, unlike many expatriate writers, did not distance himself from either the Asians in Britain or in the subcontinent. Unlike V.S. Naipaul, he did not go on and on about lavatories in Third World. He appeared time and again on television and with his aggressive articulation attacked racism in England and the Thatcher Government, making himself many enemies, even among the liberals. The hate mail had begun when he started appearing on television—he was even addressed as nigger-lover! It was a no-win situation. Rushdie's friends believe his frequent appearances on television were responsible for alienating him even further. Says Ishiguro, who had seen a lot of the Rushdies in the week before all hell broke loose: "He appeared on television and gave his view on this and that. English people like to meet in little societies on Sunday afternoons and discuss the merits of G.K. Chesterton... thus the literary and cultural backlash, the attacks on his personality disguised as attacks on his book."

The last few weeks before Rushdie went into hiding were indeed quite miserable, according to his friends. At the £20,000 Whitbread award dinner last month, Rushdie who won it for the *Verses*, was waiting for people to pounce on him. Says a friend: "He was so upset by this backlash... once you become a public figure people go into all kinds of areas: marriages, relationships. He was discussed in a vocabulary a cabinet minister or Sean Penn would be."

Some of the reviews were truly vicious. Wrote Philip Howard in *The Times*: "In 1986... Rushdie changed his wife, his publisher and his agent." Howard went on to write, somewhat prophetically: "As usual the book is very long, high-flown, mystical, clever and pretentious ...but it is important as literature and a nuclear bomb politically." Mark Lawson in *The Independent* described Rushdie's divorce as "a classic post-fame alienation from the pre-fame partner".

So keyed up was Rushdie about these attacks that when he was asked about his reaction to the threats from the fundamentalists he said he might be "egocentric" but he was not an "ego maniac" and did not expect thousands to descend onto the streets against him. At that point he was ready to do battle with the British establishment.

The clergymen of Qom were a different matter. And now while he hides some-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MUSLIMS

Wounded Sentiment

HOW much of *The Satanic Verses* has its basis in history? Through most of the book Salman Rushdie treads the ether zone that divides fact from fiction and occasionally intrudes into the realm of sacred history.

Rushdie's defence is that he has not insulted Islam at all—his is only a fictional account. However, Muslims all over the world, and not all of them fanatical, are incensed because the book has liberally borrowed from Islamic traditions and early Islamic history. Remarks noted Islamic scholar, Rafiq Zakaria: "If Rushdie says what he has written is fiction then he is a liar."

The reason why even several moderate Muslims are driven to apoplexy is that Rushdie has hit at the core of Islamic belief that the source of Prophet Mohammed's inspiration was divine. Such a doubt destabilises the edifice on which Islam rests.

The book has sent scholars scurrying to Islamic history books in an attempt to clear the ambiguity about the inspiration for parts of the Koran. Through the ages some Christian authorities have questioned the basis of Islam by pointing to the incident of temporary Satanic inspiration. Says scholar and critic Iqbal Masud: "This ambiguity tempts an artist like Rushdie, who is not a believer to explore where the prophetic inspiration comes from." But then that is precisely the doubt that believing Muslims do not entertain.

But Rushdie who imbibed his knowledge of Islam from impressive scholars like Montgomerry Watt and Maxlin Rodson (a Jew) marshalls his arguments for writing the book with a logic all his own: "I knew of course that the authenticity of the incident of *The Satanic Verses* was contested. But the incident raised many issues that were of great fascination to me, even if it were a complete fabrication." It is because of this he says that he chose to distance the book from history by making it grotesque and disguising it from the original.

And this is exactly what the issue boils down to. Says Syed Shahabuddin, MP: "Behind the Muslim world's protest is the anger at the jeering and mockery of the Islamic world by Salman Rushdie. And this is compounded by his publishers. The Muslim world largely thinks that they are at the receiving end of Western imperialism."

History and tradition are not very clear either about the Koranic inspiration. Pre-Islamic Mecca used to worship 360 goddesses. It was an important city on the trade route. When Mohammad emerged with the message that there was only one God, the Arab chieftains tried to convince him about the divinity of the other goddesses "by giving him lavish gifts but he resisted," as Zeenat Shaukat Ali, professor of Islamic studies at St. Xavier's College, Bombay, explains.

Another school of thought says that the Prophet compromised and accepted three favourite goddesses—Lat, Uzza and Manat—as divine, only to later say that the verses he wrote extolling them were inspired by Satan. He later expunged them and launched diatribes against the three goddesses.

Says Masud: "The central belief is that God recited through Archangel Gabriel the divine verses, revealed to Mohammad and the product was the Koran. An ordinary Muslim finds life meaningless without this."

The author's literary techniques often tend to baffle with hidden allusions and intents.

"Behind our anger is the mockery of Islam by Rushdie."
SYED SHAHABUDDIN

"If Salman Rushdie says what he has written is fiction then he is a liar."
RAFIQ ZAKARIA

"The central belief is that God recited the divine verses through Gabriel."
IQBAL MASUD

For instance there is a character in the book called Salman who serves as the amanuens for the revelations of God related by the Prophet. Not all what the Prophet says is written. And most of what is jotted down has a liberal dose of the scribe's own imagination. The punishment is death. But Mahound spares him. Now reality has come frigteningly close to fiction—or history as some would say.

Other objections to the book centre around earthier issues of profanity. The book has a character called Ayesha—which happens to be the name of the youngest wife of the Prophet—"clad only in butterflies". Gibreel Farishta—revered as Archangel Gabriel—often questions himself using profane language about his status as "God's postman".

Worse still, many Muslims believe that Rushdie refers to the Prophet's wives as prostitutes. Rushdie has his defence. As he said in his famous letter to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi protesting against the ban on his book: "This entire sequence happens in a dream, the fictional dream of a fictional character, an Indian movie star, and one who is losing his mind, at that. How much further from history could one get?"

Much of these issues will be debated for long because of the esoteric handling of such a sensitive theme. And not many of the critics are willing to listen to the author's interpretation of his own work. Wrote poet Nissim Ezekiel who is a Jew: "(For Rushdie) the Prophet is the devil, the law givers are sexual perverts, the Kaba and the Haj are examples of depravity and greed, and the Koran is only a collection of Satanic verses."

Rushdie obviously denies that he is talking about the Prophet at all. Unfortunately for him, however, the argument just does not cut any ice among the believers.

—SALIL TRIPATHI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

where in the country, sending an occasional message through his British agent Gillon Aitken, it is ironically the very establishment which had turned against him that now supports him.

IF the establishment quickly rallied to Rushdie's side his plight had brought opportunity for both left and ultra-right groups to rabble rouse. Labour Party leaders like Michael Foot and Tony Benn were firmly with Rushdie while MP Bernie Grant believed that people like Rushdie who want to change Islam ought to go back to Pakistan. Grant was actually present when the book was burnt at Bradford. The minorities are sensitive vote banks. The furore also was well-timed for the racist National Front which conjured up visions of little Ayatollahs growing up in their England. It was time for closet racists to hit the streets.

Later as US President George Bush himself came out strongly in Rushdie's defence there were indications that this could also provide a new war cry for the American Rambos itching for another showdown with Iran. Diplomatic sources in Washington emphatically say there are influential people in the State Department who think Rushdie could replace Ollie North as the hero of the large and vocal anti-Iran constituency.

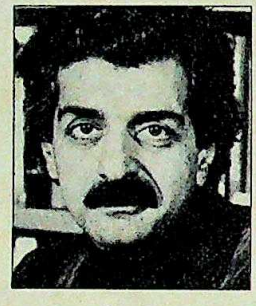
Rushdie then may be getting reduced to a mere pawn, trapped in the pincer of global and religious politics. Nothing illustrated that better than the logical motive driving the Ayatollah's belated outburst, full five months after the publication of the book. After the indecisive, decade-long war of attrition with Iraq leaving over a million dead, Iran, in the 11th year after the Shah's overthrow, is facing the moment of truth: a shattered economy, ravaged cities, a divided clergy. Asks Bombay-based Islamic scholar Asghar Ali Engineer: "The book has been around for a long time. Why was he quiet? There was not a whimper of protest from the Ayatollah when India banned it."

It is also possible that Rushdie's virulent criticism of fundamentalism could have attracted the clergy's attention to his book. In an article in *The Observer* he wrote: "A powerful tribe of clerics have taken over Islam. These are the contemporary Thought Police. They have turned Mohammad into a perfect being, his life into a perfect life..." The "Thought Police" was now striking back.

The widespread demonstrations reassert the Ayatollah's authority, at a time when President Ali Khamenei and the Speaker of the Majlis, Hojatoleslam Ali Rafsanjani have been trying to build bridges with the West to refurbish the economy, and the Ayatollah's chosen successor, Ayatollah Hussain Ali Montazeri, has begun asking uncomfortable questions about the purposeless war with Iraq. Iran's oil

"I see racism (in Rushdie-baiting) similar to the attitude towards the Jews."
ANGELA CARTER
novelist

"I am shocked and ashamed by what my fellow Muslims are saying."
HANIF KUREISHI
playwright



"The spiritual leader of Iran was speaking in the language of a mafia godfather."
TARIQ ALI
author

"Rushdie should do anything possible. I would even grovel before the Ayatollah."
FARROKH DHONDY
author

PRASHANT PANJIAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by [illegible] Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

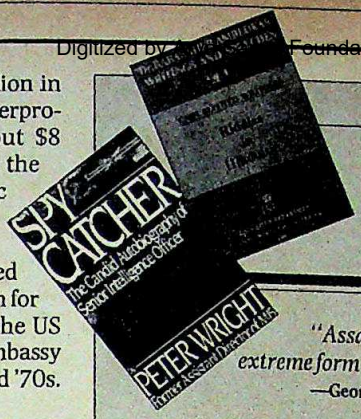
revenues have fallen from $20 billion in 1983, when it defied OPEC and overproduced to finance the war, to about $8 billion this year. With its image as the revolutionary model for the Islamic world slipping, Rushdie emerged as an Allah-sent devil-incarnate. The cost of such militancy—severed relations with the West—is not high for the Ayatollah, who had snubbed the US by holding 52 diplomats and other embassy personnel hostage for 444 days in end '70s.

OUTSIDE Iran the controversy highlighted the fissures in the Islamic world as none of the Arab nations came out in Khomeini's support though they had all banned the book. Even Saudi Arabia kept quiet and Iraq questioned the Ayatollah's motives. "Khomeini seems to think he has some kind of a hotline from above," said Nisar Hamdoon, Iraq's vice-foreign minister on a visit to India last fortnight. "He has always been issuing *fatwas* on our president, our army and our government. By making a fuss Khomeini seems to have served the cause of the book."

As a matter of fact the only countries where the hate-Rushdie campaign seemed to find support were in the subcontinent. That was, however, more because the controversy was well-timed from the viewpoint of the troublemakers' politics. Also, by some twisted logic, the campaign fed on the latent anti-Americanism in the region. In Pakistan, the opposition Islamic Democratic Alliance took to the

Demonstrations in Srinagar (left); and in Teheran: worldwide protest

AP/PTI



Banning Issue

"Assassination is the extreme form of censorship."
—George Bernard Shaw

KHOMEINI is only the latest in a long line of censors world-wide who have tried to snuff out unpalatable ideas—and their authors. The first recorded victim was Socrates who, in B.C. 399, was forced to drink poison for "denying the gods and introducing new divinities". In China, in 213 B.C., Emperor Shih Huang-Ti had all writing not pertaining to agriculture or medicine burnt. His target: Confucius' thoughts. In 8 A.D., the Romans exiled Ovid for *The Art of Love*, regarded as erotic.

In relatively modern times, the most celebrated case is that of Galilei Galileo. He was forced to publicly recant his view that the earth moved round the sun. In Italy, the Dominican monk Savonarola's ravings resulted in countless books being burnt.

The Inquisition burnt books which went against the Catholic grain. Among them were the Jewish Talmud and the Torah. The Jewish rabbi, Joseph Akiba, was burnt with a copy of the Torah. The Church has also at various times banned the writings of Hobbes, Rousseau, Zola, Dumas, Voltaire and Anatole France.

In Britain, the muzzling of opinion led John Milton to write *Areopagitica*. Elizabethan England often forced writers to retract their views, amputating hands on occasion. And in recent times, James Joyce's *Ulysses* and D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* suffered bans. The last attempt by the British Government to ban a book was Peter Wright's *Spycatcher*.

In France, famous writers like Voltaire and Victor Hugo were exiled. Nazi Germany burnt the books of Jewish authors and liberals, exterminating thousands in their notorious gas chambers and forcing others to flee.

Still, during this century, it is the communists who have most systematically censored books and hounded their authors. Writers in every communist country—from East Germany to Vietnam—have been forced into concentration camps. Boris Pasternak, Joseph Brodsky, Milan Kundera, Czeslaw Milosz and Alexander Solzhenitsyn are just a few. China is still to recover from the persecution of intellectuals during the Cultural Revolution in the '60s. The Soviet Union under Gorbachev's *glasnost* is just beginning to enjoy the freedom the West has long taken for granted.

But even in the US, Christian fundamentalists have burnt books by Henry Miller, J.D. Salinger, Jack Kerouac and Kurt Vonnegut. Charles Darwin too has not escaped their wrath.

Bans have been common in India too. Before Independence, Katherine Mayo's *Mother India* (described by Gandhiji as a gutter inspector's report), Aubrey Menen's *Rama Retold*, Arthur Mile's *Lord of the Lingam*, Robert Taylor's *What Religion has done to Mankind*, and Alexander Campbell's *The Heart of India* were banned. In 1956, the Government framed rules which gave it sweeping censorship powers. Among the books to fall victim were Stanley Wolpert's *Nine Hours to Rama*, Alfred Le Ray's *The Evolution of British Empire and Commonwealth from the American Revolution*, Grevulle Wynne's *Man from Moscow*, and Desmond Stewart's *Early Islam*. During the Emergency, Michael Edwardes' *Nehru* was banned. Minister of State for Home P. Chidambaram, answering a question about the necessity for banning a book, stated in the Lok Sabha that if the reason for the ban was divulged, national security would be threatened. Last year, in Maharashtra, the Shiv Sena and the Maratha Mahasangh agitated for a ban on Ambedkar's book *Riddles of Hinduism*, published by the state Government. In Pakistan, bans have been the norm.

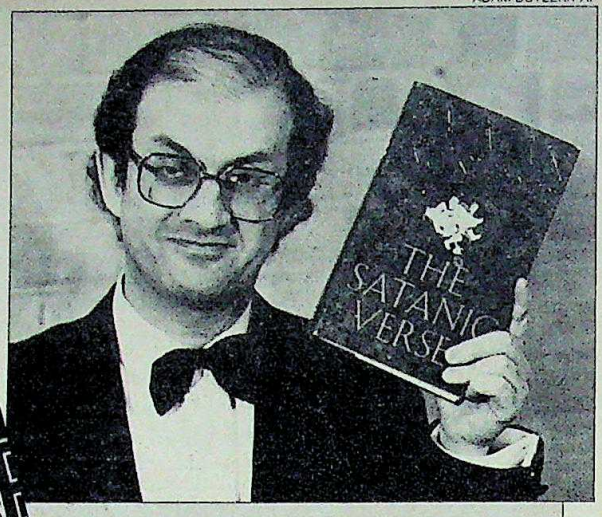
The current campaign against Salman Rushdie began with a call to burn copies of *The Satanic Verses*. The death threat came later. One is reminded of the words of the 19th century poet Heinrich Heine: "Whenever books are burnt, men also, in the end, are burnt."

—SALIL TRIPATHI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

streets leading up to the American Center in Islamabad just when Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was on her first official visit to Beijing. The police firing left five people dead and immediately the Opposition set up a 13-member action committee to orchestrate the campaign against the "blasphemous book". Benazir's supporters saw motives in this. "Kausar Niazi, who led the demonstration, was called Maulana Whiskey



ADAM BUTLER/PAP

The threat assures Rushdie a place in literary history.

by Bhutto in the '70s," chuckled Tariq Ali. "He was either drunk or surrounded by dancing girls and now he is masquerading as the guardian of Islam." Benazir argued that *The Satanic Verses* had not been "sold, printed, translated or distributed in Pakistan". For once, however, she was forced on to the defensive.

In India too fundamentalists came to the fore. Even a moderate like Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah was forced into extreme postures: "The book is a product of the mischievous and lunatic brain of Rushdie. All its copies should be consigned to flames." With the sub-continent's history of sectarian violence, the Rushdie affair could spark off yet another religious conflagration. Last week, addressing a large Friday prayer congregation, the Shahi Imam reiterated his support for Khomeini's death sentence against "Shaitan" Rushdie. "For the whole of humanity," he thundered, "this is a storm, an earthquake that will not end." Immediately after, the 2000-strong congregation marched through the streets of the capital and burnt effigies of Rushdie.

Elsewhere, though Indian Muslim leaders refrained from supporting Khomeini's threat, Rushdie was roundly condemned. "Without endorsing Khomeini's *fatwa*, I would add that the punishment for apostasy according to Islamic laws is death," said Janata Party's Syed Shahabuddin. Some counselled restraint. Said National Conference MP Saifuddin Soz: "If Khomeini was outraged at what he thinks is a bad pamphlet, he should have answered with another pamphlet."

There was also feverish debate on the religious justification behind the "punishment" and the *fatwa*. Asked noted Islamic scholar Rafiq Zakaria: "Here is a Prophet who moves a billion people in the world: can his character assassination be brushed aside?" Yet, Zakaria said the *fatwa* was "totally illegal" under Islamic law. Others too questioned the theory that the punishment for apostasy was death. Significantly, the Al Azhar Seminary of Cairo has not passed any decree on the *Verses*.

On yet another plane the debate was ideological, as the Iranian supporters made it a West versus the Third World issue. Even Bani Sadr, the former Iranian prime minister now exiled in Paris told INDIA TODAY: "One has to be equally severe with Khomeini's fanaticism and the attitudes in the West. I did not hear one minister, apart from (French) Prime Minister Rocard, talk about the insults contained in Rushdie's book. This is also fanaticism."

Others termed the western outrage as hypocrisy. Javid Ghorbanoghli, the Iranian Charge d'Affaires in Delhi argued: "While the West is defending one individual, the Imam is defending the rights of one billion Muslims." Some in Pakistan asked why there was no uproar when in 1960 Israeli agents kidnapped Adolph Eichmann, a former Nazi "war criminal" living in Argentina and executed him. Or when the French sank the Rainbow Warrior, the peaceniks' ship interfering with their nuclear tests in the South Pacific. From a Muslim viewpoint, said an Islamabad scribe, Rushdie writing the *Verses* is like a Jew trying to justify the holocaust.

As the fortnight came to a close, there was no end to the Rushdie saga. Strange indeed that the man who stalked the subcontinent in his first two novels, *Midnight's Children* and *Shame*, to "reclaim" his heritage, as he so often used to say, should now have no place to go. (The reclamation of Bombay was the springboard for his rich metaphor.)

Rushdie and his wife, Marianne, are among the most heavily guarded people in London today. Their friends, however, fear that it will be a long time before they will be able to resurface. Some even feel that Rushdie ought to disappear. Tariq Ali suggested: "He should get plastic surgery done and disappear in Latin America."

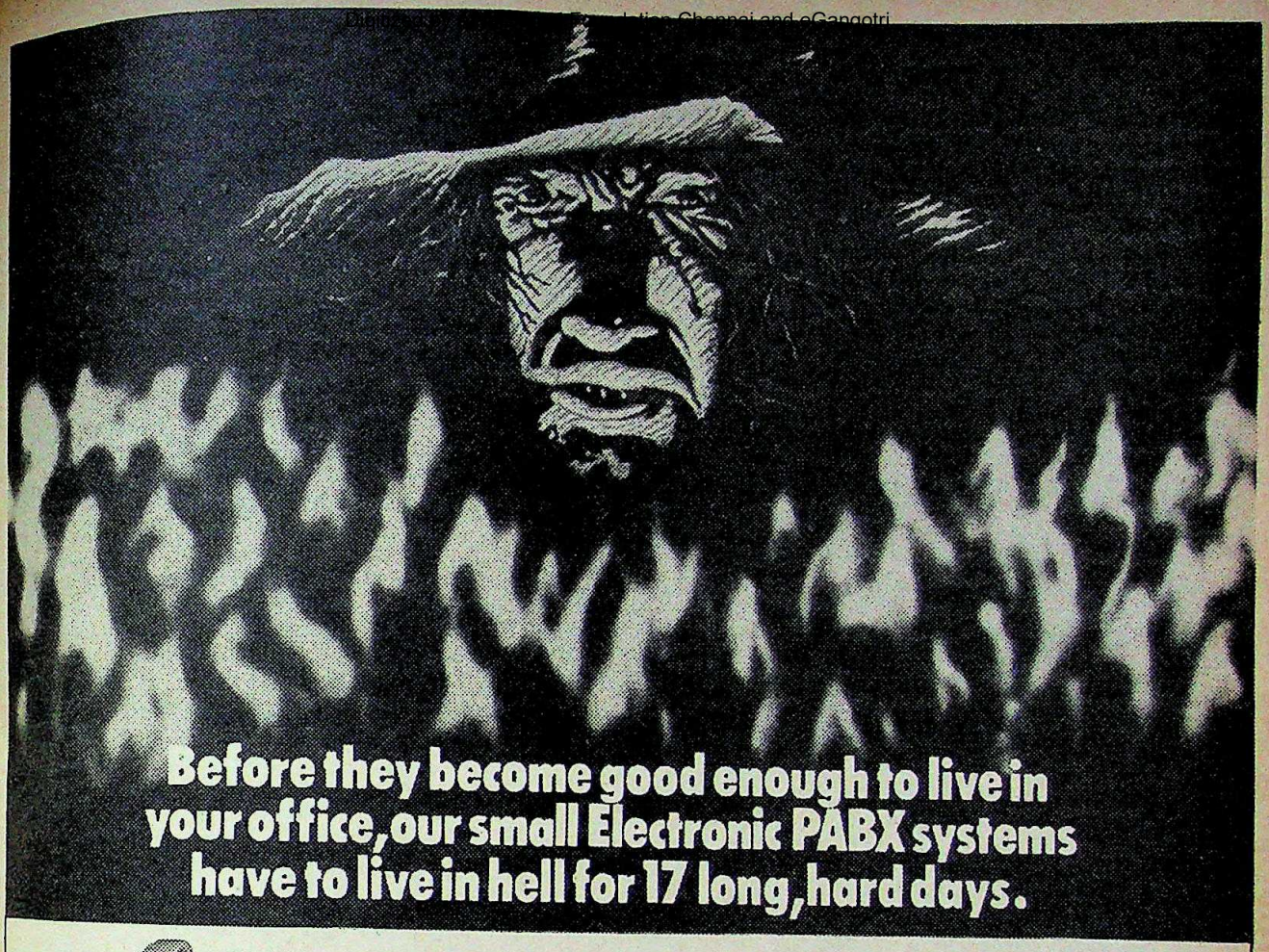
For Rushdie, who is so gregarious and loves the social whirl of the literary world, life as a recluse or the assumption of another identity would be like death. Or at best imprisonment for life, possibly compounded by exile. In a message, his first since he went into hiding, to Blake Morrison, literary editor of *The Observer*, Rushdie said he was "holding up well, using Philip Roth's vilifications by angry Jews when he published *Portnoy's Complaint* to cope with my own persecution". Said Morrison: "He did not sound terminally depressed."

Khomeini's threat has assured Rushdie what his books might not have—a permanent place in literary history. And the threat grows more real and palpable as the fundamentalists retreat into themselves further and harden their position. Rushdie's words in *Midnight's Children* seem chillingly prophetic: "I had been mysteriously handcuffed in history."

—MADHU JAIN with DIPANKAR DE SARKAR in London, SALIL TRIPATHI in Bombay, VIBHUTI PATEL in New York, MUSHAHID HUSSAIN in Islamabad, SPUTNIK KILAMBI in Paris, ZAFAR MERAJ in Srinagar and PANKAJ PACHAURI in New Delhi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Before they become good enough to live in your office, our small Electronic PABX systems have to live in hell for 17 long, hard days.

The BPL P-Series. A small EPABX that will work. Through thick and thin.

Our **17-day 'hurt programme'** sees to that. 7 days at 125°c for components. Next, (for the survivors), 3 days at 70°c in the sub-assembly stage; and then, double-checked by an In-Circuit Component Tester. And finally, 7 days at 50°c for fully activated finished products. To ensure that only products that live the longest reach you.

The result: total reliability. And India's largest installed base of electronic exchanges.

The BPL 2700 Push Button Telephone. Totally compatible because it is a product of the same tough discipline that our EPABXs undergo.

A model that's tested for endurance: even the cord and handset are tested for 100,000 operations. And which comes with features like Auto Gain Control. And Auto Re-dial up to 23 digits. Plus, TRC-approval for interface with P&T network.

The P-Series comes in 3 models—from 5-57 lines. One is bound to suit you.

BPL-INDIA

In pursuit of perfection

CENTRAL MARKETING ORGANISATION

BPL Centre, 14, Church Street, Bangalore 560 001. Phones: 572321/2/6/575217, Telex: 0845-2511, Cable: PHISILAB

SALES OFFICES: **BANGALORE** Phones: 561598/574787, Telex: 0845-2511. **BHOPAL** Phone: 61046 **BOMBAY** Phones: 4925398/4925361/4922918/4922933/4938704/4938392, Telex: 011-73789. **CALCUTTA** Phones: 431658/448566, Telex: 021-2390. **COCHIN** Phone: 361506. **COIMBATORE** Phone: 31052. **HYDERABAD** Phone: 231091, Telex: 0425-6064. **MADRAS** Phones: 471378/ 479420/474309, Telex: 041-6507. **NEW DELHI** Phones: 6431886/6433689/6433865, Telex: 031-2692. **PALGHAT** Phones: 3241/2, Telex: 0852-213.

everest/S89/231

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R.K. DHAWAN

Return of the Faithful

Dhawan's comeback signals Rajiv Gandhi's return to his mother's style of functioning. Along with administrative changes it signifies a last-ditch effort by Rajiv Gandhi to revamp his image and woo party loyalists.

THE old days may not be here again. Not even the happy days. But in essence, the return of R.K. Dhawan as officer on special duty to the prime minister is a conscious attempt by Rajiv Gandhi to usher in a new political lifestyle, a method of governance infused with a more earthy bonhomie and more accessibility. And with an accent on absolute loyalty, Dhawan's appointment is intended to give the rank-and-file Congressman a sense of belonging and provide the party more effective political management. Dhawan, as Indira Gandhi's personal lieutenant, had symbolised all these attributes. His return is a last-ditch effort by Rajiv to try and pull his image out of a slump as well as to re-identify himself with the party mainstream and block what is fast turning into runaway alienation.

Dhawan's significant comeback last fortnight has occurred with the push of a political panic button in the wake of the near revolt in the party in various states. The wheel has come full circle. Having experimented with several styles of political and bureaucratic management, the prime minister, barely nine months away from the general elections, has settled for the hauntingly familiar.

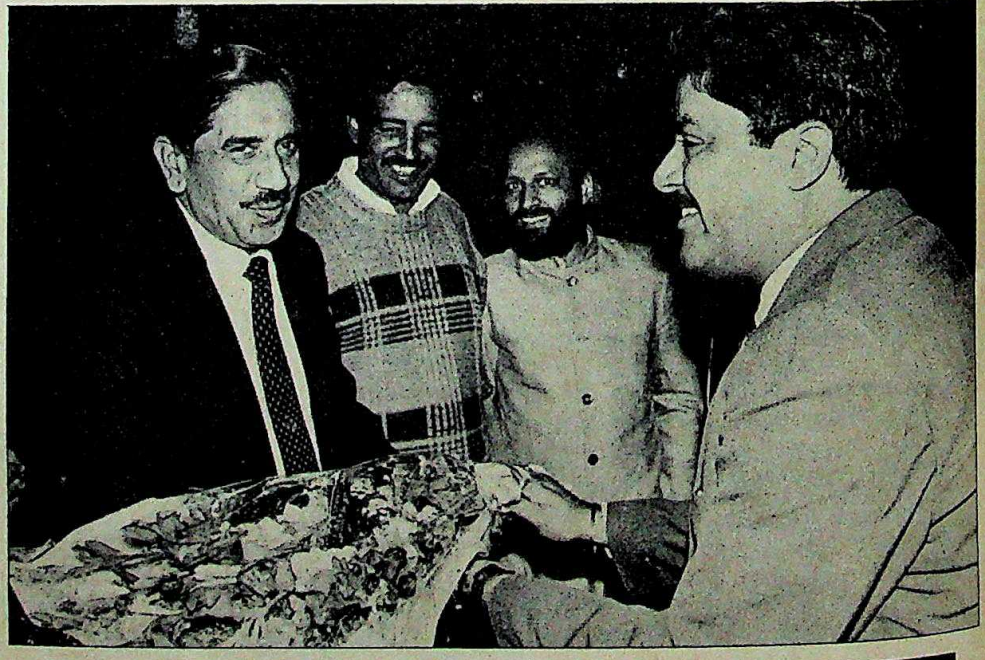
Following his dismissal by Rajiv Gandhi a few hours after he was sworn in as prime minister, Dhawan became a political leper. The Thakkar-Natarajan Commission investigating the murder of Mrs Gandhi hounded him with lie detector tests. But worse, those who had professed to be his friends, people like Jagannath Mishra, Gundu Rao, Madhavsinh Solanki, Bhisham Narain Singh, Arun Nehru and Giani Zail Singh, deserted him completely. And the irony is that some of these very people were to later become a threat to Rajiv, rather than Dhawan, the first man to be politically guillotined.

Just as Dhawan's return signals a back-to-basics approach and the wooing of Indira loyalists, his removal too had heralded a new style of governance, of ridding the party of fixers and deal-makers and backroom bargain hunters. The breed of managers from within the bureaucracy and political circles who had replaced him, showed a preppie standoffishness and disdain for the likes of Dhawan, dismissing him as an oily-haired Punjabi babu. It was a total rejection of the Indira era. And even though Rajiv's speeches were laced with paeans of praise for his mother, the message was clear: he would be his own man with a high efficiency and public relations-oriented team and the old guard, whether Indira-loyalist or not, could just about lump it.

So Rajiv had indicated in his speech at the Congress(I) centenary in Bombay on December 28, 1985: "Instead of a party that fired the imagination of the masses, we have shrunk, losing touch with the toiling millions. Ordinary Congress workers are handicapped, for on their backs ride the brokers of power and influence who dispense patronage to convert a mass movement into a feudal oligarchy."

This was in essence the battle cry that raised the hackles of the old guard within the party resulting in the first stirring of revolt led by Kamalapati Tripathi and Pranab Mukherjee. But in the irony-filled

PRASHANT PANJIAR



His rehabilitation has been welcomed as an attempt to provide grassroots Congressmen accessibility to the top.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tale of Rajiv's years in office, the so-called modern-management extra-party efforts to deal with crises did not work. As the problems grew increasingly insuperable, Rajiv was forced to try and solve them not in Rajivist style but in the Indira mode. He took a page straight out of her political book when the Fairfax controversy first broke. He condemned it as an attempt at "destabilisation" by imperialist forces and made a brazen pitch to the leftist parties for support. When he split with V.P. Singh and the Bofors scandal exploded, Rajiv resorted to another timeworn tactic—a show of ruthlessness in the way he expelled V.P. Singh and Arun Nehru. But the old magic still did not seem to work.

Today, with the party's worst crisis since 1967 looming over it and Congressmen having become increasingly rebellious, Rajiv has reached for not just another page out of Mrs Gandhi's book but for Mrs Gandhi's style of political functioning itself. The return of Dhawan dramatically symbolised this.

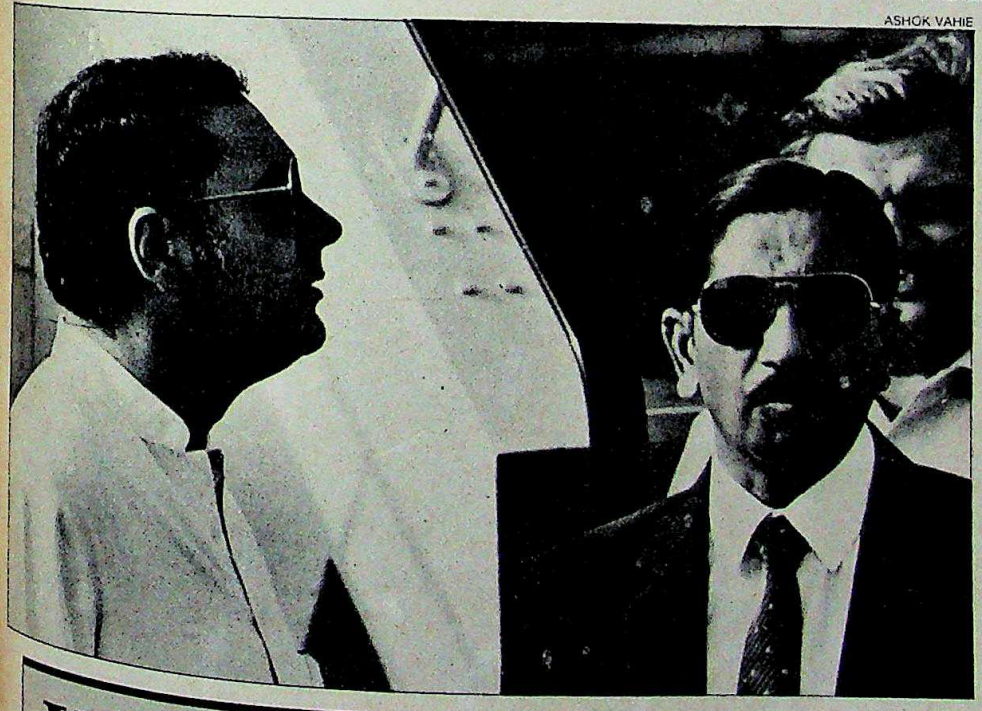
In his return is the implicit admission that the Rajivists were really novices. Good looking. Well-intentioned. Khadi-shawled. Gucci-shoed. Dark-goggled. But as a senior Congressman noted: "They were excellent exterior decorators while the inside was crumbling. These people just could not identify themselves with the party and its lower middle-class culture. In their preference for air-conditioned halls and computer printouts instead of *durries* and *shamianas*, they just could not identify with the average Congressman."

And the new image took a battering all along. Mrs Gandhi was able to take political credit for even controversial moves such as bank nationalisation. Her failures always had scapegoats—D.P. Dhar for the disastrous nationalisation of the grain trade; H.N. Bahuguna for communal riots in Uttar Pradesh, and even V.C. Shukla and S.S. Ray for the Emergency. "But in Rajiv's case," says a senior bureaucrat in the Cabinet Secretariat, "there has simply not been a team of effective buffers."

THE initial buffers, or shock absorbers as they were called, who replaced Dhawan were Arun Singh and Arun Nehru. In the short term, in concert with V.P. Singh, Arjun Singh and parliamentary secretaries like Ahmed Patel, they were able to give the party and bureaucracy collective guidance and shield Rajiv from the direct heat of controversies. But with the dismantling of the team, Rajiv has virtually been without effective political managers for the last two years. He has had to rely either on friends or on AICC(I) general secretaries Ghulam Nabi Azad and Oscar Fernandes, or on trouble-shooters from within the Cabinet—people like Buta Singh, M.L. Fotedar and P. Chidambaram. But none of them has a political base of his own. Besides, they are accused of groupism and are often responsible for the very crises they were supposed to solve, be it the debacle in Tamil Nadu or the open revolts that broke out in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan.

Whether Dhawan could have solved these problems had he been by Rajiv's side is impossible to say. But people close to the prime minister believe that with Dhawan the crises may have been avoided. In politics, style is often more important than substance. And Dhawan's style was one of deflecting crises by intense interaction with the main players. He was always approachable and made sure Mrs Gandhi met all partymen who wanted to see her, if even for a minute. "Very often, all a Congressman needs is the psychological satisfaction of simply being heard by his leader, and he goes back a happy man," says a party general secretary.

Dhawan was on a first-name basis with cabinet ministers and powerful—and potentially troublesome—politicians like Chenna Reddy, Bhajan Lal, Bansi Lal, A.P. Sharma, Ram Lal and Pranab Mukherjee who were often described as "Dhawan's lobby". He hugged them, held their hands, called them "dear", called them up on their birthdays and sent gifts to their children. Says a senior Congress MP from Bombay who worked with Dhawan for over 15 years: "No one could play around with him because they knew of his unswerving loyalty. He communicated the prime minister's authority with vigour but humility. He was powerful but never behaved as if he was throwing his weight around for himself."



ASHOK VAHIE

Having been four years in the wilderness doubts persist whether Dhawan can get a grasp on the system.

Says Dhawan: "There is nothing complicated about what I did. I never had nor have any political ambitions, except for a passion, a *junoon* for this family. It was my first duty to ensure that nothing unfavourable stuck directly to the prime minister. Also, when I called someone for work I religiously made sure never to use the prime minister's name. And whatever I heard, I conveyed directly to the prime minister."

Mrs Gandhi's regime was not without dissidence. But

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the difference was that dissidence against chief ministers and party bosses was never allowed to be turned against the prime minister. And Dhawan could handle some of the toughest political assignments with dexterity. In 1980 he was able to facilitate the installation of Gundu Rao as chief minister in Karnataka, in the face of stiff opposition from Devraj Urs, within a week of Mrs Gandhi's return to power. When Mrs Gandhi and Sanjay wanted A.R. Antulay as chief minister of Maharashtra, they chose Dhawan as their pointman for handling the task after Central emissaries failed in the mission due to opposition from Ramrao Adik. And later it was Dhawan who persuaded Jagannath Mishra, the dissident with the greatest power for disruption, to resign as chief minister of Bihar in 1983 without a fuss.

Dhawan's supporters claim that he combines in himself the rare quality of being not just a political fixer but a bureaucratic manager as well. He had an uncanny ability to influence the appointment of bureaucrats favoured by the prime minister—often in the face of lobbying by powerful politicians—who would be obliging: P.S. Bhinder as Delhi's police commissioner; Jagmohan as Lt-governor of Delhi; P.C. Luther as chairman of the State Trading Corporation; Raghu Raj as chairman of Air-India; Baljit Kapur as chief of Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd; S.P. Wahi as head of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission. And the officials who were appointed recognised—through Dhawan—no other political lobby within the party except the prime minister. "When he called them for some work," recalls a retired IAS officer, "they jumped. There was no question of foot-dragging."

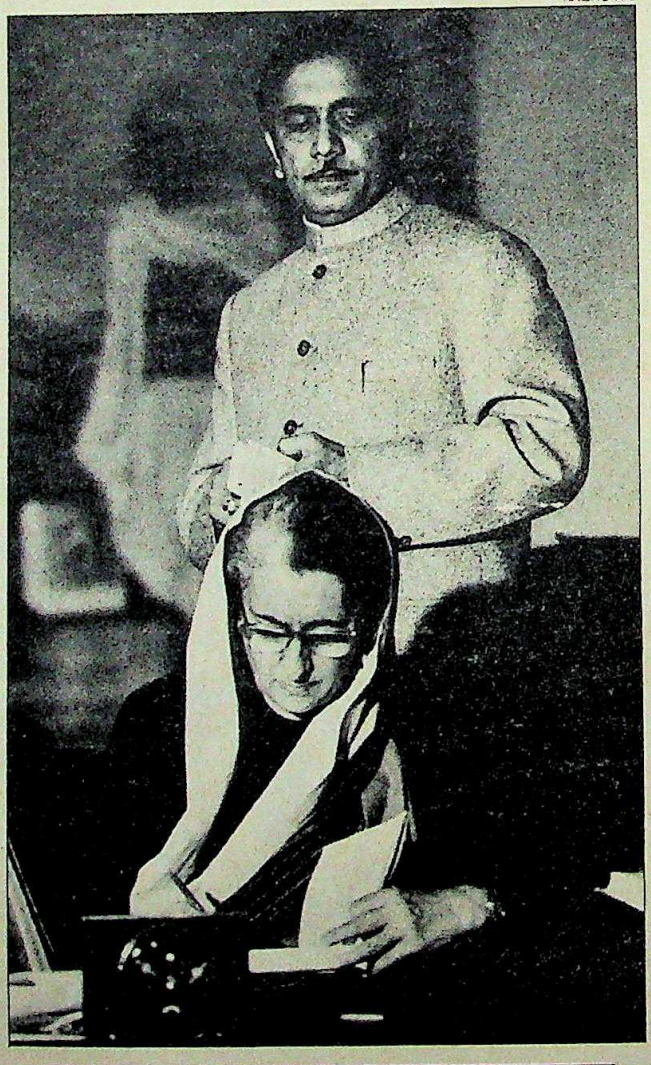
Perhaps the key to Dhawan's success—which is being eulogised belatedly—was his deep understanding of the nexus between politicians, bureaucrats and industrialists that runs the nation. Dhawan exploited it brazenly for the benefit of Mrs Gandhi and ensured that whenever countervailing power-centres emerged they would be crushed swiftly. Because of his 18 years in the business, he was a storehouse of knowledge on the activities of leading players in all three areas and studiously kept dossiers on them. He readily admits: "Whenever someone comes to see me or speaks about someone else, I can tell the motivation and what the person is trying to gain because I have watched them for so long. I know their strengths and weaknesses."

DHAWAN was not above doing favours for friendly industrialists like Swraj Paul, R.P. Goenka—whom he helped with his expansion plans—and Dhirubhai Ambani. Yet, they were never associated with Mrs Gandhi on a personal basis as some industrialists are with Rajiv.

The party remembers Dhawan as a political gatekeeper who, no matter what the failures of his prime minister, was able to deflect them from tarnishing her directly. He created a psychological ambience of openness and access through his rugged grassroots charm and low-key manipulative abilities. His loyalty was his greatest strength. Says Uma Kant Mishra, a Congress MP from Mirzapur: "With him we have a sense of belonging again. We always felt that when we met Dhawan Saheb it was as good as meeting Indiraji."

In his new avatar, even though he reports directly to the prime minister, his precise duties are not yet defined. But that Dhawan will sooner or later be playing his old role in some fashion is obvious. He has not stopped receiving letters and telegrams from partymen and ministers since the announcement of his appointment. The phone rings every minute as industrialists, chief ministers and even senior bureaucrats call to congratulate him and tell him that for once Rajiv has taken the right step.

RAGHU RAI



After 18 years with Mrs Gandhi he is a fund of political knowledge.

But the hopes they are pinning on him could well be in vain. 1989 is not 1983 or even 1984. The party has changed and new power centres, though not yet openly challenging Rajiv, have begun to emerge. And the prime minister's advisers have for too long become used to behaving like crabs at the bottom of a barrel—pulling each other down. The party is no longer Mrs Gandhi's, the bureaucracy is still largely hostile to Rajiv, and the groupings of industrialists wielding power within the Government have changed. And most of all, Dhawan, who has been out for four years, may well find things completely out of his own grasp.

Says Dhawan: "I am an optimist. This party and this prime minister are the only hope. I have been rewarded for my loyalty and my loyalty will show results." The only thing certain is that after four years of searching, Rajiv has finally found a grassroots loyalist ready to sink or swim with him. He was responsible for the political execution of Dhawan. And now, the condemned man is being resurrected as the saviour of his own executioner.

—INDERJIT BADHWAR and PRABHU CHAWLA

 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ADMINISTRATION

New Movers and Shakers

THE changes in the top rungs of the bureaucracy and governorships were as sudden as they were decisive. And the Prime Minister's Office made it clear that the reshuffle was not a routine exercise but part of a carefully conceived design to streamline the Rajiv Gandhi administration and give it a more focused thrust and seriousness of purpose. Last fortnight's changes, therefore, rang with political urgency.

As Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi appointed three new governors, transferred two and chose new incumbents for the Cabinet Secretariat and for sensitive departments, the word was out that a significant team-building exercise was afoot. And with more changes expected it was clear that Rajiv was trying to put together a winning combination of movers and shakers so necessary for the politically turbulent nine months ahead.

The new moves were also a recognition of civil servants and senior officials who have proved their unswerving commitment to the prime minister and of those who have shown themselves to be effective administrators.

Perhaps the most significant change was the transfer of Gopi Krishna Arora from the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to the Ministry of Finance. Even when he was at the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, Arora was asked to perform special assignments. His move to finance is to give him a politically sensitive job for which he has the flair.

The man who replaces Arora—P. Murari—is known for his persuasive and intellectual powers. Along with Suman Dubey, he will be expected to counter and woo the print media.

T.N. Seshan, the portly defence secretary shifted to the Cabinet Secretariat as officer on special duty, will also command attention. He is expected to become cabinet secretary when B.G. Deshmukh retires in a few months time.

The appointment of the low profile Naresh Chandra as secretary, defence, is perhaps an indication that the Government intends to keep a non controversial man in a sensitive post.

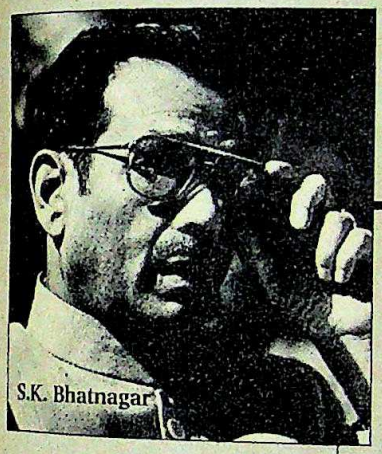
But if these appointments evoked no sharp reactions, the changes in the governorships did. The appointment of Sarla Grewal as Madhya Pradesh's governor and of S.K. Bhatnagar as Sikkim's was seen to indicate that the Government continues to reward pliant officials with plum posts. Of the 18 governors in the country now, five are from the IAS and two from the police.

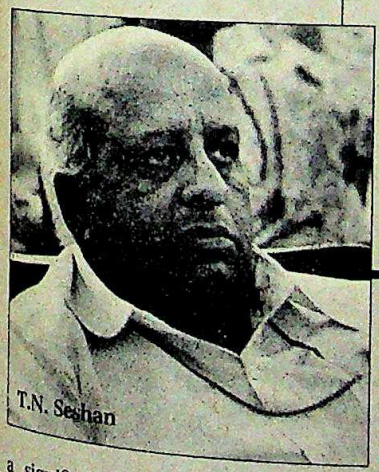
And the appointment of T.V. Rajeshwar (former chief of the Intelligence Bureau) as governor of West Bengal shows that opposition complaints about partisan governors do not trouble the Centre. Earlier, H.A. Barari (also a former intelligence chief) was appointed governor of Haryana and a retired election commissioner—R.K. Trivedi—governor of Gujarat.

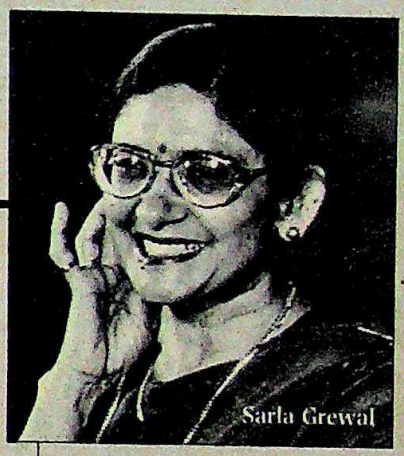
Loyal civil servants were not the only ones rewarded. Jagannath Pahadia, AICC(I) general secretary was appointed governor of Bihar. At a farewell function he gratefully said, looking at the prime minister: "I swear I will have the same commitment to you as I had to Nehru and Indira Gandhi."

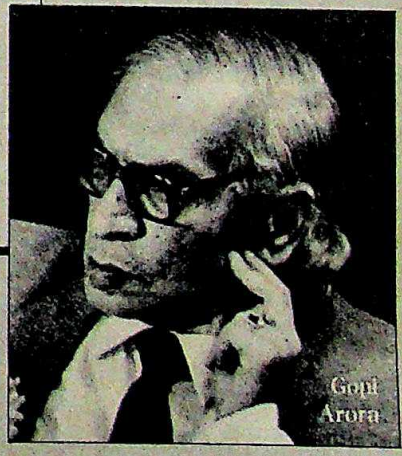
With loyal and trusted men manning key states and departments, Rajiv succeeded in conveying the impression that he is all set to correct the drift in the administration and the party. Yet even those most supportive of him had an unspoken fear: that these changes, like others before, would run aground.

—PRABHU CHAWLA


S.K. Bhatnagar


T.N. Seshan


Sarla Grewal


Gopi Arora

The changes are seen as an earnest attempt to put the best and the brightest into the right slots. They are also designed to reward those who have served Rajiv Gandhi loyally.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UNI

(From left) UCC lawyers Nariman, Krohley, Dadachanji with Attorney-General Parasaran at Supreme Court

UNION CARBIDE CASE

Unsettling Verdict

The Rs 715-crore settlement has been seen as a victory for the multinational and has caused angry reactions.

FEBRUARY 14 is observed as Valentine's day in the US, a day of gifts and greetings. That fact could not have been lost on William Krohley, 45, the American lawyer representing Union Carbide Corporation (UCC), as he walked into the Supreme Court at New Delhi that morning, for another day's hearings on the question of the company's liability for its Indian subsidiary's actions.

There was a spring in Krohley's step: did he sense that before the day was out he would be in a position to send a jubilant Valentine's greeting to his principals in Danbury, Connecticut? His hunch proved right. Around 2.20 that afternoon, Chief Justice R.S. Pathak abruptly interrupted the arguments to announce an order asking UCC to pay $470 million (approx. Rs 715 crore) to the Indian Government by way of compensation for the victims of the December 1984 Bhopal gas leak disaster. UCC's chief Indian lawyer Fali Nariman cast a quizzical look over his shoulder at Krohley, who nodded, and Nariman announced his acceptance. The Attorney-General of India, K. Parasaran, did likewise. The formalities over, Krohley rushed back to the Oberoi hotel to phone the good news to his clients back home in the US.

Good news? Does a court order asking a company to pay a whopping compensation of $470 million amount to good news? Yes, if you are a multinational being sued for damages exceeding $3 billion, if you have a court injunction enjoining over about half your assets, and a potentially panicky bunch of stockholders waiting to sell depressed shares. More so if you are absolved of criminal and civil liability for the death of over 3,400 people and injuries to thousands of others.

In the next few days two things made it clear why the Supreme Court order was really good news for UCC. There was jubilation not only in Danbury, which houses the corporate headquarters of the multinational, but also on Wall Street where UCC shares gained $2 almost overnight. "A few hundred bottles of champagne must have popped around the world," said D.S. Sastri, the Washington-based Indian lawyer, who was Krohley's

GAS VICTIMS

The Horror Continues

DEATH is a daily visitor in the methyl iso-cyanate (MIC) ward of Bhopal's Hamidia Hospital. On February 19, it claimed Ashiq Ali, 60. The autopsy report specified the havoc wrought by the gas on Ali's frail frame: multiple organ damage, liver enlargement, and pulmonary oedema (flooding of lungs).

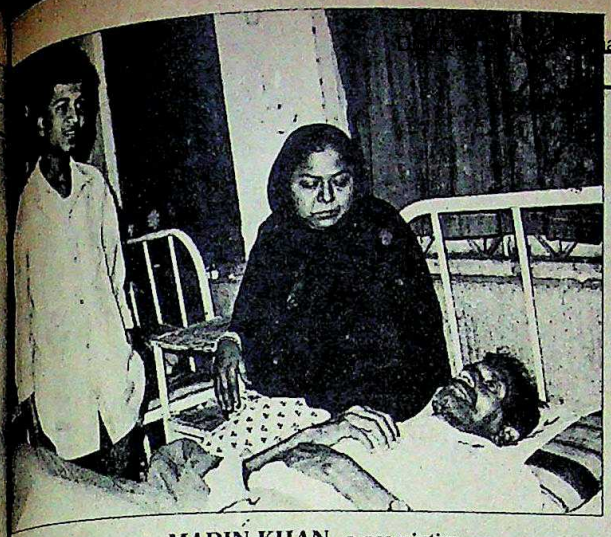
The next day yet another gas victim gasped to death in the same ward. Munir Khan was 75. His 55-year-old son Madin Khan lies incapacitated on the adjoining bed. Till date the Bhopal gas disaster, as it has come to be known, continues to claim a victim a day, the casualty figure mounting with metronomic regularity. Last fortnight it had risen to 3,403. The gas leak is not just a painful memory. It is a horrible reality the gas affected people are living through even today.

Ashiq Ali, for example, never really recovered from his encounter with MIC. He was admitted to hospital several times and finally, no longer able to work, he quit his modestly-paid job in the local *madrasa* (school). "We spent a fortune on medicines but it was useless," says his son, Mohammed Shahid, a truck driver. Apart from the dead, thousands have become living corpses—like Madin Khan—condemned to a slow, painful death. "I too have been ill since the leak. The problem for us is not medicine but food," says Madin.

According to official estimates about 25,000 persons have been seriously incapacitated by the effects of the gas. These people, surprisingly, are the ones who support the settlement. Kailash Pawar, 27, is lucky to be alive after being taken for dead and carted away in a truck full of corpses. Unemployment, four years of hospitalisation and the accumulated medical expenses have driven his family to starvation. For many like him, the final compensation may be below expectations, "but at least there is some hope we will get the money". This hope moves in Jahir Khan too—waiting at the morgue for his father Munir Khan's body—but is tinged with apprehension. "Every single member of our family has been affected. They say the gas will affect future generations too. Who will be held liable for that?" he asks.

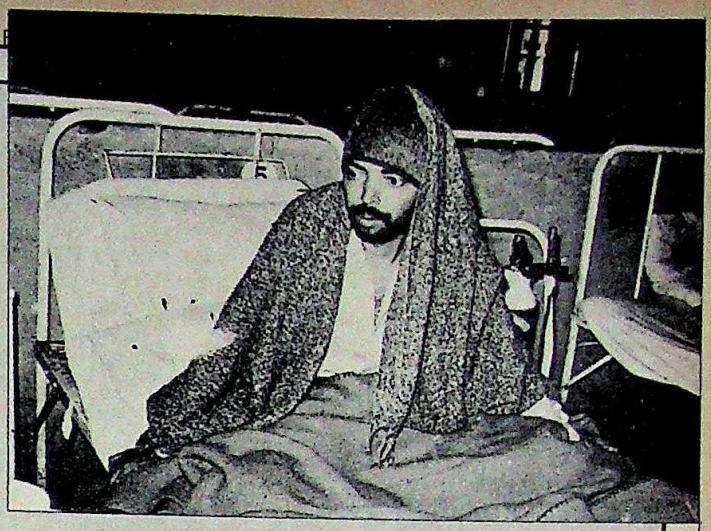
Similar doubts assail activists like

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



MADIN KHAN, *a gas victim*

"I HAVE BEEN ILL SINCE THE LEAK. THE PROBLEM FOR US IS NOT MEDICINE BUT FOOD."



KAILASH PAWAR, *a gas victim*

"THE COMPENSATION MAY BE LOW BUT AT LEAST THERE IS HOPE WE WILL GET SOME MONEY."

Abdul Jabbar Khan of Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan. "We'll file 10,000 individual applications before the Supreme Court seeking a review of the decision," he says. "The amount isn't even adequate to provide long-term medical relief to the victims," says Alok Pratap Singh, leader of the Zahrili Gas Kaand Sangharsh Morcha. Others term it "a pittance". The Government, they say, usurped the rights of the victims to sue UCC and then betrayed them by accepting one-sixth of the compensation it had claimed.

How much money will the victims get? No one has an answer to that question. Bhopal's population at the time of the leak was 6.80 lakh. Of these, 5.92 lakh have claimed damages for personal injuries. Obviously, almost everyone in the town filed claims, including senior bureaucrats and people living in areas unaffected by the gas.

Of the 5.92 lakh claimants, about 3.15 lakh have already been medically examined. State authorities reckon that the number of claimants will probably be whittled down to one lakh once medical documentation is complete. If the Rs 715 crore is to be distributed among the 3,403 death cases, 25,000 serious injury cases and 80,000 others, the amount seems to be sufficient. But there are other claimants too. The Bhopal Gas Leak Disaster (Processing of Claims) Act, 1985, provides for payments to meet:

- claims of the Government, local authorities and institutions for expenses incurred in relief and rehabilitation,
- expenses incurred by the Government to cope with the disaster,
- loss of revenue to the Government,
- injuries that are likely to be suffered on account of the leak.

The Government has so far spent about Rs 100 crore on relief and rehabilitation. This could well be deducted from the compensation amount. The UCC has already deducted the $ 5 million it had paid to the Red Cross at the instance of New York District Judge John Keenan. The ad hoc grants of Rs 10,000 and Rs 1,500 given to the families of the dead and injured may also be deducted from the final compensation amount.

Bhopal insiders say it may take ages for the money to reach the claimants. Under the Bhopal Act the claims will be heard and settled by a claims commissioner, and 56 yet to be appointed deputy claims commissioners. Although the claims commissioner was appointed in 1985, he was given no accommodation in Bhopal and continues to live in Indore. Unless the Supreme Court outlines a speedier mode of disbursal, it will be a long time before the victims of MIC get their due compensation. By then, many, many more will be beyond help and others beyond caring.

—N.K. SINGH

Photographs by R.C. SAHU

ABDUL JABBAR KHAN
of the Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan.

"WE SHALL FILE 10,000 INDIVIDUAL APPLICATIONS SEEKING A REVIEW OF THE DECISION."

ALOK PRATAP SINGH
leader of the Zahrili Gas Kaand Sangharsh Morcha.

"THE AMOUNT IS NOT EVEN ADEQUATE TO PROVIDE LONG-TERM MEDICAL RELIEF TO THE VICTIMS."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

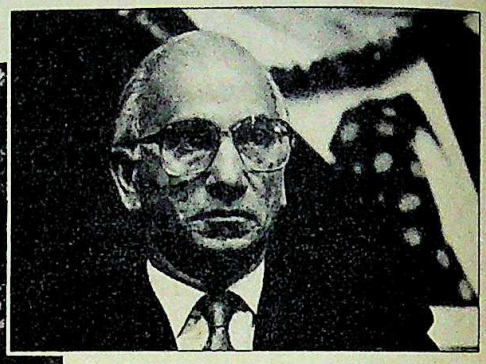
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

counterpart in the Indian legal team.

There was general agreement that Carbide, which showed a profit of $720 million in 1988 on revenues of $8.2 billion, had got off the hook very lightly. According to figures published in the January 19 edition of the Dun and Bradstreet newsletter Union Carbide had a capacity to make a down payment of $500 million (Rs 750 crore) and $50 million annually for the next few years. It had insurance cover for $200 million, reserves of another $200 million and a $100-million line of credit on its European subsidiary. No wonder champagne corks popped on hearing of the $470-million settlement.

Victims demonstrating outside Supreme Court; (inset) Pathak

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



"THE ENORMITY OF HUMAN SUFFERING...AND THE PRESSING URGENCY TO PROVIDE RELIEF...(MAKES) THE CASE PRE-EMINENTLY FIT FOR A SETTLEMENT."
(EXCERPT FROM THE VERDICT)

IN India, however, the court order occasioned howls of dismay. "Sell out," cried leading newspapers in their editorials. Opposition MPs raised a storm in Parliament. Lawyers, social workers and 3,000 survivors of methyl iso-cyanate (MIC) poisoning from Bhopal converged on the red sandstone Supreme Court building to protest the verdict. Leading the denunciatory chorus were former judges, eminent lawyers, academics and politicians. Janata Dal leader George Fernandes demanded the impeachment of the chief justice and four other judges who had ordered the settlement. The most trenchant criticism came from the former chief justice of India P.N. Bhagwati. "The multinational has won and the people of India have lost," he declared *(see guest column)*.

The case against UCC had proceeded at a snail's pace. After four years of litigation, no compensation was in sight. The case had travelled from New York to the Bhopal district court—which awarded Rs 350 crore as interim damages—to the Madhya Pradesh High Court. But the high court cited the maximum prevailing rates—Rs 2 lakh for death in an air crash—to reduce the interim award to Rs 250 crore. That verdict was challenged before the five-member Supreme Court bench. As for the main case, even the issues had not been framed as yet. With UCC stonewalling on every point, the case could have taken years.

The Supreme Court cut through this legal morass with one stroke. But its order raised a host of questions:

► How did the court transform an appeal against the high court's interim relief order into a final settlement?

► In decreeing such a wide-ranging settlement, and quashing all present and future suits against Carbide, did the court exceed its judicial jurisdiction and exercise a legislative function?

► Why did the court initiate a controversial compromise of the kind which the Union Government had avoided?

► How did the court arrive at the figure of $470 million? Was this adequate for 5.4 lakh compensation claims?

► Had there been prior consultation between the judges and the lawyers from both sides on a mutually acceptable figure? If so, why were the negotiations treated as secret? Consultations are, after all, the norm in compromise settlements.

► Did the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs (CCPA) meet on February 13 and discuss the $470 million offer? If so, why was the settlement presented as a spontaneous announcement by the court?

► How could the attorney-general instantly accept a settlement which was only 14 per cent of its $3 billion (Rs 4,500 crore) claim?

Doubts about the adequacy of the compensation will remain, but Parasaran objects to the "scurrilous attacks and insinuations" against the judges. "What could they hope to gain by thrusting a settlement? Whom do they oblige?" he asked. The settlement sum of Rs 715 crore, he maintained, equalled the budget of a medium size state in India and would provide substantial relief to the Bhopal victims if it was properly distributed.

Krohley took this good-news-for-the-victims approach further. The compensation money, he said, would "take the poorest of the poor and bring them into the upper middle class". Judging from his statement, UCC would appear to be taking credit for raising the social status of those who will be helped by the settlement. What of their suffering, the loss of their relatives and family members, and for many, the prospect of a lingering death?

The Government played its cards well. Realising that any settlement would be criticised, it distanced itself from the case. In early 1986, the CCPA empowered an officials' committee headed by Parasaran to conduct the case in India and abroad. Law Ministry sources say Parasaran had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GUEST COLUMN BY P.N. BHAGWATI

Travesty of Justice

THE Bhopal case has come to a disturbing end in an abrupt and unprecedented manner. The multinational has won and the people of India have lost.

It was difficult to understand how a landmark judgement disposing of the case for compensation was suddenly delivered by the Supreme Court when it was only an appeal against the interim order which was being argued and even in this appeal, the arguments had not concluded. It defies one's credulity as to how the proposal for settlement made by the chief justice of India on behalf of the constitution bench and its prompt acceptance by the parties could be described as a judgement or verdict of the Supreme Court. The persistent effort by the Government, its lawyers and Doordarshan to describe the settlement as a judgement shows that the Government did not want to own responsibility for striking a deal plainly against the interest of the victims. It used the judiciary to disguise what was really a settlement. Unfortunately, the court fell a victim to this strategy.

It doesn't appear that the court had any material about the money required for the rehabilitation of the victims. Nor is there anything in the proceedings to show the offers and counter-offers made by the parties. So it's difficult to see how the court abruptly concluded that $470 million was reasonable. Why were these offers and counter-offers made in the Chamber of the Chief Justice and not in an open court? Was it consistent with democratic norms to keep people ignorant of what was happening and then spring a surprise on them?

Even more intriguingly, the counsel of both parties promptly said yes to the $470 million without even consulting their respective clients, as if they knew what the figure was going to be. Moreover, the proposal of the chief justice also included a suggestion that Union Carbide pay this amount by March 31, 1989. It is difficult to understand how this particular date was suggested and why the Carbide counsel readily accepted it without consulting the UCC board. Was a settlement already arrived at between the Government and Union Carbide and did the Supreme Court make itself available to give the settlement the sanctity of its judgement?

Further, the Government forgot that it was not prosecuting a claim of its own but was acting as a trustee of the victims. How could it settle without consulting various organisations working for the benefit of the victims, particularly when two of these were actually parties before the court?

> "The Government used the judiciary to disguise what was really a settlement. Unfortunately, the court fell a victim to this strategy."

The order is, to say the least, breathtaking in its sweep. It quashes all criminal proceedings, present as well as future. It defies comprehension how criminal proceedings pending against UCC officers can be quashed without even examining if there is a prima facie case. Can immunity from prosecution be bought by paying compensation? What happened is totally contrary to all principles of criminal jurisprudence.

The court order places the value of Indian life at a ridiculously low figure. In the US $2.5 billion was paid by John Manville Corporation to 60,000 claimants for asbestos related injuries and $520 million by A H Robins Company to settle 9,450 injury claims by users of Dalkon Shield contraceptives. In comparison, Bhopal victims have got "peanuts". But then we are browns and blacks and not favoured whites!

It is no argument that if the case had not been settled, it would have taken several years and the victims would have remained without any relief. It is strange that the Government should confess that its judicial system is so inefficient that it cannot dispose of a case affecting over 2 lakh people in less than 20 years. But apart from that, could the Government not have provided Rs 600 crore for relief and then reimbursed itself when the case was over? Could it not have evolved a method like the Refugee Relief Postal Stamps as in the case of the Bangladesh refugees and created a fund? What did the Government do to enforce the interim order of the high court even though there was no stay order against it? Why did the Supreme Court not impose a condition precedent for hearing the appeal that Union Carbide shall carry out the order for payment of interim compensation and will not challenge in the US the order which may be passed by it?

There is a petition pending before the Supreme Court challenging the constitutional validity of the Bhopal Gas Leak (Registration and Processing of Claims) Act, 1985. If it succeeds, the victims will be entitled to revive their individual actions and the Government's locus standi would be gone. And yet, by reason of the Supreme Court order, the claims of the victims would stand extinguished without their having any opportunity to agitate on their claims. Perhaps the effect of the order would be that the petition against the validity of the Act stands dismissed without any opportunity to the petitioners to be heard. Has this been lost sight of by the Supreme Court?

UCC has got away cheaply at the victims' cost. The multinationals are jubilant also because there is no judgement of the Supreme Court holding that in such cases, the parent multinational would be liable—a verdict for which the Third World was looking up to India.

What has happened is unfortunate and distressing. The Supreme Court has lost the opportunity of advancing human rights jurisprudence from the Third World viewpoint and failed to meet the expectations of the people of India—the constituency of the court.

P.N. Bhagwati served as chief justice of the Supreme Court from July '85 to December '86.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

conveyed to the CCPA the suggestion made in open court by the judges that the case be settled. He was given a mandate to accept any reasonable settlement imposed by the court. The Government, on its own, would not be party to a compromise, he was told. The court had intially directed UCC to pay the money to the Government, but on Parasaran's request the next day, it ordered the money to be deposited with the court registrar. The court will also decide on its distribution. In this way, the Government expertly distanced itself from the compensation money.

Carbide plant in Bhopal

On the merits of the settlement there are two schools of thought. One, represented by critics like former attorney-general Soli Sorabjee, said it was more a legislative than a judicial pronouncement. The secrecy and speed with which the matter was rushed through, and the fact that UCC was given complete immunity, created the impression that the Government had used the Supreme Court. "The whole thing seemed to be a bit stage-managed." Sorabjee contended. What if evidence emerged that there was sabotage at the Carbide plant in Bhopal? Would the saboteur go free? No, said Attorney-General Parasaran. "The language of the order cannot be interpreted in that fashion. The order does not absolve a saboteur...He will certainly be liable to be prosecuted," he said.

The second school of thought suggested that like the mythological Neelkanth, the Supreme Court decided to act to save its subjects—in this case the Bhopal victims—from longer litigation and prolonged misery. Government officials argued that the Supreme Court had two options before it. One, to uphold the interim relief awarded by the Madhya Pradesh High Court and have its verdict challenged by UCC in the United States. UCC could have held up enforcement of the Supreme Court order for years. The other option was to reject the interim relief award and order trial of the case. The trial too could have taken anything from five to 20 years. In the meantime the Bhopal victims would have languished, and many more died, without proper relief. Skirting this legal quicksand, the Court devised a third option. A government spokesman described it as "an act of inspired activism". The Court had "really functioned as a Lok Adalat", commented H.R.Bhardwaj, minister of state for law and justice.

D.S. Sastri, who assisted Parasaran with American case law, explained why the court's action was justifed. The Government, he said, appeared before the court as *parents patriae* for the Bhopal victims (as a guardian of poor persons who could not fight their own case). Like in a custody case involving minors, the court became the guardian and decided what was best for the victims. "Parasaran had nothing to agree to. He was only a plaintiff and a decree can be passed without the plaintiff's consent," Sastri contended. But even he can only guess at how the judges arrived at the $470-million figure.

THE Supreme Court probably decided on the average of the highest offer ever made by UCC—$350 million—and the lowest figure of $600 million demanded by the Government. Both figures were mentioned before Judge John Keenan of New York in March 1986. But the $350 million offered at that time was to have been paid over a five to seven-year period. At a 10 per cent rate of annual appreciation, $350 million invested in 1986 would become around $465 million in March 1989. By March 23 this year, UCC will thus be paying no more than the appreciated sum of exactly what it offered in 1986. So the company has no reason to be unhappy with the verdict. In the US it is widely accepted that Carbide would have fared much worse had the case been tried in American courts.

The settlement left some American tort lawyers— often pejoratively described as ambulance chasers—high and dry. One of them, Stanley Chesley, threatened to move a petition to recover "expenses" incurred on representing individual victims in the US. Another, Aaron Broder, said: "I don't think the victims are going to see the money., not in the way we would have delivered it". Broder was right. American lawyers would have deducted huge fees, upto a third of the compensation.

That apart, the court verdict has far reaching implications for multinationals. They will now be fully liable for the actions of overseas subsidiaries. The counsel for UCC had argued that its Indian subsidiary, UCIL, was a separate company. But Sastri and Parasaran produced UCC's annual reports and consolidated statement of accounts from 1983 to 1987 in which UCIL was included as part of UCC's worldwide operations.

Understandably, gas victims' organisations are protesting that they cannot be placated by money. "The Bhopal case is not only about money. There are larger issues involved. The guilty must be punished," declared Alok Pratap Singh of the Zahreeli Gas Kaand Sangharsh Morcha. Others like widow Sajida Bano too want to see the guilty punished.

For the Industry Ministry's Department of Chemicals, which has been coordinating the case, the main task is to ensure that the money, when it arrives, is speedily disbursed. The Supreme Court may still decide the modalities of disbursal, but left to itself the department will start paying compensation to the families of the 3,403 dead and 25,000 seriously injured persons by August this year, says department Secretary M.S. Gill. According to one calculation, the family of each of the dead should get between Rs 2 lakh—the highest that is awarded in the country to the families of those dying in an air crash—and Rs 5 lakh. The main question is: should the money be paid in lumpsum, or 25 per cent in cash and the rest in annuities. Industry Minister J.Vengala Rao told the Rajya Sabha that the victims would get a "substantial income for the rest of their lives". The department also plans to provide money for continuing medical treatment and employment programmes for the survivors.

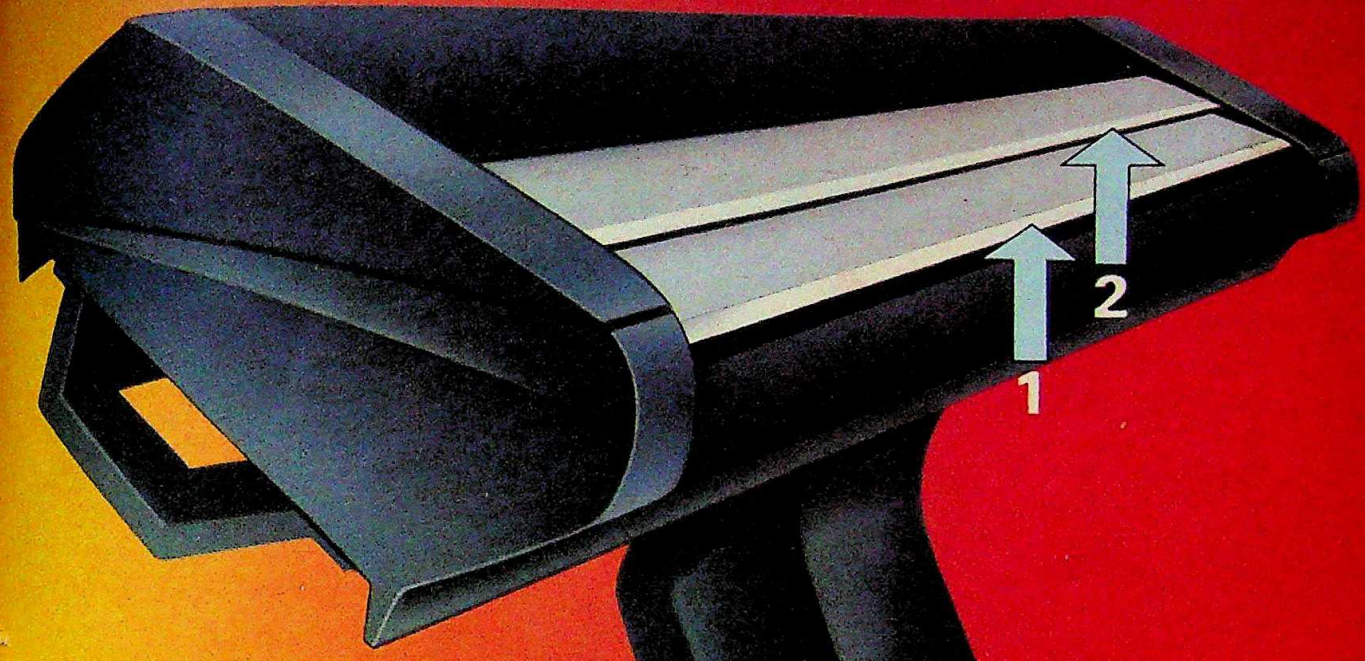
The controversies surrounding the case and the judgement will continue. They will recede into the background only if adequate monetary relief and medical aid reaches the gas victims and sets them back on their feet.

—RAMINDAR SINGH with AMRIT KAKARIA in New York

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TWIN ACTION SATISFACTION

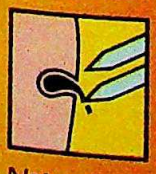


NEW

7 O'CLOCK EJTEK PII

India's first twin blade shaving system with platinum enriched edges is here—for the closest shaves ever.

When you shave with PII, the two blades together work better than any single blade ever can.



The first blade stretches the hair and cuts it, close to the skin.

The second blade, following behind, cuts off the remaining stub.

Naturally, your shave is closer and more comfortable than what a single blade razor can give—even with two shaves.

Experience twin action satisfaction. For twice the closeness. Twice the comfort.

7 O' Clock is the Registered Trade Mark of Gillette U.K. Ltd.

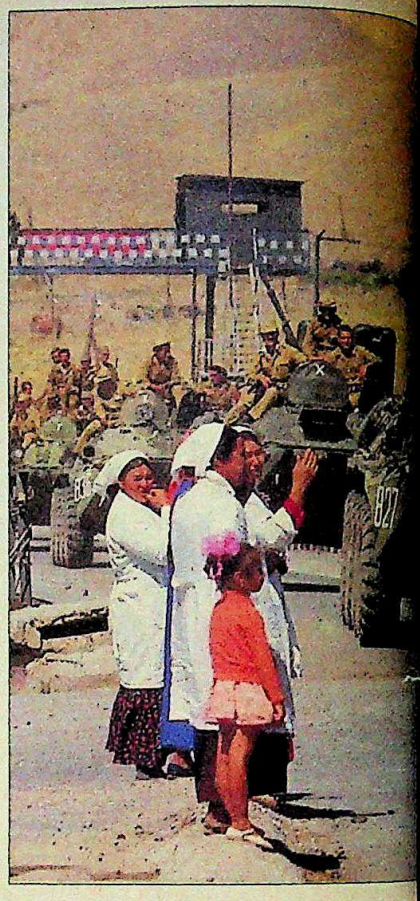
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AFGHANISTAN

Condemned to Fratricide

With the departure of Soviet troops the stage is set for a desperate last-ditch battle between the Najibullah Government entrenched in Kabul and the faction-ridden mujahedin.



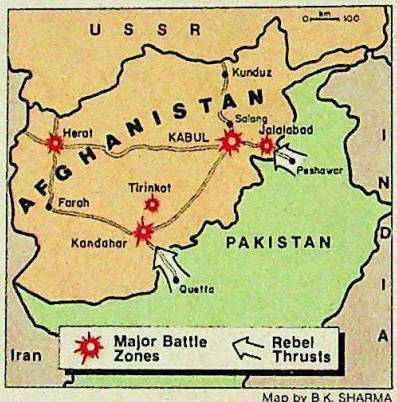
KABUL shivered last fortnight as an unprecedented cold wave engulfed the valley. But it also shivered in fear. Barely had the rolling thunder of the departing Soviet tanks died down in the Charikar region leading up to the strategic Salang Highway than the banshee shrieks of rocket-propelled grenades shook the beleaguered capital. Explosions in the busy central market and elsewhere left at least seven dead and 20 wounded.

This was a warning of what the future might hold as the converging hordes of Abdul Haq, the guerrilla leader dominating the Kabul region, threatened to blast the city with missiles if the pro-Soviet Najibullah Government did not capitulate within a fortnight. Said Nasir Yousufzai, a grocery store owner in Kabul's famed Chicken Street: "So far only people in the villages knew what war meant. Now it is our turn."

What the residents of Kabul now face could be a fratricidal conflict, even bloodier than anything the countryside has seen so far. For the first time since fighting broke out nearly a decade ago it has finally come to Afghan versus Afghan with the superpowers deciding to barter the hapless nation's fate for the more important pursuit of peace between themselves. Thus even for those in Kabul who had the privilege of seeing a proud superpower in sorry retreat this was a moment of bitterness rather than joy. The invaders were leaving. But barring a miracle Afghanistan's fate was sealed.

Even as Lt-General Boris Gromov, head of the 1,10,000-strong Soviet force in Afghanistan crossed the border into Soviet Union and made an unprecedented statement of regret about the wisdom of his nation's most disastrous military adventure, panic buttons were being pressed in Kabul's presidential palace.

Najibullah, the man who now stood between the 2,00,000-odd guerrillas and



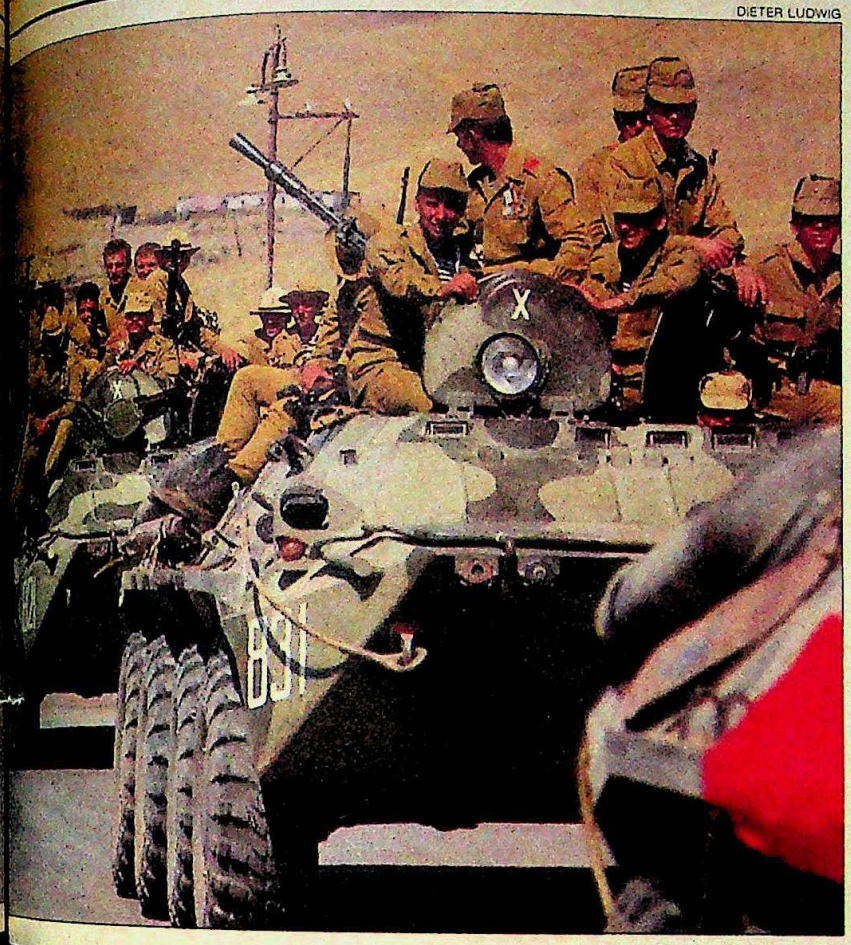
Map by B.K. SHARMA

UNI

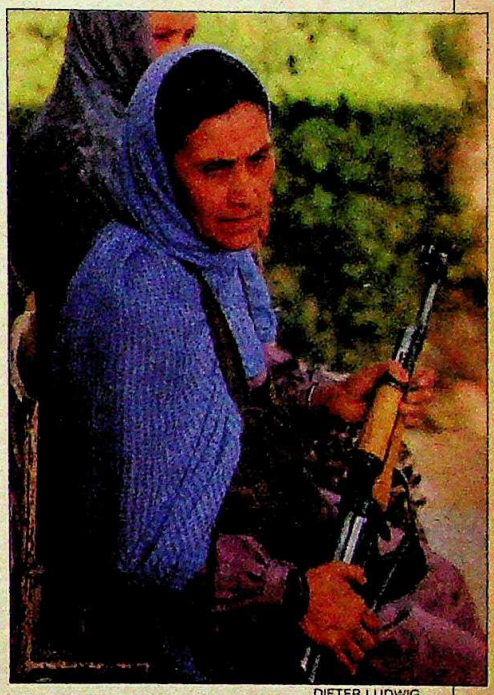
CC-0. In P

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

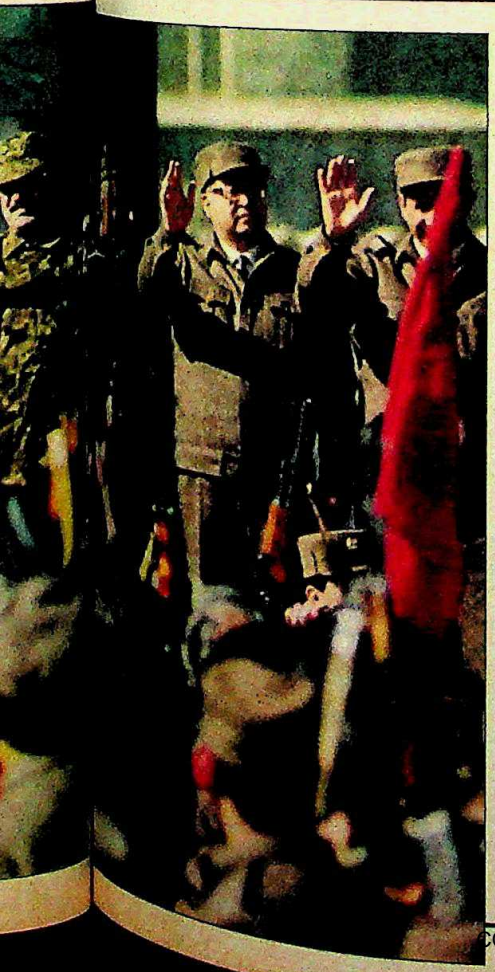
DIETER LUDWIG



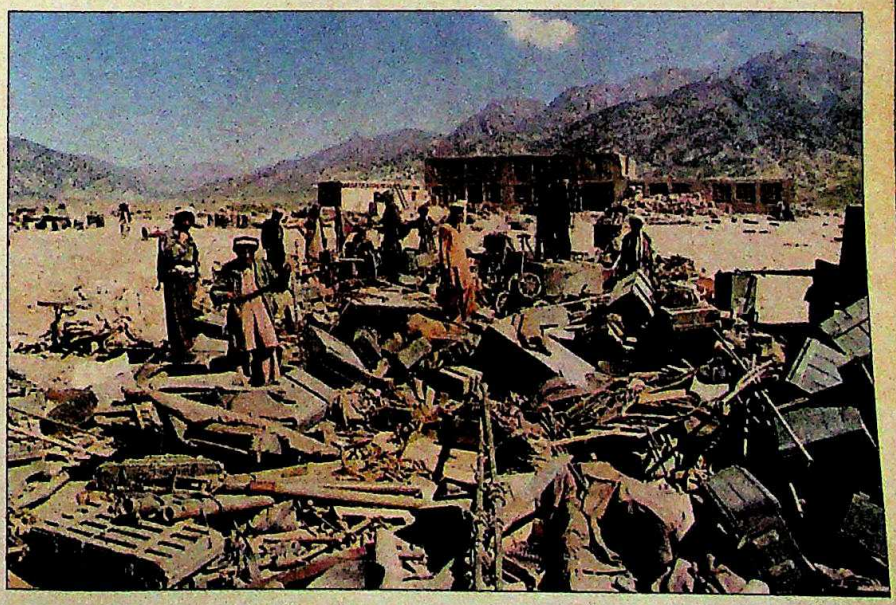
With the superpowers bartering the hapless nation's fate for their own peace it is finally Afghan versus Afghan.



DIETER LUDWIG



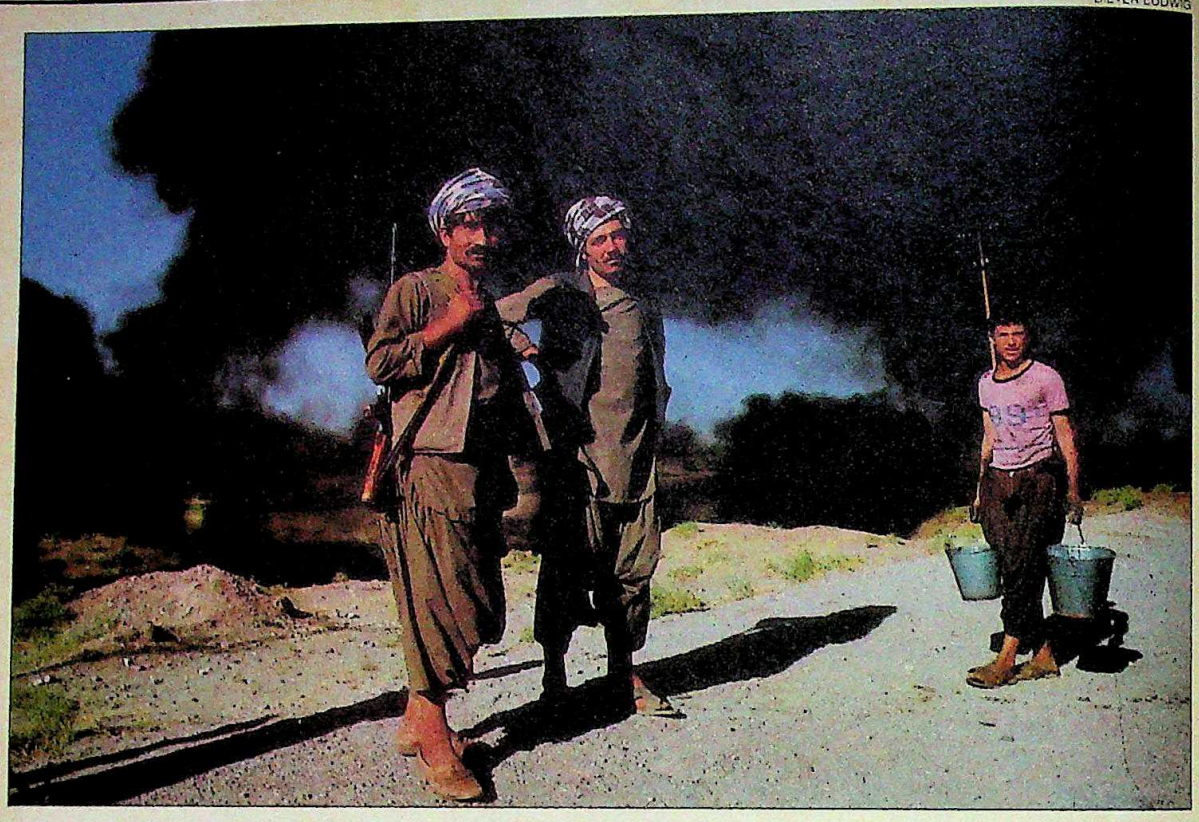
(Clockwise from above)
Soviet troops leave Kabul; armed Najib supporter; mujahedin with captured Soviet booty; and Najib (in battle fatigues) at party rally: the final battle



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DIETER LUDWIG



Government home guards patrolling after explosion: tough task

victory, had already demonstrated his resolve to fight by walking the streets in battle fatigues, surrounded by thousands of armed cadres of his People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Now he moved on the political front, "cleansing" his cabinet of non-PDPA members, among them prime minister Mohammed Hassan Sharq, the soft-spoken pacifist and one-time ambassador to India. Then declaring a state of Emergency, he asked partymen to enlist in the army.

IF the opposition wants war the consequences will be terrible. Our army is unprecedented in size and firepower in the history of Afghanistan," thundered Abdul Rahman Hatif, the vice-president in the PDPA Government. The riposte came quickly from Rawalpindi where Gulbadin Hekmatyar, the most extreme of the seven major mujahedin leaders, exulted: "Najib and his people should run to the Soviet Union. We have nothing for them but death. And soon."

How soon was the contentious question as diplomats and military experts in Islamabad, Peshawar and Kabul closely monitored the situation. As the fortnight ended many had been proved wrong, and the plunging exchange rate of the Afghani—from 200 to a dollar to 300—in Kabul reflected the uncertainty. The

To survive Najib must hold Jalalabad, and keep Salang Highway and Kabul airport serviceable.

dozen-odd western journalists staying on in Kabul in the hope of a quick capitulation were disappointed. So were the CIA and Pakistani handlers of the mujahedin inside Pakistan.

Each passing day brought conflicting claims of the ongoing war. It was information filtering through to the truncated diplomatic circuit in Kabul that clearly showed that the government troops, stockaded in provincial capitals, faced a grim situation. The closest the rebels got to capturing a major town was Jalalabad, just 60 km east of Kabul. And Jalalabad's fall could well shatter the morale of Kabul's defenders. Said a Kabul-based diplomat: "If the rebels get Jalalabad they also get the power station that supplies Kabul much of its electricity. It will be a deadly blow." The government garrison at Jalalabad, under orders to fight to the finish, was still holding out last fortnight. But Radio Moscow's allegation that 7,000 Pakistan Army regulars were trying to force their way through the city's defences was evidently a pre-emptive explanation in case the fortress fell.

While Jalalabad tottered on the brink, the situation was not much better at Kandahar and Herat, the major towns bordering Pakistan and Iran. Also, after bitter fighting last week the rebels claimed the capture of Tirin Kot, a provincial capital south-west of Kabul. Even the officials of the Ministry of External Affairs in New Delhi gave Herat and Kandahar little chance unless the rebels only laid siege there and concentrated their assault on Kabul. "The Najib Government is in thick trouble but if they ensure three things they will hang on, howsoever precariously," said a senior official. His pre-requisites for survival are: hold Jalalabad, keep the Salang Highway, the lifeline from the Soviet Union, open, and keep Kabul airport serviceable for Soviet transports that ferry hundreds of tonnes of essen-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India's most popular electronics magazine

The latest in electronics

In electronics, as in any applied science, keeping abreast with present day theories, techniques and applications is of the utmost importance. Whether for the research scientist or the corporate professional, outdated information can mean the difference between success and failure.

Every month Electronics For You brings you the latest in electronics — be it in the laboratory, the corporate world or the consumer market. Any new concept, theory or idea from the very basic to the more advanced finds its way into the pages of Electronics For You. Of course, while its still news.

That's why most of our subscribers belong to the Electronics industry. In Electronics For You they keep up to date with the latest trends in Electronics.

Do-it-yourself

There is no substitute to the practical approach. We at Electronics For You believe and practice that.

Hence every issue is packed with circuit ideas and make-yourself gadgets from simple add-ons to complete projects. Giant screen projectors, telephone indicators, audio systems, power supplies, battery chargers — these are just some of the projects covered.

And in case you can't get some components or PCBs our associates, Kits 'n' Spares, provide the components needed. Our technical staff test each circuit so that you may not have any problems during construction.

See it for yourself

But there is a lot more than we can write here. Get the latest copy of Electronics For You and enter a world of electronics you thought was beyond your reach.

If you have any difficulty in getting a copy from your local newsstands, mail the coupon below to subscribe. Send the coupon with your remittance to *EFY Enterprises Pvt Ltd, D-87/1 Okhla Indl Area, Phase I, New Delhi 110 020.*

electronics for you

I understand the subscription charges are:

Period	Without Annual	With Annual
Five years	Rs 320	Rs 495 (+ Rs 75*)
Three years	Rs 205	Rs 310 (+Rs 45*)
Two years	Rs 145	Rs 215 (+ Rs 30*)
One year	Rs 80	Rs 115 (+Rs 15*)

(*Annual Number copies will be sent by registered post)

Name.....

Address.....

.....

I am/we are sending a sum of Rs.....in cash/by demand draft/money order/crossed cheque/Indian postal order** in favour of **EFY Enterprises Pvt Ltd,** D-87/1 Okhla Industrial Area, Phase I, New Delhi-110020.

**Please add Rs 10 on outside Delhi cheque.

Reuter DL/22/88

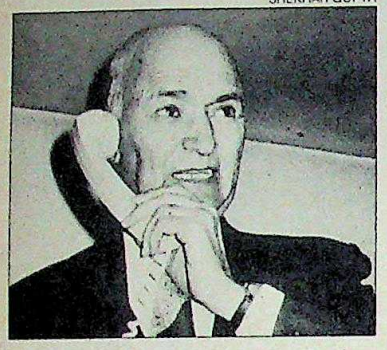
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tials into the city every week.

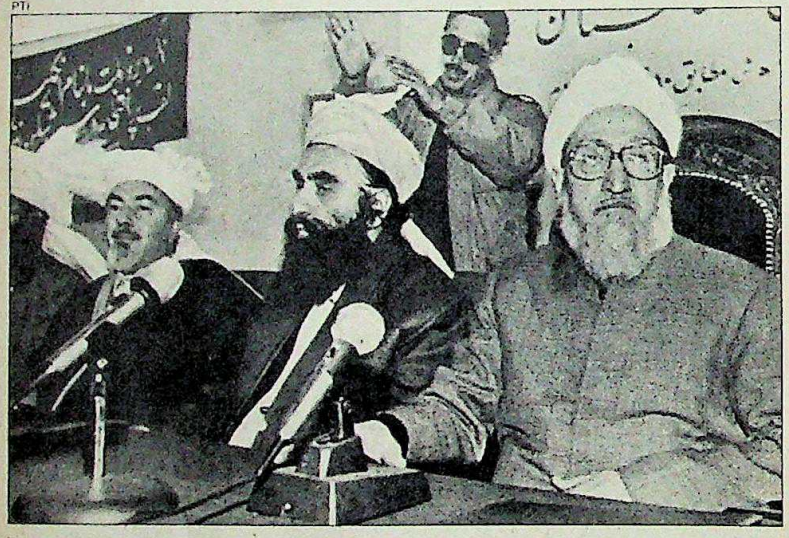
That, indeed, is what Najib concentrated on as his armoured cars patrolled the periphery of the Kabul airport and armed Mi-25 Hind helicopter gunships scoured the hills overlooking the capital. "Kabul is not about to fall," said A.S. Azhar, the articulate Afghan ambassador in India. "The rebels will ultimately be convinced that the Afghan Government can stand on its own feet. But it may be after a bloodbath."

SHEKHAR GUPTA



Rebel unity efforts have foundered on the question of sharing of the booty.

PTI



Sacked prime minister Sharq (top) and mujahedin at shoora: bitter bickering

As Najib's army, party cadres and the residents of Kabul waited for the final battle, stocking up supplies of scarce food and fuel the pace of activity was equally feverish in Pakistan. Mujahedin leaders gathered in Rawalpindi for the shoora, the Islamic consultative council, to achieve unity and to chalk out plans for the future. But since the aim now was no longer winning military battles but sharing the booty of success there were problems right away.

The shoora was the first since 1842 when the Afghans came together against the British. But then the problem was not complicated as now. Currently, the mujahedin are divided into two sections. One is the seven-party Peshawar-based alliance known as the Peshawar-7, which includes such diehards as former theology professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, the pro-purdah fundamentalist Gulbadin Hekmatyar, and Saudi-controlled fanatic Abdul Rasul Sayyaf.

In the far west the countryside is controlled by the eight groups based in Teheran, labelled the Teheran-8. Initially the Teheran-8 boycotted the shoora. But after Rabbani's conciliatory visit to Teheran they relented. However horse-trading over seats in the 519-member shoora and the provisional government squashed hopes of an early resolution. All the shoora achieved was the nomination of a provisional president and a prime minister: Maulvi Nabi Mohammadi and Engineer Ahmed Shah.

Bickerings at the shoora led to a three-way split among the mujahedin. The Teheran-8 walked out of it on February 18 and one of the Peshawar-7 leaders Sibghatullah Mojaddedi, who wanted prime ministership for his son Zabiullah, charged that the "shoora represents only one-third of the people of Afghanistan". Even the rest of the alliance fought over the composition of the 35-member interim cabinet and finally the issue was handed over to a 14-member commission headed by Jalaluddin Haqqani, the legendary field commander of Paktia region.

As the mujahedin leadership quibbled and flip-flopped they were being watched closely by the Pakistan Government. As a western diplomat said: "For the Pakistanis it is the end-game situation. For a decade they have played their cards right. Now they want to sweep everything into their laps." While an Islamic confederation with Afghanistan remained in the realm of fantasy Pakistan was at least expecting a friendly government in Kabul which had nothing to do with the PDPA or exiled King Zahir Shah. Pacification of Afghanistan will mean the removal of a major thorn in Islamabad's side and perhaps the recognition of the Durand Line, the existing boundary between the two neighbours that Kabul has always refused to accept.

And as Pakistanis tried to get mileage out of their victory the nation which had begun it all was trying to salvage at least a few face-saving concessions from the jaws of defeat. Mikhail Gorbachev may have decided to accept an ignominious withdrawal for the sake of long-term policy gains but it was impossible for the Soviets to leave Najib and his cadres, all Soviet trained and indoctrinated, to inevitable annihilation. As Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuli Vorontsov shuttled between Teheran, Islamabad and New Delhi he had a basically one-point agenda: to arrive at an agreement that guaranteed the PDPA some role in the new Government. But he met with no success with Pakistan refusing to buckle under pressure and New Delhi pleading it had little leverage with either the mujahedin or the Pakistan Government.

Even though Moscow Radio made angry noises about yet another intervention in case the mujahedin continued to get foreign support it was obvious the Russians had washed their hands off Afghanistan. The most they could be expected to do now was to carry out occasional bombing raids from their own bases to help keep the Salang Highway open. But in the coming weeks, as the battle escalates and reaches its bloody finale, their Kabul-based allies will surely need more than just that for survival.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA with MUSHAHID HUSSAIN in Pakistan and bureau reports

 CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

A premium product of Polar Group.

Ahmedabad: 447778/403104. • Bangalore: 238507/234374. • Bombay: 6363072. • Cochin: 352501. • Cuttack: 21795. • Chandigarh: 22511. • Delhi: 2924764/2926746. • Ghaziabad: 46312. • Guwahati: 25343. • Hyderabad: 45429. • Indore: 05026/65183. • Jabalpur: 27568. • Jaipur: 61145/73603. • Kanpur: 61060/63453. • Madras: 513934/510335. • Mangalore: 313666. • Nagpur: 23083. • Patna: 31017. • Varanasi: 44088. • Vijayawada: 76487/76847.

H.O. Calcutta: 297174/25/26

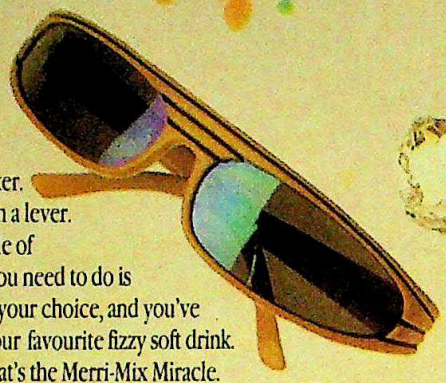
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

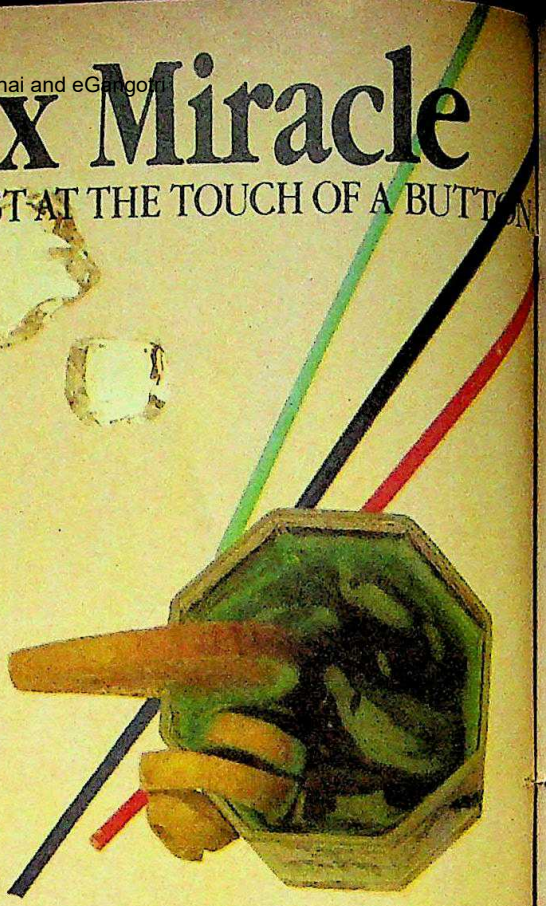
The Merri-Mix Miracle

MAKE ALL THE SOFT DRINKS YOU LOVE, JUST AT THE TOUCH OF A BUTTON

FIZZ WITHOUT FUSS

Put a bottle of chilled water in the Merri-Mix fizzy drink maker. Close the lid and press down on a lever. And presto! You've got a bottle of chilled, sparkling soda. All you need to do is add a soft drink concentrate of your choice, and you've made yourself a bottle of your favourite fizzy soft drink. Just in a couple of minutes. That's the Merri-Mix Miracle.





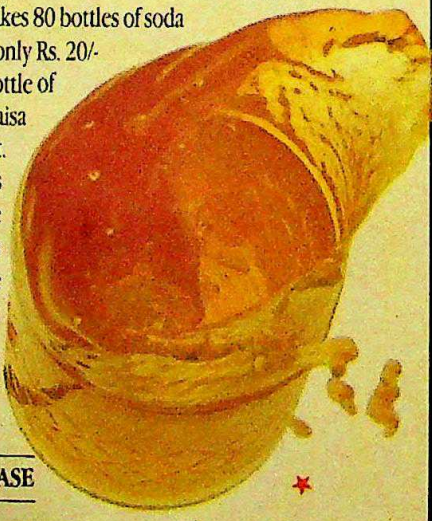
THE MERRI MIX PACKAGE

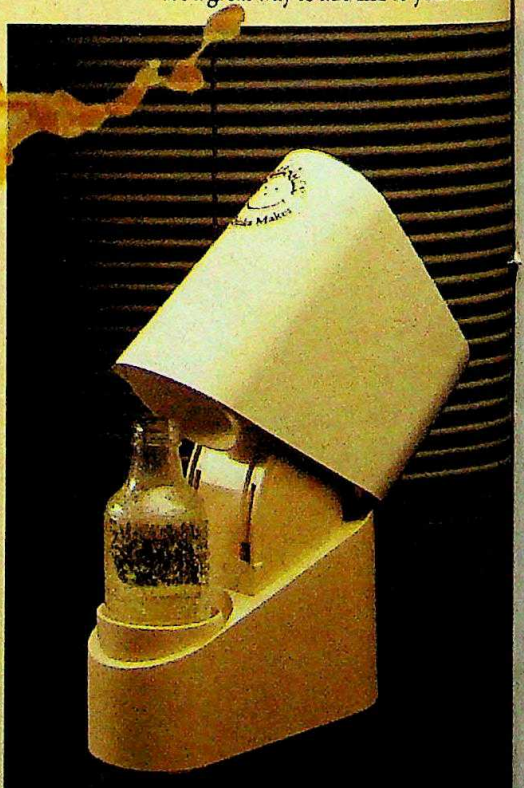
What you get is a compact soda making machine, the size of a normal water jug, and six bottles for making soda in. The machine houses a gas cylinder which can be replaced periodically at a nominal cost.

Take a look at the Merri-Mix miracle today and ask for a demonstration at your nearest dealer. It's a great way to add fizz to your life!

MORE FIZZ. LESS COST

Each gas cylinder that comes with the Merri-Mix machine makes 80 bottles of soda and costs only Rs. 20/-. So you get a bottle of soda for about 25 paisa as compared to Re. 1/- in the market. The ready-to-mix soft drink concentrates of various makes come in 1 litre food grade reusable bottles. Each bottle makes 50 drinks at only 60 paisa per soft drink. So with the Merri Mix Machine, each fizzy soft drink costs you less than a rupee, which is about a third of what is would cost you in the market.





DELICIOUS FIZZ, ANYWHERE YOU PLEASE

The Merri-Mix miracle can work for you anywhere giving you delicious soft drinks at home, in the office, at parties, or even at picnics. And it's so simple to use, even a kid can operate it.

Merri-Mix®

THE SPARKLING SODA & SOFT DRINK-MAKER

FOR DEMONSTRATION CONTACT:
★ Ahmedabad Ph.: 415458 ★ Agra Ph.: 26806 ★ Calcutta Ph.: 299637 ★ Chandigarh Ph.: 43450,
★ Coimbatore Ph.: 24579, 21566 ★ Delhi Ph.: 6839323, ★ Indore Ph.: 38857 ★ Jodhpur Ph.: 27766

DESIGN APPROVED DESIGN CENTRE LONDON

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Colle

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

L'a-Florâle

DESIGNER JARS

Unique combination of crystal-glass looks and unbreakability

PEARLPET®

JARS ● BOTTLES

India's largest selling range of kitchen containers

AKSHARA/PP-1733

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CATCH TODAY'S NEWS

Headline making offer from Catch.

The very same free flowing, iodized Salt and fresh ground Pepper that is a family favourite.

An exciting offer of a free cash bank with every twin purchase.

Quick.

Catch the excitement – cash in on a cash bank today!

Catch

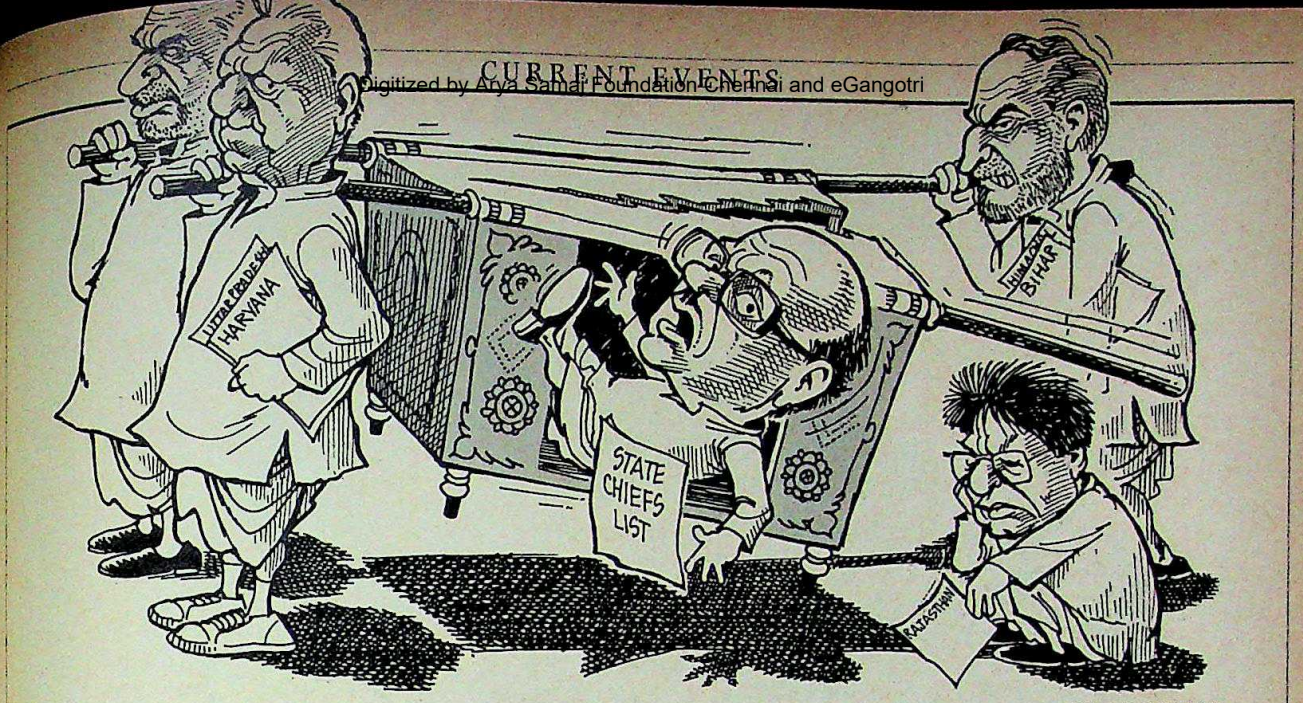
The real table salt and pepper.

Offer open till stocks last.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Harid

Fusion

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Cartoon by AJIT NINAN

JANATA DAL

Continuing Conflicts

State chiefs' selection deepens rift

IT is a party that aspires to rule the country. But last fortnight, as the Janata Dal Parliamentary Board met to elect the presidents for the party units in some of the north Indian states it worsted even the dissidence-plagued Congress(I).

At the meeting the high-profile leaders of the Janata Dal exposed their differences once again. The bone of contention: the nomination of the president for the party's unit in Uttar Pradesh, considered the stronghold of the party. While the faction owing allegiance to Secretary General Ajit Singh wanted Ram Naresh Yadav as the president, the Haryana Chief Minister, Devi Lal, lobbied and succeeded in installing Mulayam Singh Yadav as the president.

The reaction from the Ajit Singh camp was quite instantaneous. Six of its prominent leaders—General Secretary Rashid Masud, parliamentary board members Ram Naresh Yadav, Tulsi Singh Yadav and Upendra Verma and national executive members Satya Prakash Malviya and Munshi Lal Rai—tendered their resignations to the party President, V.P. Singh.

Incidentally, Singh had himself tried to get Raj Mangal Pandey, who had resigned recently from the Congress(I), nominated as president but did not push too hard when he saw that the other candidates had stronger claims. However, he managed to instal his man V.C. Shukla as the president of the Madhya Pradesh unit.

The party had earlier announced the presidents for eight states without much trouble. But when it came to the Hindi heartland the faction fights erupted with all ferocity.

Most of the party's leaders hail from Uttar Pradesh and many of them regard the state as their fiefdom. It was obvious that whoever managed to get their man elected as the unit chief would get an octopus-like grip on the party.

Mulayam Singh Yadav had shown chameleon-like qualities in his climb up the slippery rungs of the Janata Dal. Soon after the political polarisation of the opposition parties started he hitched himself on to the Lok Dal (Bahuguna) bandwagon. Quick to sense which way the political wind was blowing, he unceremoniously ditched Bahuguna to join forces with Devi Lal. To display his earnestness to the Jat supremo he organised kisan rallies and went on a fund-collection drive in January. Later in Kanpur he presented Rs 51 lakh to Devi Lal. It was a shrewd way of showing admiration and at the same time demonstrating his acumen at collecting crowds and money.

Pleased at the performance, Devi Lal returned the money to Yadav saying it should be used in the next elections. If Mulayam Singh won the full confidence of Devi Lal by this act, the crafty Jat leader saw in him the right man to patronise in order to shatter Ajit Singh's hold over the Uttar Pradesh unit of the party.

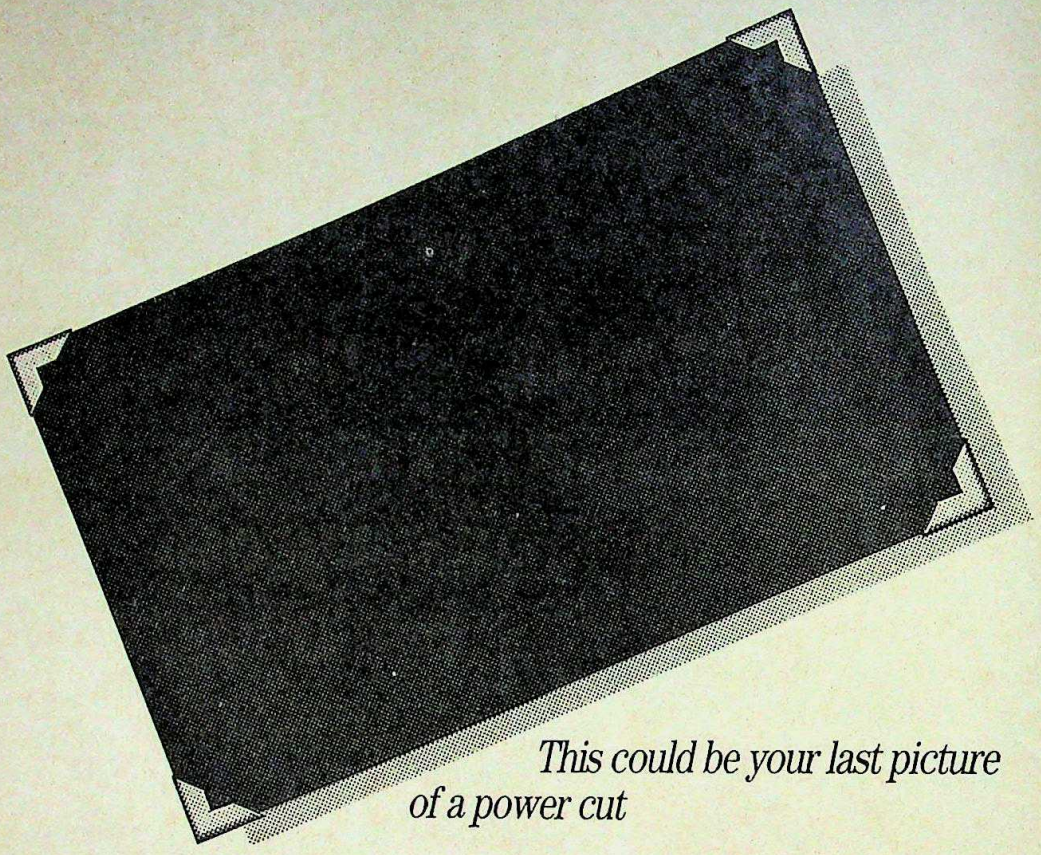
That Ajit Singh is a novice in political pawn-moving when compared to Devi Lal was proved once again when Mulayam Singh was selected state chief. But Mulayam Singh by this time had many enemies in the party. Said Ram Naresh Yadav who lost out to him: "Collecting money is part of the Congress(I) tactics of using money bags for politics. We've told the party leaders that this is no way to fight the corruption indulged in by the Congress(I). We had no option but to resign." He and his supporters have also launched a campaign to expose Mulayam Singh's strong-arm techniques of collecting funds. Said a prominent MLA, Diwakar Vikaram Singh: "We will welcome anybody but Mulayam Singh for the post." Retorted Beni Prasad Verma, another MLA: "Mulayam Singh is the natural choice."

In fact, Mulayam Singh has been the cause for the rift within the Opposition in Uttar Pradesh. The first signs of a split in the Lok Dal came when Ajit Singh, then general secretary of the undivided Lok Dal got Mulayam Singh removed as leader of the Opposition in the Vidhan Sabha, alleging that he was too close to the then chief minister Bir Bahadur Singh. After that the demarcation became clear: the Jats took Ajit Singh's side while the Yadavs sided with Devi Lal. And so, Devi Lal got the chance to gain a toe-hold in Uttar Pradesh.

What actually tilted the scales in favour of Mulayam Singh was the sup-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



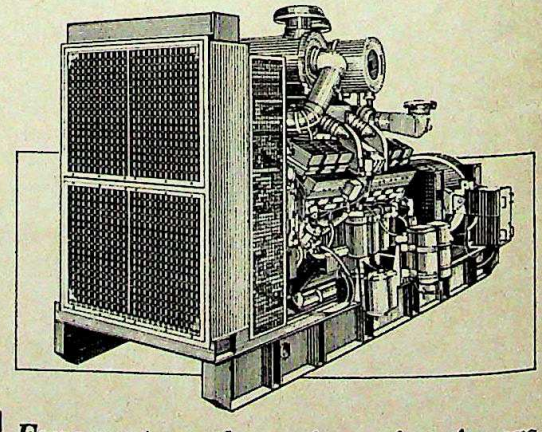
This could be your last picture of a power cut

Switch on instant power with Gensets from Batliboi

Hundreds of installations all over the country have switched to Batliboi to stay ahead in the power game.

The reasons:

- ☐ Batliboi's time-tested design, application and engineering expertise, experience and capabilities right from concept to commissioning
- ☐ Availability of any configuration. Single sets of upto 1000 KVA. For higher ratings, sets in parallel
- ☐ Perfectly matched, rugged and fuel-efficient diesels and fail-safe alternators for optimum performance
- ☐ Prompt and efficient countrywide after-sales service, just a telephone call away.



OBM/2028/Rev. 1

BATLIBOI

For a century, the engineers' engineers

For further details, contact:
Batliboi & Company Limited, Apeejay House, Dr V. B. Gandhi Marg, Fort, Bombay 400 001.
Telex: 011-2284/4852. Offices: Ahmedabad • Baroda Bangalore • Calcutta • Coimbatore • Delhi • Ernakulam Indore • Jaipur • Jamshedpur • Lucknow • Ludhiana Madras • New Delhi • Patna • Pune • Secunderabad Vijayawada. Manufacturing Division: Udhna (Surat).

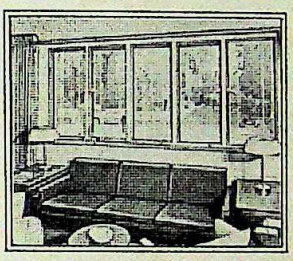
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The latest rage in doors & windows. Moth, rust and termite proof; heat, dust and noise proof; totally impervious to salty and polluted atmosphere; maintenance—free and with ageless looks, they are about everything a window could and should be.

UPAL WINDOORS, the pioneers in the field in India, bring with them the added benefits of :

- **A Superior technology** and the latest plant and machinery from the world leaders, M/s. Actual, Austria resulting in a **silk-smooth finish** unseen in others.
- **A Steel-reinforced frame**
- **Ultra-violet stabilized whiteness** for permanent non-yellowing gleam.
- Top-quality hardware befitting an ageless window
- Completely tropicalised texture and composition to suit extreme Indian conditions.
- Facility to fix flynet and security grill.



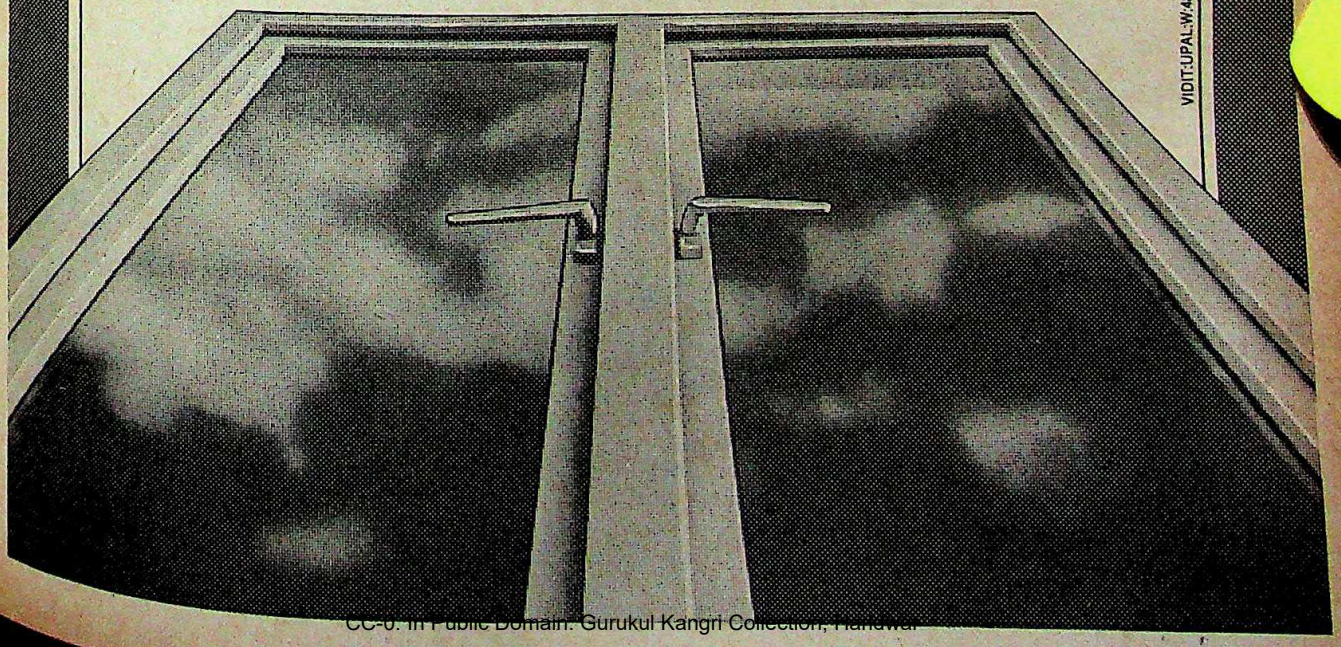
UPAL Windoors
THE PVC WINDOWS

The best that you can buy

U.P. ASBESTOS LIMITED

Mahmoodabad Estate Building, Hazratganj,
Lucknow-226 001 Phone : 32841-32842.

A 21st Century window that combines elegance, economy and utility into one.



VIDIT:UPAL:W:4891

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

port he and Devi Lal got from the other shrewd chess player in the murky game, Chandra Shekhar. The sulking former president of the Janata Party wanted to show that he was no push-over even when in the shadows. This time he joined hands with Devi Lal to score over Ajit Singh who had jettisoned him after being appointed as secretary general.

Ajit Singh also did everything he could to defeat this combination. Busloads of his supporters who had come from the western parts of Uttar Pradesh shouted slogans outside the party headquarters at Jantar Mantar Road while inside he was waging a losing battle. First he tried the numbers game by saying that since his group was the strongest in the Assembly, his man Ram Naresh should be the president. He was shouted down by Sharad Yadav who was acting as Devi Lal's point man. When Ajit Singh offered to parade his supporters Sharad Yadav produced a piece of paper claiming that he had the signatures of quite a few of Ajit Singh's supporters who preferred Mulayam Singh as president.

After two hours of pitched verbal battle which saw Ram Naresh walking out, Ajit accused Mulayam Singh of inviting the expelled Akbar Ahmed to party rallies. "How would you feel if I take Subramaniam Swamy to Karnataka tomorrow?" he asked in sheer exasperation. "We have clipped Ajit Singh's wings suitably," a Devi Lal confidant later said. The nomination of Devi Lal's son Om Prakash Chautala as chief of the Haryana unit added insult to Ajit Singh's injury.

And as if to show Devi Lal's clout, the venue for the second day's proceedings was shifted to Haryana Bhawan. The lung power of his supporters replaced that of Ajit Singh's. Ram Naresh, Upendra Verma and Tulsi Singh did not attend the meeting but along with Rashid Masud were busy drafting a resolution against the nominations and expressing their discontent. And Ajit Singh refused to accept the sop of his man being nominated as president of the party in Rajasthan.

Now it was the turn of Chandra Shekhar to flex his muscles again. He opposed the candidature of Lallu Prasad Yadav—who was the candidate of the Devi Lal-Sharad Yadav combine—for the Bihar unit presidentship. In addition he also got an assurance that Shyama Sharma would be appointed president of the Himachal Pradesh unit and saw his man Raghunath Jha ensconced as president of the party in Bihar. And then he turned his ire on V.P. Singh saying he "was not indispensable" and objected to the exclusion of the rebel leader Indubhai Patel from the parliamentary board. Piqued at this Singh walked out and had to be persuaded by Sharad Yadav to return. But Chandra Shekhar proved beyond doubt—by his shrewd behind-the-facade manoeuvres—that there was no way he could be sidelined or ignored.

Even as the Janata Dal plunged deeper into the morass of faction fighting there was no dearth of optimism about the party being able to present a united facade. Said Arun Nehru: "Old squabbles will take some time to die down, but they cannot come in the way of strategies for the future."

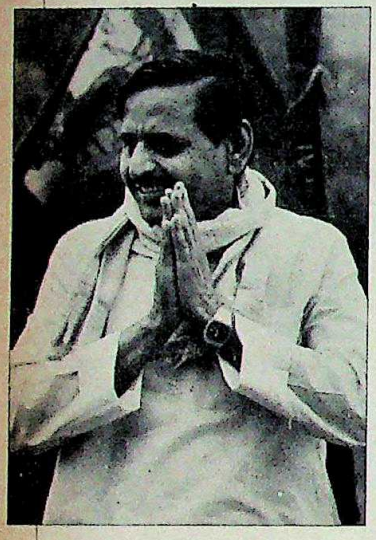
The fact, though, was that even the immediate future looked gloomy. The party needs at least 14 MPs out of the 20 Janata Party MPs to escape the provisions of the Anti-Defection Act. Three MPs—Subramaniam Swamy, Syed Shahabuddin and Sarojini Mahishi—had refused to join the Janata Dal. Now four MPs belonging to the Ajit Singh faction are sulking. But an unfazed V.P. Singh said: "We will get over the crisis soon."

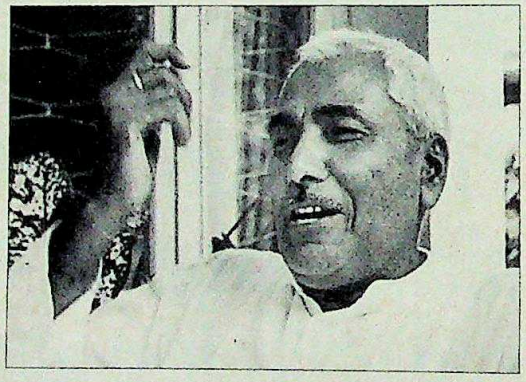
The squabbling leaders have only managed to appoint 13 state presidents till now but they too are without any office-bearers whose selection will again spark off another round of venom-spitting. The parliamentary board has not even considered the question of Karnataka where the Janata Dal Government has just managed to ward off yet another threat from the Deve Gowda faction.

The parliamentary board meeting held just after the triumph of the DMK—which is part of the National Front—in Tamil Nadu should have been the right time for the Janata Dal to put a stop to the ego-clashes and present itself as a unified party capable of taking on the Congress(I). Instead its leaders who have come together under the same umbrella to challenge Rajiv Gandhi were trying to edge each other out. In the process, the Janata Dal is being riven from within.

—PANKAJ PACHAURI and DILIP AWASTI

(Clockwise from right) Shukla, Chautala, Jha and Mulayam

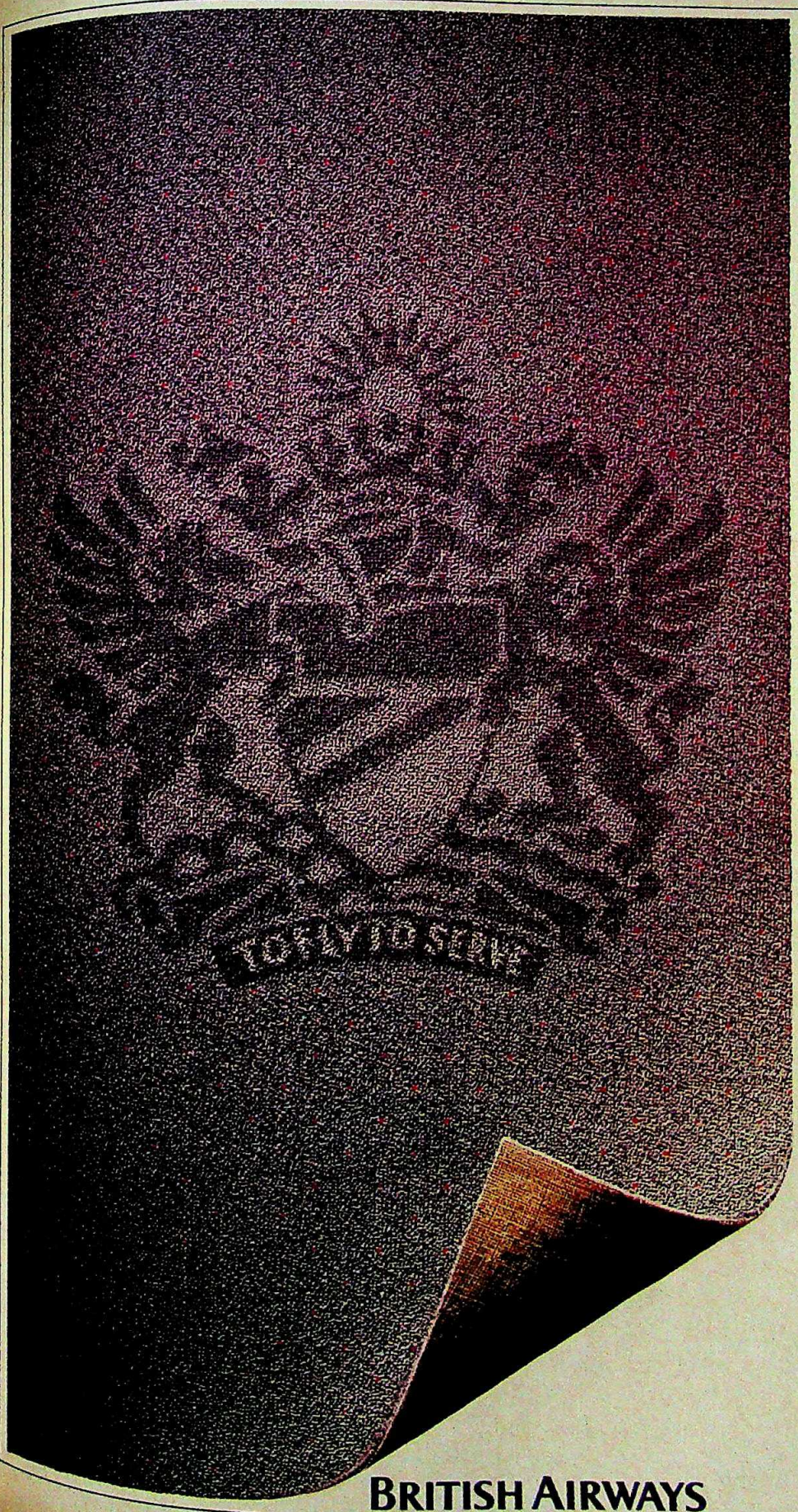




The squabbling leaders have appointed only 13 state chiefs till now and they too are without other office-bearers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



ON MARCH 1, BRITISH AIRWAYS RELAUNCHED FIRST CLASS.

IN 12 WEEKS, WE CHANGE THE CARPET AGAIN.

And we change it again every twelve weeks thereafter.

Not that it isn't superb wool carpet. It's simply that we understand and respect the needs and expectations of you, our First Class passenger.

So we have designed our new service totally around your comforts, in every detail, in every area, on the ground as well as in the air.

Now, wouldn't it be a shame to spoil all that with a carpet that's thirteen weeks old?

FIRST *class*

BRITISH AIRWAYS

The world's favourite airline.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It's as hot as Lady Di.

As long-lasting as Elizabeth Taylor.

With a body that would make Jane Fonda envious.

You can even trust your husband with it.

And you don't have to fly ten thousand miles to get it.

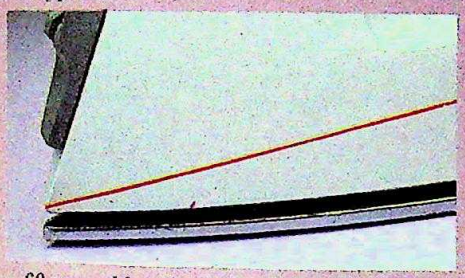
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Morphy Richards present the international spray iron.

Morphy Richards make the largest selling irons in the United Kingdom. Now, the very same Morphy Richards technology comes to India. To bring you, for the first time, the spray iron. Designed to cut through the most stubborn creases, effortlessly. It's lighter than the lightest iron available in the market. It's quick-heating. And burnproof. Read on to discover its exciting features and find out why it's the best iron your money can buy.

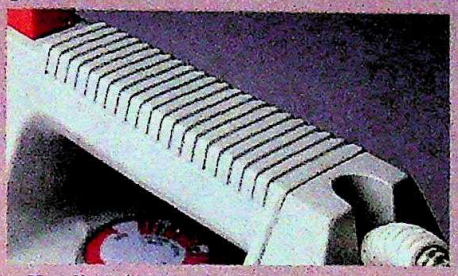
Spray — to cut through difficult creases.
Morphy Richards is the only Indian iron with a spray attachment. Just aim the spray at specially stubborn creases, run them over with a hot iron and watch them magically disappear.



60-second heating.
The aluminium plate of the Morphy Richards iron is designed to heat up in just 60 seconds. So you don't have to wait and wait and wait to start ironing.

Burnproof upper body.
The body of the Morphy Richards iron is completely insulated. So your bare hands won't make contact with any heated parts.

Click-set temperature control — to protect clothes from burning.
The temperature control dial, once adjusted, will not shift accidentally. So you needn't worry about burning your expensive garments.



No-slip grip.
The handle of the Morphy Richards iron is grooved, to give you a better grip while ironing.

Long-lasting pilot lamp.
Unlike ordinary pilot lamps which fuse easily, the neon pilot lamp of the Morphy Richards iron will last for years and years.

morphy richards

THE HOUSEHOLD NAME. WORLDWIDE.

Manufactured by **surya morphy richards ltd.** Bombay

If you prefer, you can choose a Morphy Richards iron without the spray attachment, but with all the other international features.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ATLAS COPCO BREAKS NEW GROUND WITH THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE ROCK DRILLING PACKAGE

or half a century, Atlas Copco have been world aders in developing and manufacturing ompressors and drilling equipment. Catering to e mining, construction, water-well drilling and dustrial sectors.

nticipating customer need for increased oductivity, we have now extended our range to ird generation rock drilling tools. Made with the test technology from Secoroc, Sweden, these ck drilling tools improve performance by to 15% and reduce costs.

y manufacturing drilling tools, we can assure stomers a complete drilling package, anufactured and marketed by us. Our mprehensive package includes recommending e right product, developing and supplying itable packages for different rock formations d training personnel from customer ganizations on site.

esides, our service doesn't end with merely lling a product. It continues with a spares and rvice back-up, offered through a country-wide twork of over 50 sales outlets and 16 service ntres. All manned by highly skilled and perienced personnel.

hat's more, you can be sure that our sponse time in meeting your requirements ill be much shorter, since we manufacture d market the total drilling equipment.

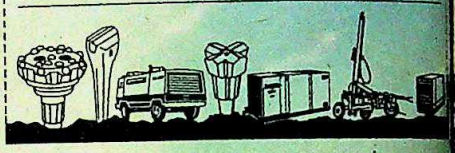
Yes, with Atlas Copco's complete range, reliable and trouble-free equipment is yours under one roof.

I am interested in Atlas Copco products. Please send me more information on:

☐ Rock drilling tools ☐ Drilling equipment ☐ Compressors

Name:

Address:



Atlas Copco

Atlas Copco (India) Ltd

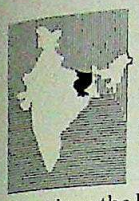
Registered Office:
Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Building,
Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay 400 001.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BIHAR

Clerk Power

Ranchi courts face anarchy



IN the courts of Ranchi the clerks call the shots. They intimidate judicial magistrates, extort money from litigants, and wield fair pairs of fists too.

DSP Dhindolia (vigilance) bore the brunt of these when, on February 2 he swooped down on Subhash Jha, the court clerk of the munsif magistrate in Ranchi and caught him accepting graft from a litigant. Fifty employees of the civil court collected there, pushed him into a court room and beat him up for his temerity.

That was only the beginning of the DSP's chastisement. When the battered and bleeding officer presented himself to the judicial commissioner of Ranchi, Sadaquat Hussain, to lodge a formal complaint, he was asked to explain how he had dared to act within the court premises without securing the judicial commissioner's permission.

Hussain's attitude was less strange than it may seem. His intentions were honourable. He simply wanted to placate the court employees, and avoid the inevitable strike. In the last six months the courts have not functioned for three.

But the DSP cared not for Hussain's motives. He lodged a complaint accusing the judicial commissioner of preventing him in the discharge of his official duty. The judicial commissioner had to apply for bail at the court of the chief judicial magistrate at Ranchi. Granted bail alongside were the 158 employees of the civil court charged with assault.

The drama had more to it. Jha was a close relative of the senior most judge of the Patna High Court, S.K. Jha. It was a surprise then that a sub-judge at Ranchi, Kedar Nath Sah, refused him bail and remanded him to judicial custody.

And Sah did it in full awareness of the trouble he was courting. "I know that my confidential report for this year has been spoilt by my action," said he. Sah soon received an anonymous letter threatening him with the abduction of his three children. Thoroughly shaken, he asked for a transfer out of Ranchi.

The arrested clerk's sway was borne out when within two weeks the high court's Ranchi bench gave him bail. And though suspended under Rule 99 (Bihar Service Code), in contravention of norms he was reinstated.

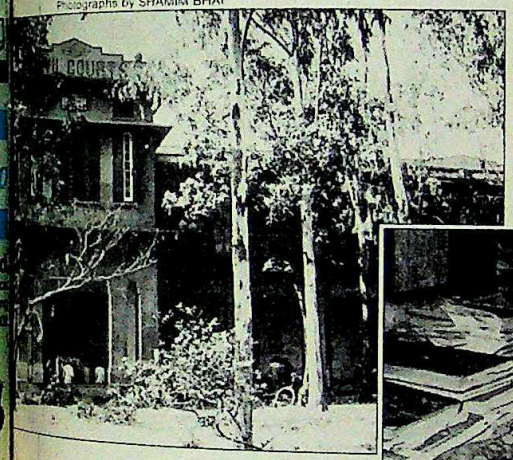
With that the court clerks had again demonstrated their power. Which they constantly use to monitor the fate of litigants. If not greased they issue wrong information about dates of hearing or give no information at all, and at times get magistrates to issue warrants of arrest against hapless litigants. Since they are responsible for keeping records, serving notices and summons, and preparing orders of the court, they are uniquely placed to dispense favours or harass. And neither lawyers nor judicial officers cross swords with them. In fact, following Jha's arrest the Judicial Officers' Association at Ranchi actually passed a resolution condemning the action of the vigilance personnel.

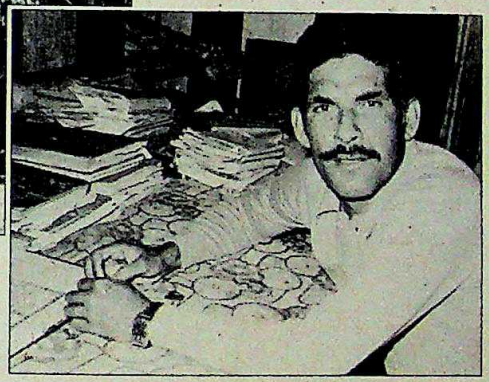
The state of affairs in Ranchi's courts is truly pathetic. The assistant public prosecutor at Gumla, Ram Lakhan Dube, was arrested by vigilance staff last month accepting Rs 500 from an accused. Last December, an executive magistrate at Ranchi, O.P. Verma, allegedly assaulted one of the lawyers when he refused to pay up in a motor vehicles case. Lawyers have boycotted the executive courts since then. Last year, a court clerk, Lakhna, was suspended at Ranchi for assaulting a lawyer for allegedly not paying him graft. The clerks struck work. Another time the registrar of Ranchi civil court absented clerks coming in late, only to open up a hornet's nest. The clerks struck work.

But the recent spate of vigilance raids have had one positive fall-out for harassed litigants. Court clerks in Ranchi have suddenly became a lot more discreet in demanding money. Few, however, expect the relief to last long.

—UTTAM SEN GUPTA

Photographs by SHAMIM BHAI





Ranchi civil courts (above); charged clerk Jha

SANJAY KHAN

Trying Times

Court battles loom ahead

IT was to be his magnum opus, the production that would erase forever his reputation of being a mediocre director and actor. Then, on February 8, Sanjay Khan's dreams were destroyed. The tinsel sets he had created in Mysore for his television serial *The Sword of Tipu Sultan* went up in flames killing 42 and injuring many more. He himself suffered severe burns and is still fighting for his life in Bombay's Jaslok Hospital. Wife Zarine told INDIA TODAY that Khan is out of danger though still critical. She is determined to complete the serial. But the odds are stacked heavily against her.

Khan: facing problems

Khan faces legal action in Karnataka for negligence leading to the fire. Relatives of some of those killed by the fire plan to sue him for Rs 2 crore. And in the Bombay High Court he faces other cases unrelated to the accident.

Days before the fire, Hindustan Thompson Associates (HTA) and Mudra Communications, two leading advertising agencies filed separate cases against Khan. Their charge: Khan had "wrongfully" terminated agreements that he had reached with them. And the damages they claimed were massive. While HTA sought Rs 10 crore, Mudra's figure was Rs 1.30 crore.

What is at stake is the sponsorship of the serial which at Rs 7 lakh an episode would have cost Rs 3.64 crore. Between November 1988 and January 1989 Khan went on a contract spree. He first ap-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

proached HTA through his friend A.B. Godrej, the soap tycoon. According to the deal he offered, *The Sword of Tipu Sultan* would be televised on Saturday evenings at 9.50 p.m., a slot advertisers don't find particularly attractive. The offer was turned down because the price Khan quoted was too high. So Khan came up with a sweetener. He promised the agency a one-minute commercial slot free of cost on Doordarshan at prime time. The agency agreed, signed an agreement and paid Khan an advance of Rs 14 lakh.

What happened after this is not clear. Doordarshan appears to have balked at the proposal to offer HTA free time on television. That was when Khan approached Mudra. This time he offered a Sunday morning slot. Says Kavita Sharma, deputy general manager of Mudra: "We signed a legally binding agreement. Our clients Reliance, Pioma Industries and Procter & Gamble were willing to sponsor the serial."

Mudra was in for a surprise. As Sharma explains: "The next thing we heard was that a similar agreement had been signed with two other agencies." In the second week of January, Khan sent termination letters to Mudra and to HTA (along with the Rs 14-lakh advance). And on January 19, he clinched a deal with Everest Advertising. The slot offered was the same as that offered to HTA.

Was it a better deal that prompted Khan to switch agencies? The answer is not known and Everest refused to disclose details. Says Jyotsna Singh of the agency's film division: "For us, it was a matter of good luck and good timing." But Everest may have other problems. Along with the director-general of Doordarshan, it has been named as a co-defendant in the case filed by Mudra. According to plans, the serial will have four sponsors, each of whom will back 13 serials, but the agreement has yet to be validated by the court.

Meanwhile, HTA seems to have had second thoughts about suing Khan. A company spokesman says the case will be withdrawn on "humanitarian grounds". Mudra, though, is determined to carry on the fight for damages. So Khan has a tough battle ahead of him. He could certainly use all the tenaciousness for which Tipu Sultan—the man whose life he sought to recreate—was so famous.

—S.N. VASUKI

MADHYA PRADESH

Unlucky MLA

FEBRUARY was an exceptionally bad month for Kamla Singh, 42, a scion of the Sarangarh princely family in Madhya Pradesh and one of the longest lasting ministers in the state. First she was dropped from the state cabinet—of which she has been a member for the last 16 years—by the new Chief Minister, Motilal Vora. The political upheaval was shortly followed by turmoil in her personal life.

That the tribal princess does not have a happy married life is well-known in political circles. But last month all the dirty linen was washed in public when her husband, Lal Bhupal Bahadur Singh Thakur, moved a divorce petition in a Bilaspur district court on the ground that the couple had not had conjugal relations since 1983. Stated Thakur in his petition: "As a full time politician, she has no time for me."

Though sources close to the former minister later claimed that the husband had subsequently withdrawn his petition, the damage had been done. Being a well-known public figure in the state, Kamla Singh will find it hard to stop her opponents from blowing up the scandal.

Unlike other tribal rulers in Madhya Pradesh, the Sarangarh princely family still rules the roost in its former domain spread out over 870 sq km in the Raigarh district of the state. For years the Sarangarh family has been politically active.

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Kamla Singh: facing hard times

Kamla Singh's father was a well known legislator. In fact, for a brief 13 days in 1969 he was even the chief minister of the state. And her younger sister, Pushpa Singh, has been elected to the Lok Sabha from the Raigarh constituency (reserved for scheduled tribes) since 1980.

Kamla Singh herself became a minister at the age of 25. Except during the three years of Janata rule, she has been a member of all the Congress ministries that have ruled the state since 1972 as no chief minister could afford to ignore the Sarangarh family's influence. Till Vora mustered the courage to do so in his second innings as chief minister. He dropped Kamla Singh from his team because of her close links with Arjun Singh.

The timing of the divorce petition could not have been worse, coming as it did on the heels of her ouster from the ministry. And so damaging are her husband's charges that Kamla Singh will find it hard to repair her reputation. Thakur, who is a medical practitioner, alleged that his wife had three abortions without his consent "because she felt that a child would prove a deterrent to her political career".

Thakur belongs to a former Jagirdar family of Bilaspur district. Though married since May 20, 1978, he and Kamla Singh have never lived together. While Thakur lives with his daughter in Bilaspur, Kamla Singh stays 700 km away in the state capital, Bhopal.

Kamla Singh is trying to give the scandal a political colour. She insists that her husband has been "instigated" by her political rivals to level such embarrassing charges. Thakur, in fact, belongs to a family which had traditionally supported the Hindu revivalist party, the Ram Rajya Parishad, while the Sarangarh family has always backed the Congress. Recalls Kamla Singh: "Ours was a traditional Congress family and before marriage we had asked them to either join the party or retire from politics. They chose the latter option."

Though Kamla Singh was reluctant to discuss the charges levelled by her husband, a relative told INDIA TODAY: "It has been a family affair which has been amicably resolved." Even if that is true, the bitterness on both sides—plus the public curiosity—will undoubtedly take some time to die down.

—N.K. SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Introducing

THE CERA BATHSUITE

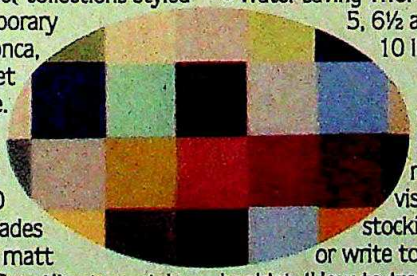
The Conca Collectic

Because the way you live today makes yesterday's bathroom outdated

The Cera BathSuite is a new experience, as exclusive and individual as you are. It allows you to express yourself in ways you never thought of before. And it lends itself to new ways of designing your bathspace — large or small.

Take a look at the features that will help you get the best from Cera.

- Four designer collections styled for contemporary living — Conca, Capri, Cornet and Crowne.
- The largest colour range — 30 stunning shades in glossy or matt finish with Cera tiles to match.
- Water-saving W.C. cisterns — 5, 6½ and the usual 10 litres.



To see what the Cera BathSuite can mean to you, visit any of our stockists' showrooms, or write to us for our free booklet, 'How to transform yesterday's bathroom into a Cera BathSuite' — it's almost as good as being there.

You'll never want to enter yesterday's bathroom again.

The Capri Collection

The Crowne Collection — Water saving W.C. cisterns available in 5 and 6½ litres

CERA®

Madhusudan Ceramics

(A Division of Madhusudan Industries Ltd.)
E-15, N.D.S.E.-II, New Delhi-110 049

FREE!

Please send me a copy of the booklet 'How to transform yesterday's bathroom into a Cera BathSuite'.

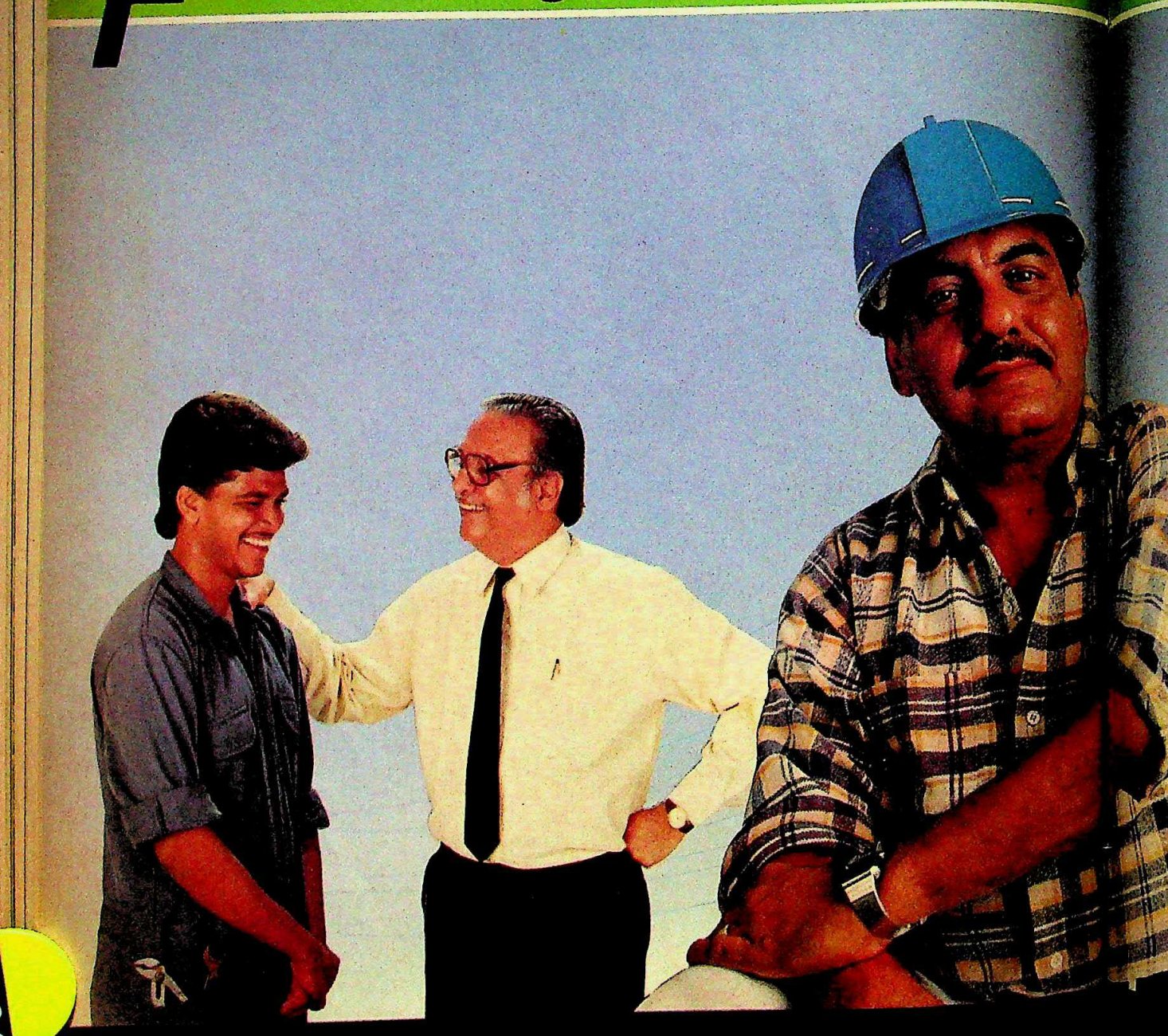
Name_____

Address_____

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Finolex gets people



Skille
work
And
move
India

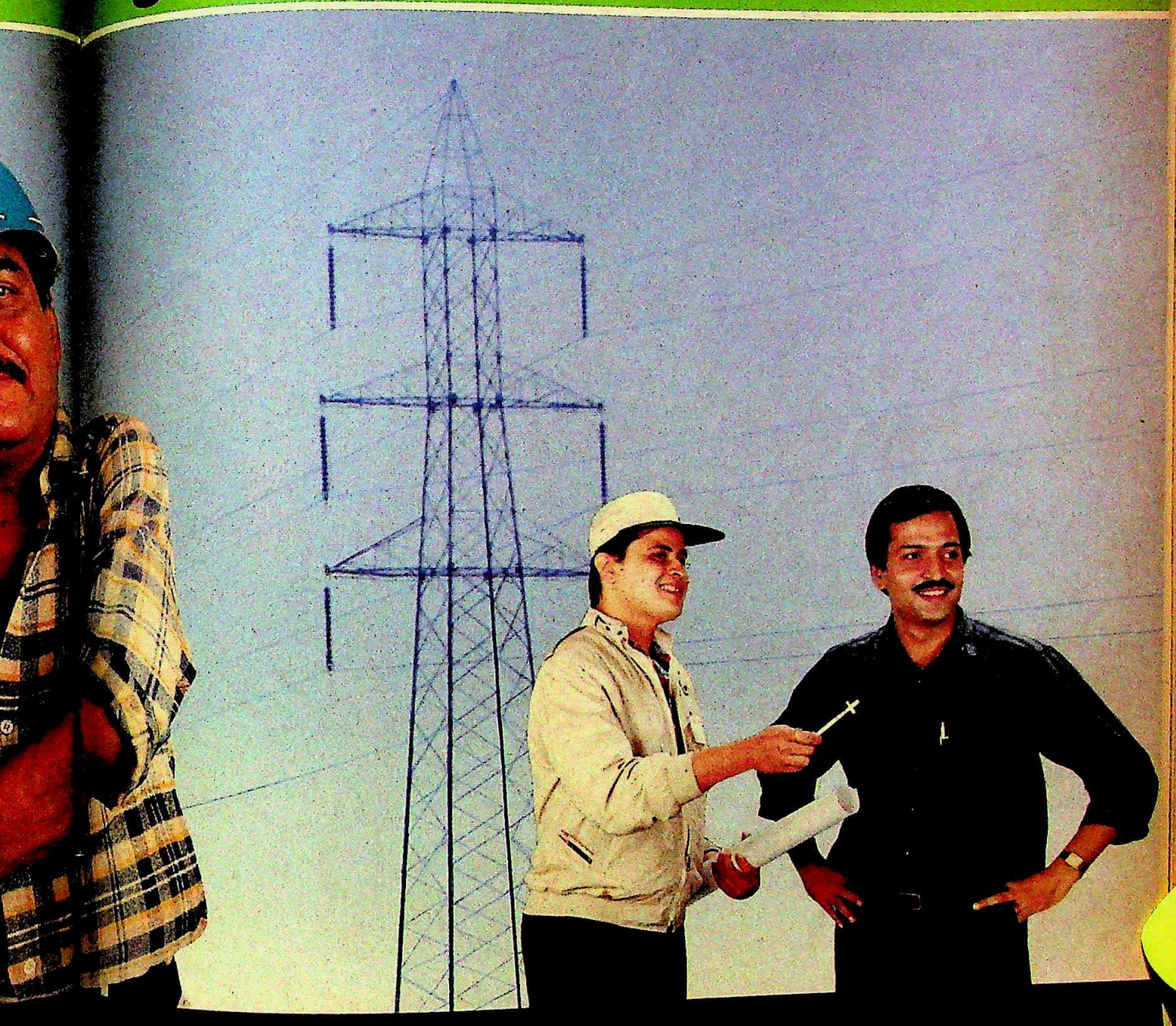
INDUSTRY

CROSS-LINKED POWER CABLES, FLAME-RETARDANT
LOW-SMOKE CABLES, FLEXIBLES,
AND PVC PIPES & FITTINGS FOR INDUSTRY

PRATIBHA-89-035

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ogether



Skilled hands... creative minds... and technological tools are all working together to keep the industrial fires burning in India. And one industry powers another to keep the nation on the move. Yes, Finolex Cables and Pipes are as much a part of Indian Industry as excellent quality is a part of Finolex.

Finolex Cables Limited
26/27, Bombay-Pune Road,
Pimpri, Pune-411018.

Finolex Pipes Pvt. Ltd.
Block D1, Plot No. 10, M.I.D.C.
Chinchwad, Pune-411019.

Finolex

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MAKE A SHAKE, IN A SHAKE!

It's fresh.
It's delicious.
And it's so much fun.
All thanks to Bush.

Now you can have your milk shake
the way you want it.
Fresh. Chilled. And just delicious.

Decide on the flavour you love most.
And keep changing your mind — day after day.
Bush makes it easy to be fickle. Try Raspberry.
Or Strawberry. Or Badam Milk. Or Rose Milk.
Or Orange. Or Cardamom. Or Pista.
Or even Pista and Kesar together...
You could go on and on.
Colour it beautiful. With Bush food colours.
Think pink. Or green. Or orange. Or yellow.

Be creative. Add a scoop of ice-cream.
Or a dollop of cream. Stir it up. Or whip it up.
It's just mmmm... marvellous!

BUSH
THE INTERNATIONAL NAME IN FLAVOURS AND COLOURS

OVER 18 FLAVOURS

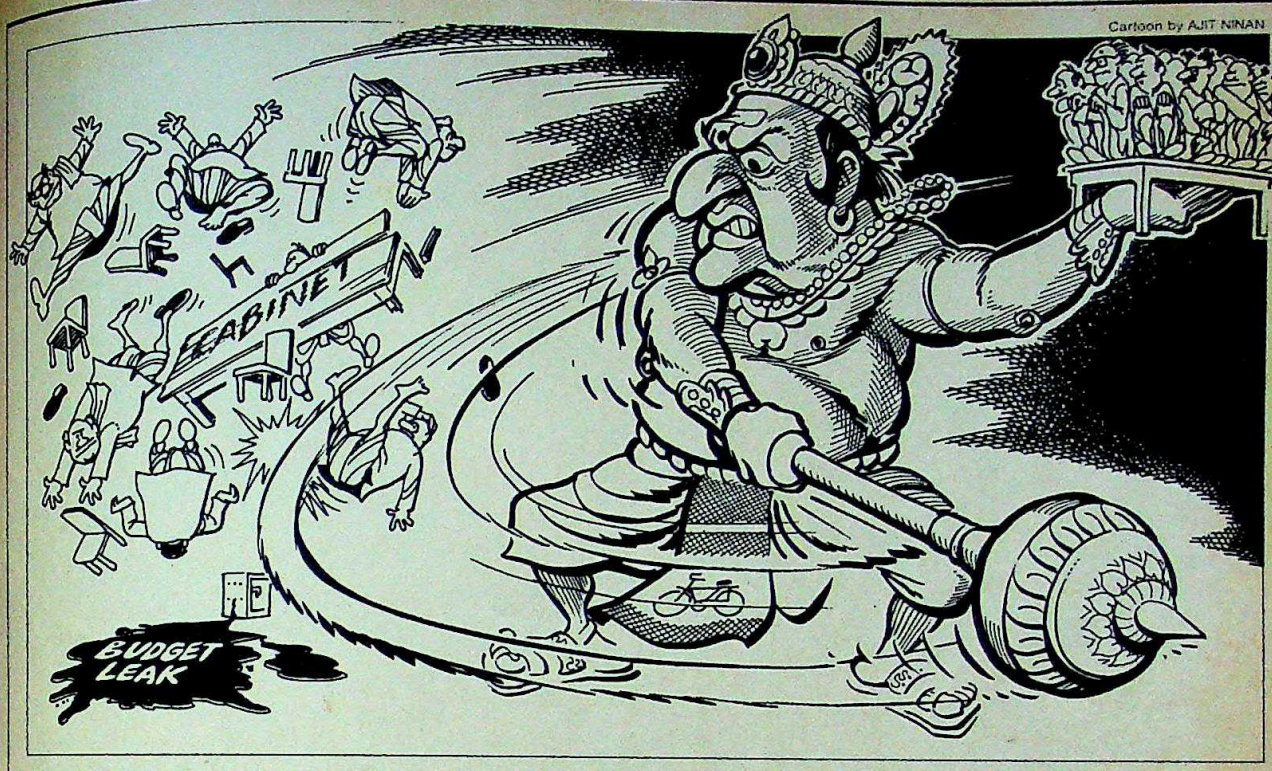
BUSH BOAKE ALLEN (INDIA) LIMITED
St. Thomas Mount
Madras 600 016

Marketed by Parry's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

RED YELLOW GREEN ORANGE

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



ANDHRA PRADESH

Sweeping Clout

N.T. Rama Rao revamps his entire ministry

IN the end it did prove a complete sweep. Exactly one week after he collected the resignations of all his 31 ministers, Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao made history of sorts by ushering in a 23-person team of new faces, retaining not a single member from the earlier ministry. Never before had any chief minister—fearing the political fall-out—effected such a complete sweep. The undaunted Rama Rao of course did it with customary elan to show his ministers and the world at large that none can stand in the way of his honeymoon with the electorate.

Rama Rao had been toying with the idea of a cabinet shuffle for several months. What proved the galvanising factor were reports of the leak of budget figures—overall deficit and power and irrigation sector allocations—and their appearance in the Telugu dailies *Eenadu* and *Andhra Jyothi*. To begin with he called in his ministers and chided them for the leak. Then he obtained their resignations—holding them responsible—so that he could recast the ministry. Then in a move of yet more bravura he left the state ministry-less, and emplaned for a three-day tour of New Delhi and Guwahati, to attend among other things the chief ministers' conference convened by the prime minister.

The last act added to the impact. His partners in the National Front saw it as the bold step of a leader in full command of his party. The intelligentsia dismissed it as yet another dramatic act of a whimsical leader, and the media derided him as an unorthodox politician flouting democratic practices. Rama Rao's eyes were of course on a wider audience—the electorate—especially with elections to the Lok Sabha and the state Assembly around the corner.

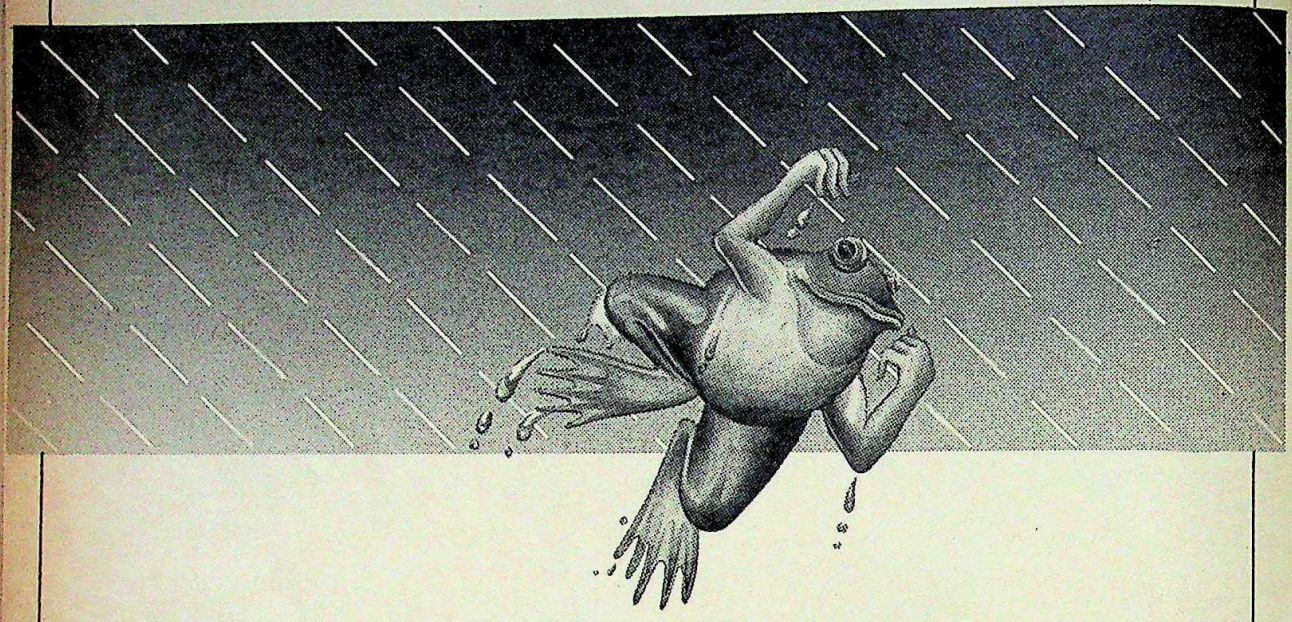
Predictably, his sons-in-law in politics, Dr. D. Venkateswara Rao, the health minister in the old cabinet, and N. Chandrababu Naidu, a key party organiser, were arrayed in opposite camps. While Rao suggested sweeping changes to galvanise and motivate Telugu Desam cadres for the coming elections, Naidu was with those who were for limited changes. This group claimed senior ministers were influential in their districts and should not be dropped. In this reasoning was also carried a veiled threat of dissent.

Rama Rao ignored these calculations and the veiled threat. He made no exceptions holding that the ministers bore collective responsibility for the budget leak. But he kept his cards close to his chest. He contemplated keeping the Kammas out of the ministry to shake off his pro-Kamma image, even discussing this with some Kamma legislators. Finally he inducted three Kammas into the new ministry.

Significantly, Rama Rao's choice of ministers neither covered all 23 districts nor the major castes. He found no suitable representative from Khammam, Kurnool and Prakasam districts, but picked a full complement of 23 ministers so that there would be one for every district—to monitor developmental programmes. He included five ministers each from the Reddys and the scheduled castes believed to be opposed to the Telugu Desam party, four from the backward classes, three Kammas, and one each from the Velamas, scheduled tribes, Kshatriyas and Muslims. The Brahmins and Vyasas were ignored. As many as 14 of the 23 appointees were

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

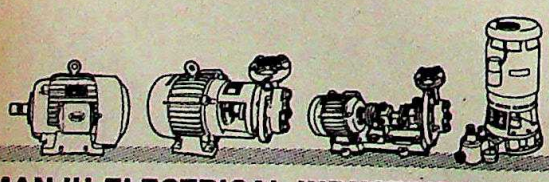


Manju
— the instant monsoon

Manju the sturdy pumpset that makes it seem like the monsoon right through the long dry months.

The Manju range includes a wide variety of electric motors and monoblock, centrifugal, submersible and jet pumpsets.

Manju®



● MOTORS ● PUMPSETS

MANJU ELECTRICAL INDUSTRIES LIMITED

POLLACHI ROAD, MALUMACHAMPATTI, COIMBATORE 641 021. ☎ 0422-862837 CABLE: MELIND TELEX: 0855-343 ACM IN

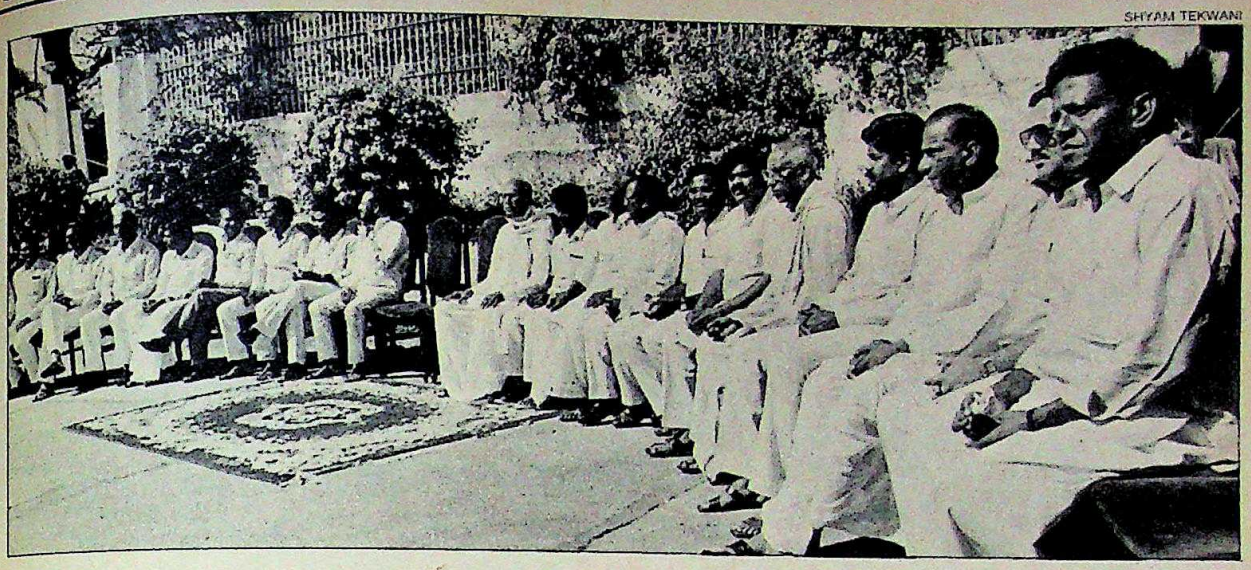
Branches: Secunderabad ☎ 820506 ● Chittoor ☎ 2208 ● Bhubaneshwar ☎ 55081 ● Pune ☎ 446754 ● Hubli ☎ 72690 ● New Delhi ☎ 5733389 ● Indore ☎ 32798

TAKE WING A 244

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHYAM TEKWANI



Telugu Desam members at the swearing-in ceremony

those who had been elected for the first time to the Assembly in March 1985.

Rama Rao's intentions were clear: to thwart attempts by the old ministers to build power bases in the districts which they could then use to bargain for tickets in the next assembly elections. To show he needed no one's support Rama Rao kept both Naidu and Rao out, and decided to bring in the former excise minister Ashok Galapathi Raju as the party general secretary. Three others who were ministers in the old cabinet—P. Indira Reddy, G. Muddukrishnama Naidu and Kala Venkata Rao—were chosen for the newly created posts of regional secretaries of the party.

Rama Rao decided to accommodate three other cabinet colleagues in the party executive. He offered the post of vice-president to K.E. Krishna Murthy, and membership of the politburo to P. Mahendra Nath and K. Jana Reddy. Rama Rao also offered the posts of corporation chief to a number of ex-ministers in order to extend them car and telephone facilities.

The strange aspect of the entire proceedings was that the snubbed ministers, even while cold-shouldering Rama Rao's subsequent ministrations, refused to bring their resentment out in the open. One of them, Vasantha Nageswara Rao, quipped: "One team has gone back to the pavilion and another has come onto the field." In private of course several complained Rama Rao had acted in a high-handed autocratic manner. Said one angrily: "We came to power accusing Indira Gandhi of changing chief ministers like saris. He is treating ministers like lungis." Yet, amazingly, the ex-ministers refrained from protesting, even to Rama Rao, fearing they may be denied the party ticket during the next assembly elections.

Amazingly the ex-ministers refrained from protesting, fearing they would be denied the party ticket for the coming elections.

The new ministers, meantime, have been faring no better. Except for three who have 10 days experience each, the rest are absolute novices in administration. It is widely felt the ministers will be wary of taking decisions on their own initiative for fear of offending the chief minister, and the freshers will end up depending heavily on the bureaucracy. As it is, to tighten his hold on the ministers, Rama Rao had asked Chief Secretary G.R. Nair to depute secretaries to the ministers instead of allowing them to make the choice themselves.

Rama Rao carried his stranglehold over his ministers even further. He made them—hours after they were sworn in—take another oath that they would comply with the newly framed 14-point party code of conduct. The code enjoins ministers to wear shirts sporting the saffron party colour at party functions and to not rush to the press with insufficient information about the party's policies. It prevails upon them to skip ostentatious felicitations, refuse costly gifts while on tour, and asks them to cover at least four districts every month. It seeks that the ministers keep the chief minister informed about dissidence and that they clear press statements about policy matters with him. Rama Rao's message was for his partymen and it was clear: the Telugu Desam is synonymous with him.

The message was not without substance. No one, not even the charismatic MGR with his personality-based politics, has wielded as much influence in his state and built as strong a party as has Rama Rao in just seven years. What others quail to do, Rama Rao has done with arrogant flair. Of course, its popular repercussions will be known only in the next elections. At the moment the Desam chief has to decide whether—with the demand on his time for the National Front's campaign in other states growing—it is better for him to recommend the dissolution of the Assembly and go for an early poll, so that he can be free for the Lok Sabha campaign. The lurking fear here is the role of Governor Kumudben Joshi. Will she sign the file suggesting dissolution and allow Rama Rao to run a caretaker ministry?

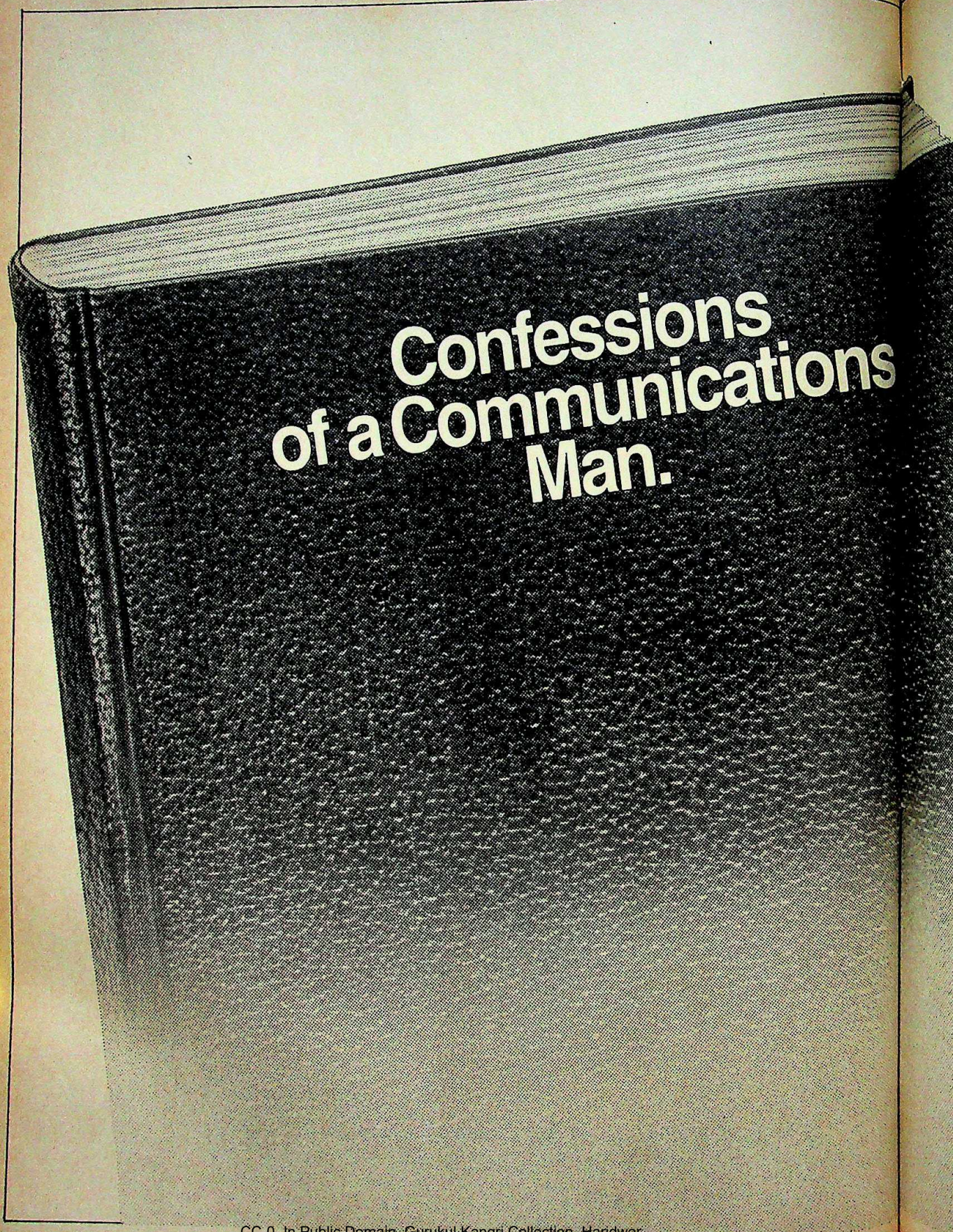
The swift and unproblematic revamp of the Telugu Desam Ministry has been yet another serious political defeat for the Congress(I) which more than three months after it appointed a new PCC(I) president has been unable to constitute a PCC(I) committee. But the Telugu Desam's acid test is going to be the performance of the new ministers. And if other partymen, including the ex-ministers, do not back them, the recent exercise may prove counter-productive.

—AMARNATH K. MENON

TAKE WING A 244

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BLUE STAR
the hi-technology Company

The Blue Star Engineer discloses some basic truths about OnLine EPABX. He'll transform your world of communications.

In an EPABX market cluttered with products proclaiming identical promises, OnLine stands apart. A product distinguished by the professionalism of the company and people backing it.

Blue Star – a solid electronics foundation.

When you get OnLine, you're buying the expertise and capability of a company with 30 years' experience in hi-tech electronics and 300 trained applications and systems specialists.

OnLine comes to you with the technical back-up of world leaders, Jeumont-Schneider, France.

Modern manufacturing facilities.

Our assurance of reliability starts right at the factory. A modern electronics complex where every component goes through stringent tests on sophisticated equipment and is assembled with meticulous care.

All to ensure that you get an EPABX system that works. With minimal downtime. A system that will boost your efficiency.

Support Services – a turnkey package.

Our trained engineers with the stamp of Blue Star professionalism and expertise take on turnkey responsibilities – system selection, installation, commissioning, interfacing and networking, cabling and operator training. And they will always be on call should you ever need any help.

OnLine comes to you with:

- Special software packages for hotels, banks, offices, hospitals.
- Unmatched support services.
- Data communication capabilities.
- Flexibility for expansion.

For more information contact:

Communication Systems Department
Blue Star Limited
Sahas, 414/2 Veer Savarkar Marg, Prabhadevi
BOMBAY 400 025. Telephone 4306155

- Delhi: Telephone 6834262 • Bangalore: Telephone 575660
- Madras: Telephone 472056 • Calcutta: Telephone 289103

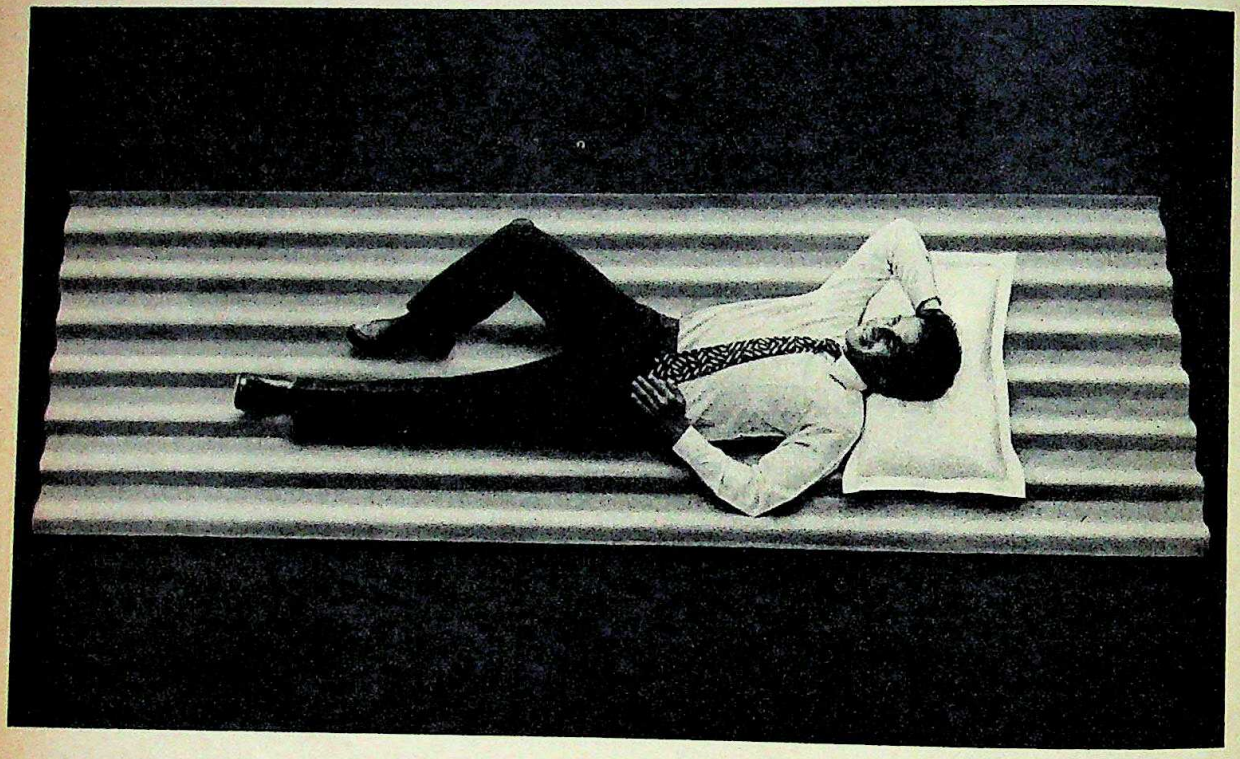
OnLine
EPABX Systems from Blue Star.

Manufactured under licence from Jeumont-Schneider, France.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR OVER 50 YEARS PEOPLE HAVE BEEN BUYING EVEREST ROOFING SHEETS FOR ONLY ONE REASON.



PEACE OF MIND.

An assurance that's inherent in our quality and service. Making every rupee you spend on your roofing, well spent.

No confusion. At the very start the technical service team recommends the right sheet and accessories. Helps in design and installation. Absolutely free.

No running around. Everest has the largest range of fibre cement products, for a complete roofing system. A nation-wide distribution network for instant delivery.
And a team of consultants for your specific design problems.

No doubts, either. Everest is the only name that is proven over 50 years.
With a "no compromise" policy that begins at the R&D Centre.
A specially developed fibre orientation technology that ensures unmatched strength and durability.
And testing standards higher than even ISI.

No wonder then, people at Godrej, Bajaj Auto, Goodyear, L&T, Kinetic Honda — the list is endless — prefer Everest.

People who have enough on their minds already.

EVEREST
FIBRE CEMENT PRODUCTS
50 YEARS WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

For discussions, contact: Everest Building Products Limited, 'Ashok Bhawan', 93, Nehru Place, New Delhi – 110 019. Tel — 643 2568, 643 2569.

Enterprise/D/EV/93

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GUJARAT

Dissident Disease

Campaign against chief minister gains momentum

DISSIDENCE knows no borders, as Gujarat Chief Minister Amarsinh Chaudhary is ruefully realising. After Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, it is now his state's turn to face dissidence. Rebels in the party shifted their campaign to Delhi last fortnight armed with a memorandum signed by 80 of the 147 MLAs demanding Chaudhary's removal. Says dissident leader Jitendra Shah: "We are disciplined soldiers of the high command. But Chaudhary has to be removed in the larger interests of the party."

The dissidents first served notice of their intention when the budget session of the state Assembly began on January 27. As Governor R.K.Trivedi began his address, the dissidents joined the opposition members in interrupting his speech. None of the loyalist MLAs supported him and all that a visibly shaken Chaudhary could then say was: "I am in touch with the high command."

But the high command thought it best to play a waiting game in order to gauge the strength of the two camps. On January 30, during the Congress(I) Legislature Party. meet the choicest abuses were hurled at the chief minister as he rose to speak. The verbal abuse soon turned into physical blows. But when the chief minister offered to take a vote of confidence the dissidents backed out with the plea that it should be conducted as a secret ballot.

The major charge against the chief minister is that politics is getting criminalised (two MLAs and three taluka presidents have been murdered during his tenure), that the prime minister's 15-point programme for the welfare of the minorities was not being implemented, and that Chaudhary had encouraged corruption.

The chief minister will find it hard to defend himself against the allegations of corruption, especially those relating to the Irrigation Department—a portfolio which he held for almost a decade before shedding it during the recent reshuffle. The fact that most of the allegations relating to corruption in the department are based on the report of the Estimates Committee of the state Assembly adds some credence to the rebels' campaign. Chaudhary has asked the rebels to refer the allegations to the Lok Ayukta but he has not yielded to their demand for a judicial inquiry.

The main challenge that Chaudhary has to face is from his political guru-turned-arch enemy Jinabhai Darji who planned to hold a massive tribal rally with the support of Union Planning Minister Madhavsinh Solanki and PCC(I) chief Ahmed Patel.

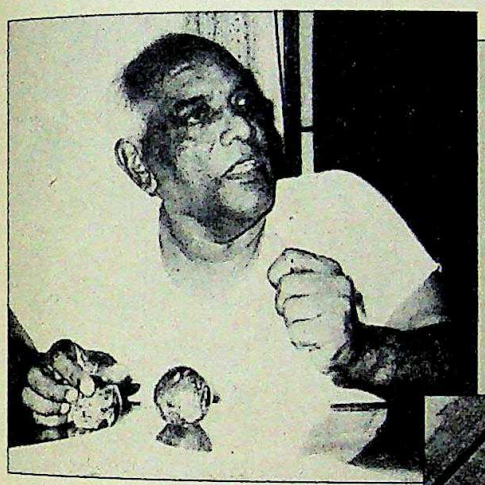
The chief minister decided to counter this with another rally on the same day and chose the Surat district panchayat chief, Sahadev Chaudhary—who had been expelled from the party—to organise it. But as tension mounted, the high command stepped in for once and requested Darji to cancel the rally. A reluctant Darji agreed to postpone it.

The beleaguered Chaudhary got a chance to hit back when the Congress(I) swept the panchayat poll held in some districts of the state. Of the 90 odd seats to which elections were held, 52 went to the ruling party. The Janata Dal and the Bharatiya Janata Party between them won less than 24 seats. Though the elections to such a small number of seats were no real indication of the party's popularity, the chief minister was quick to claim credit: "The poll results clearly reflect the people's confidence in the administration," he said.

He then organised a statement, signed by eight loyal MLAs, demanding disciplinary action against the dissidents. And in the chief minister's home district Surat, his supporters launched a vicious campaign against Darji, who is leading the dissidents.

Even as the members of both the camps concentrated on beating each other up—the latest clash occurred on February 5 in front of pressmen—the high command has not yet sent any clear signals. But as a senior leader said: "Gujarat's fate is probably linked to Bihar. As long as Bhagwat Jha Azad remains in the saddle, Chaudhary too will stay."

—UDAY MAHURKAR



The state Congress(I) is split into two rival camps—one led by Chaudhary and the other by Darji and Solanki.

(Clockwise from top) Solanki, Chaudhary and Darji: bitter tussle

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PUNJAB

Anguished Cry

Villagers protest police atrocities

IF it is not the terrorists, then it is the police. For the harried people of the border districts of Punjab that is how the cookie always crumbles. Last month the police took centrestage once again, as Batala, a small-industry town in Gurdaspur district hit the headlines with more than 40 sarpanches of the area resigning their posts to protest "state terrorism". Grassroots democracy struck back with a vengeance as in the following days hundreds of agitated villagers met the district authorities with complaints ranging from illegal and unregistered arrests to gross misbehaviour by policemen.

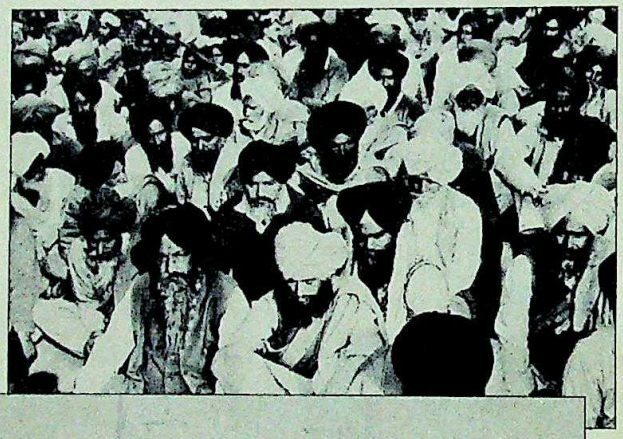
Governor S.S. Ray was forced to intervene, and after a visit to Batala, he ordered two inquiries—one by the range DIG of the Punjab Police and the other by the divisional commissioner.

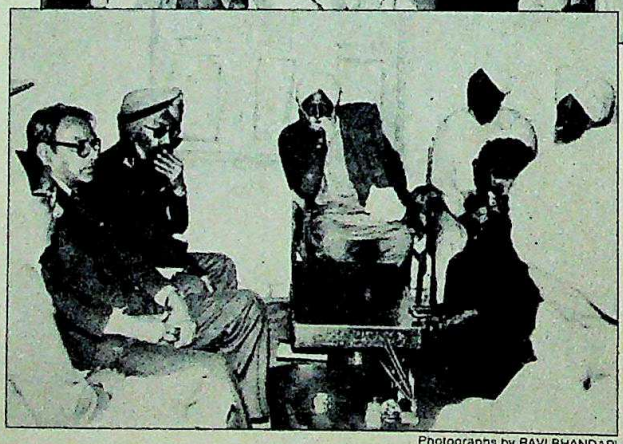
That was the least he could have done, for the more than 2,000 villagers and 200-odd sarpanches at the meeting called by Ray at village Shankarpura near Batala last month were so agitated that they turned the occasion into an anti-police rally.

At the meeting virtually everyone had a serious complaint against the police. Said Sarabjit Kaur of village Sarchur: "Both my sons, Mitter Man Singh, 22, and Harinder Singh, 17, were picked up by the police more than six weeks back. I am not even being told of the charges against them."

The dilemma that scours the lives of the inhabitants of the area was highlighted at Shankarpura by scores of complainants who wished to know how they ought to react when terrorists came knocking at their farmhouse doors, or sought a lift on their vehicles. Asked Sarpanch Baldev Singh of village Badowal: "Can you deny food or shelter to a band of heavily armed terrorists?"

The governor might have seen reason in Baldev Singh's logic, but the point needed to be made to the man who matters most in Batala—Senior Superintendent of Police (SSP) Gobind Ram. There are allegations that the SSP has insulted or instantly punished suspected harbourers instead of taking them into confidence. Eyewitnesses claim Sarpanch Sohan Singh of village Padde and five other panchayat members were beaten up in front of the entire village by the SSP after an encounter in a nearby farmhouse. The SSP claims they had refused to cooperate. Similarly, the entire panchayat of village Dabanwali was reportedly flogged in the SSP's presence when it failed to tell him of an absconder's whereabouts. The panchayat members, who refused to be photographed because of police fear, showed the bruises on their backs.





Photographs by RAVI BHANDARI

Villagers at Shankarpura meeting (top); and Ray listening to complaints

The upshot of all this is that villagers feel those who have been let off after being beaten up or have been arrested are among the fortunate. To suffer illegal detention is to lose hope. Avtar Singh Bajwa, general secretary of the Gurdaspur unit of the Unified Akali Dal (Mann faction), says: "It sounds incredible, but people are paying bribes to the police to get their sons arrested and sent to jail."

While C. Pal Singh, inspector general (border range)—conceding the existence of disillusionment with the police—is hopeful of an early improvement in the situation, prominent citizens disagree. "The one single factor behind the alienation of the citizens is the police's rude behaviour," says Dilbir Singh, general secretary of the Chief Khalsa Deevan. Accordingly, a retired army officer, S.S. Bath, once insulted by CRPF jawans at a checkpost, says: "If I were young, I would've gone underground."

Though at Shankarpura the panchayat members unequivocally denounced terrorism, and the governor announced a probe, informed circles doubt the inquiry, expected to conclude at the end of this month, will yield much. One reason for this is that DIG Sarabjit Singh, who is conducting the probe against Gobind Ram, had in an earlier inquiry given him a clean chit. At the time Gobind Ram was SSP of Faridkot, and was charged with threatening to kill a former minister, Gurcharan Singh Nihalsinghwala.

The Government has anyway been reluctant to act against Gobind Ram because of his success chart. "The SSP has eliminated several wanted terrorists," claims C. Pal Singh. Officers even accept that the SSP has raised an underground anti-terrorist force comprising criminals and smugglers known as the "BSF cats".

The SSP defends himself by claiming: "I may have been a little rash in handling some sarpanches but the recovery of arms during my tenure in Batala has been more than by any SSP anywhere in Punjab." He finds support among a few leaders, including local Congress(I) MP R.L. Bhatia and former Congress(I) minister S.S. Randhawa. "We need a tough police officer at a place like Batala," both declare, arguing that many sarpanches are terrorist supporters.

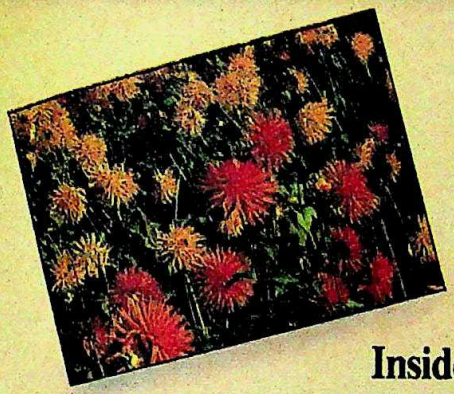
That may be true, but it is the ordinary villager who continues to suffer the most—ground relentlessly between a bloodthirsty terrorism and a callous security force.

—VIPUL MUDGAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

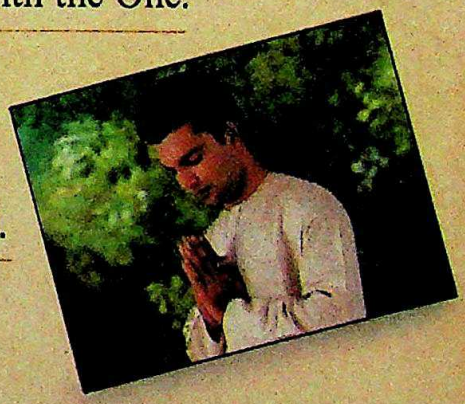
Offerings



Outside. Silk breeze and piping birds. Crisp air. And silver dawn.

Inside. Tinkling bells and floating jasmine. Curling camphor. And flickering gold. **You.** With folded hands and closed eyes. In peace with the One.

Divine moments. Complete with Maja Incense sticks. To perfect your devotion.



The essence of devotion

माझा

AGARBATTI

A quality product of Shashi Industries, Bhavnagar. Beware of imitations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PCL PRESENTS THE

■ COMPUTERS ■ CAD/CAM/CAE ■ LAN ■ MODEMS ■ PUBLISHING

The future belongs to those who ride with the electronic revolution.

Companies with the conviction that only the latest generation systems can dramatically increase office efficiency and gear them up for the challenge of tomorrow.

Companies that have joined forces with PCL.

Successfully leading the computer revolution

PCL is the name that has, in an amazingly short span, shot into a position of prominence in the competitive Indian market of computers With a best selling record of nearly 6000 computer installations in just over a year.

And is now, consolidating that position at a rate of almost 500 more installations every month!

Living up to the sensation it created with the launch of its electronic typewriters. A range that almost immediately became, and is until today, the largest selling in the country!

What the leader brings you

First, there is the Orbit range of PCs, PC-XTs, PC-ATs, 80386-based systems and minicomputers. Perfectly integrated systems to match your specific computing and dataprocessing requirements. Whether you are an independent professional, small, medium or large organisation, Government or educational institution!

Then, there's Percom and Pertext. PCL's computerised telex and office publishing systems. Either of which could be yours for no more than a marginal investment. Because PCL gives you the unique opportunity to upgrade your personal computer to just the system you need. And have all these fantastic benefits at your fingertips : Percom's in-built time and money saving features like scheduled and faster transmission, auto switch on off, and message compression; and Pertext's multilingual wordprocessing capability, type selection, page composition and laser quality output.

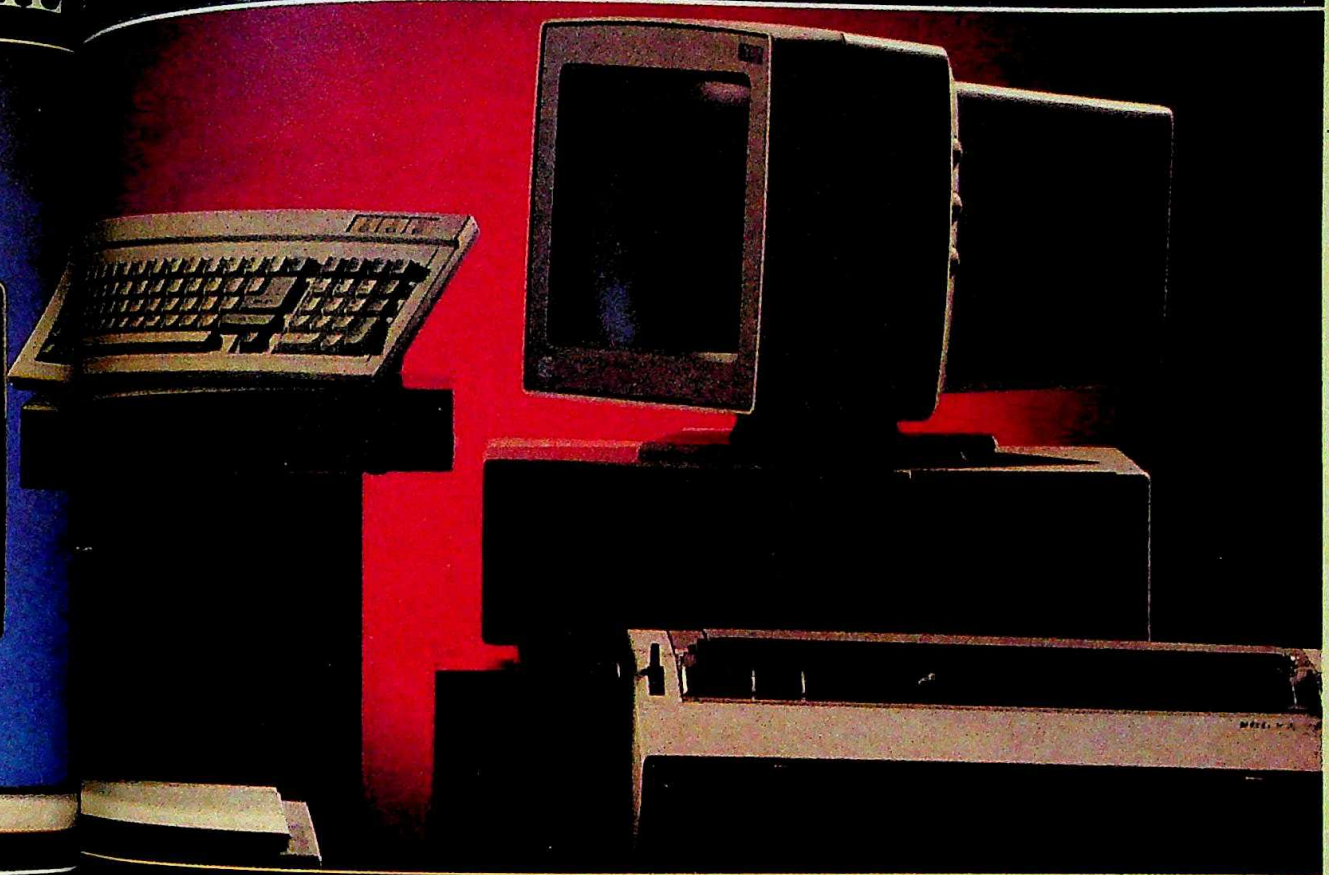
everest/d88/PCL/387

Pertech Computers Ltd.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GENERATION OF TODAY



SYSTEMS ■ COMPUTERISED TELEX ■ ELECTRONIC TYPEWRITERS

In addition, the PCL CAD/CAM/CAE workstations offer engineers and scientists the support of over 500 packages. With not only an unmatched throughput and resolution, but also plotting facilities far more advanced than what most systems offer you today.

And, there's a fantastic range of LANs and modems to choose from. To give you the freedom of sharing your computer facilities with networks all over the country.

Of course, PCL also offers all the peripherals you could ever need. Special cards. Plotters. Digitizers. Constant voltage transformers. Colour, EGA, Multisync monitors. The works!

The force behind the success

Indeed, there is much more to the PCL success story than product innovation.

The real power lies in the high standards that the components chosen by PCL must meet. The gruelling tests that each system passes before it reaches your desk. And the quality of the people who service and support these systems.

All of which have come together to establish an incredible uptime record of 99.8% on all installations! And a repeat order track of almost 70%

Performance that few can hope to match today. So, how will they meet the challenge of tomorrow?

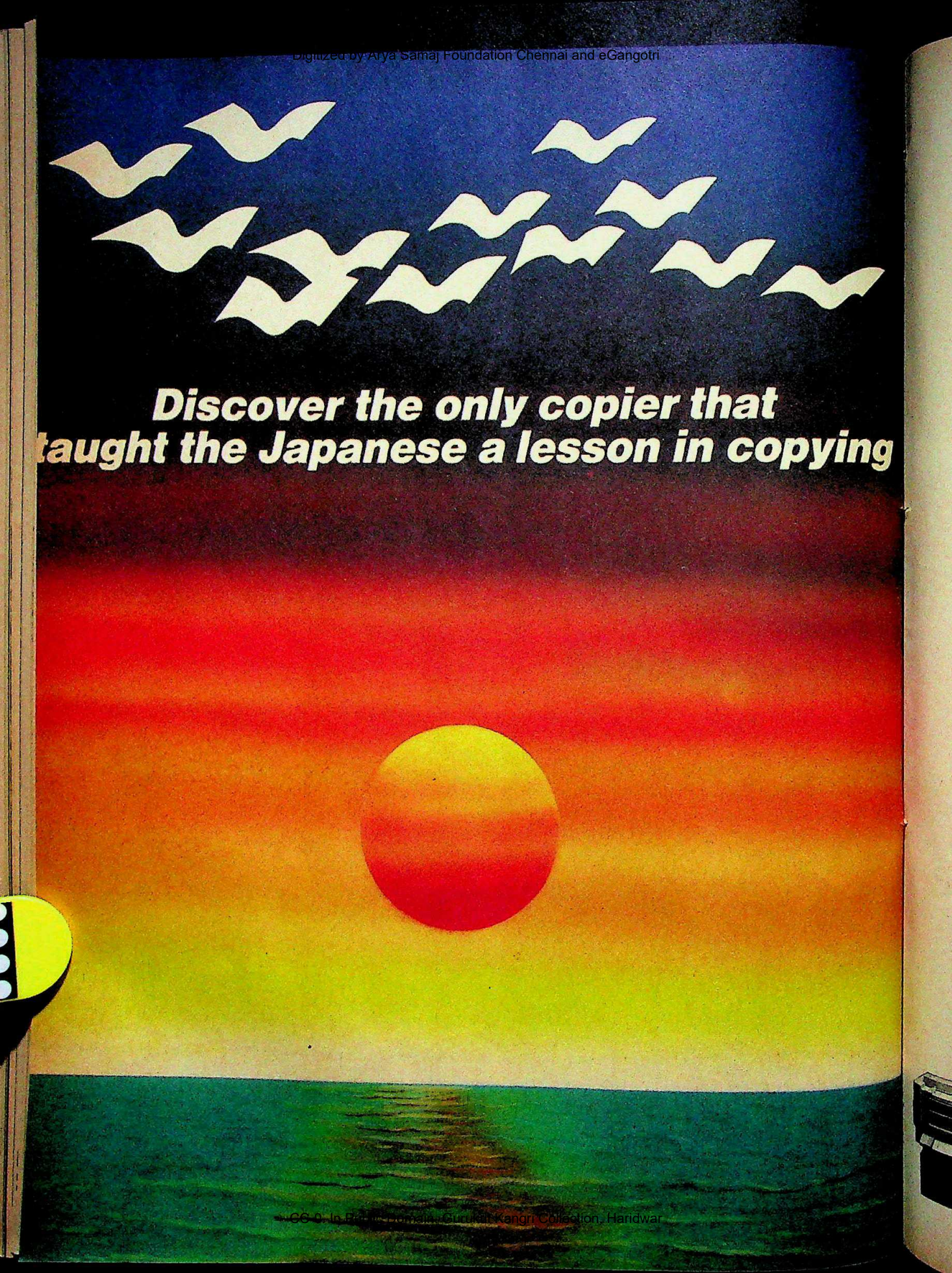
PCL

India's fastest growing computer company.

Corporate Office: E-46/10, Okhla Phase-II, New Delhi-110 020. Tel:6837379, 6841860, 6841864, 6846472. Tlx:031-75163 PCL IN.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"If it's state-of-the-art, it must be Japanese".

This saying, you might think, holds true for all high technology products. Yet in Japan, the Xerox 1025 – an international bestseller – is made in collaboration with Xerox, the world's first and foremost copier company.

The story is no different in India, with the Modi Xerox 1025 proving a runaway success. In fact, in India the compact yet powerful Modi Xerox 1025 desktop copiers are known to handle twice the workload of their counterparts in Japan – in conditions that are less than perfect.

Other models include the tough, efficient Modi Xerox 1045 Series that can be upgraded as your requirements grow. And the new Modi Xerox 2510 Engineering Plan Printer that offers, in just one step, A0 size prints on a variety of throughput materials – even plain paper!

So whether you require the copy of a letter or a large engineering drawing, Modi Xerox has a range of copiers to match your needs... and budgets.

Moreover, with Modi Xerox, you have the assurance of the widest, most complete and dedicated service support in the copier industry. And a ready stock of spares and consumables.

Above all, to ensure regular availability, Modi Xerox copiers and consumables are manufactured to international Xerox standards at our highly sophisticated plant in Rampur, U.P.

All this is a result of a technical and financial collaboration with Rank Xerox, U.K. A collaboration that speaks volumes of the faith vested in Modi Xerox and its capabilities.

So if you're looking for the best in copiers, ask for the original name.

Fill in the coupon and post it today to :
Modi Xerox Limited
Marketing Division
33 Community Centre
New Friends Colony, New Delhi 110 065

Yes, I want to know how Team Xerox can improve the efficiency of my office

Name : _____

Designation : _____

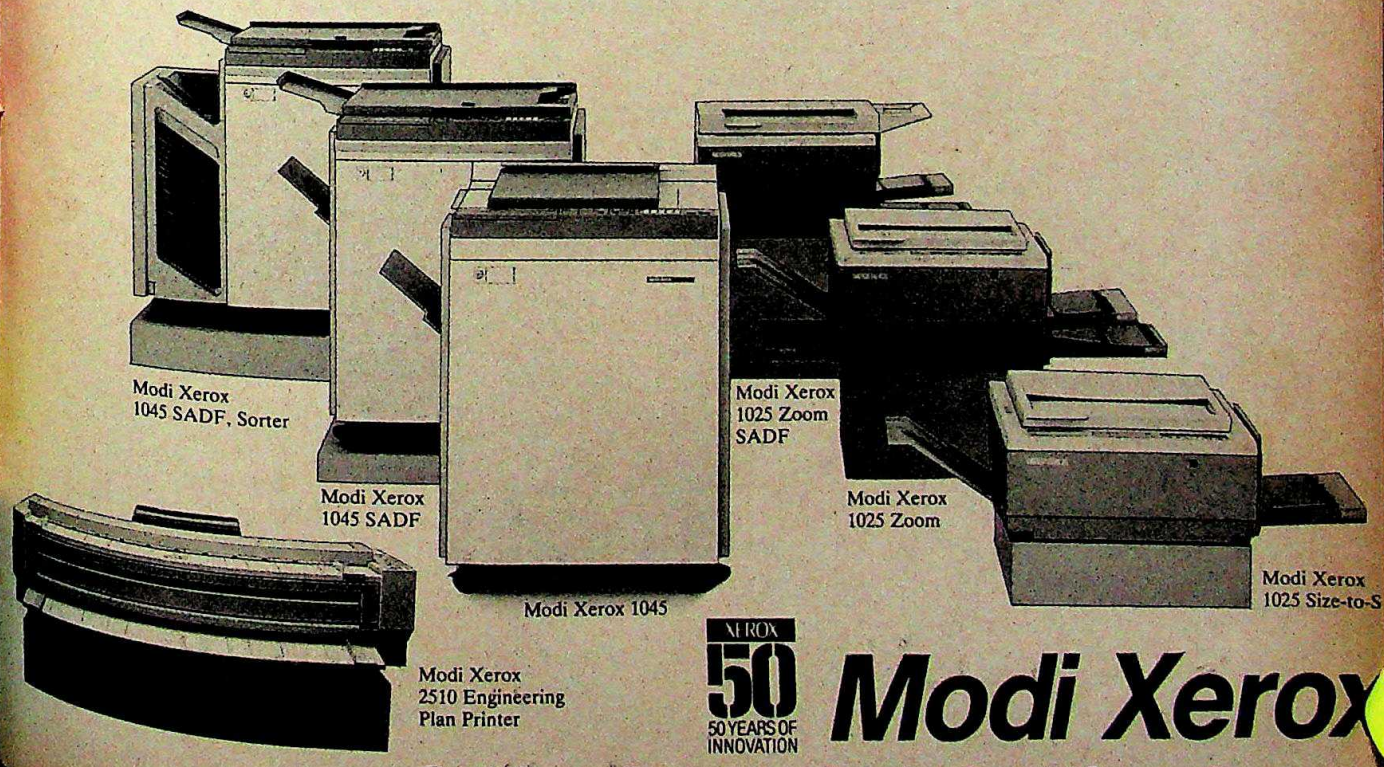
Company : _____

Address : _____

_____

Tel : _____

Call Team Xerox today!



XEROX 50 50 YEARS OF INNOVATION

Modi Xerox

Setting the standards for others to copy

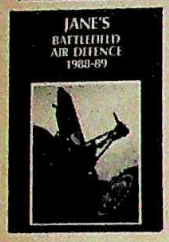
CC-0. Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Xerox is a registered trademark of Rank Xerox Limited, U.K., and Xerox Corporation, U.S.A.

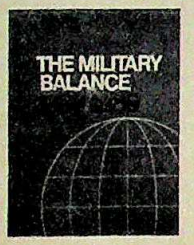
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A DISTINGUISHED LIST OF JANE'S PUBLISHING : The World's Largest Publishers of Military Systems/ Strategies

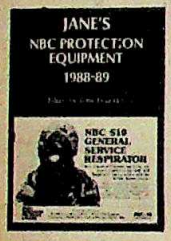
Reference Annuals



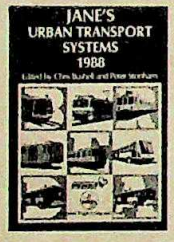
Jane's Battlefield Air Defence 1988-89 £60.00



IISS Military Balance 1988-1989 £18.50

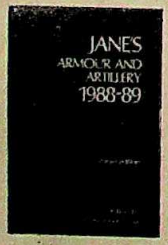


Jane's NBC Protection Equipment 1988-89 £80.00

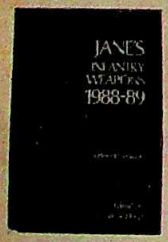


Jane's Urban Transport Systems 1988 £65.00

Jane's World Combat Aircraft £50.00



Jane's Armour & Artillery 1988-89 £85.00



Jane's Infantry Weapons 1988-89 £95.00

	£
Jane's AFV Systems 1988-89	85.00
Jane's Airport Equipment 1988	65.00
Jane's Airports & Handling Agents (CLA)	98.00
Jane's Airports & Handling Agents (FEA)	98.00
Jane's Airports & Handling Agents (USC)	98.00
Jane's All the Worlds Aircraft 1988-89	95.00
Jane's Avionics 1988-89	95.00
Jane's Containerisation Directory 1988	65.00
Jane's Fighting Ships 1988-89	90.00
Jane's High-Speed Marine Craft & Air-Cushion Veh '88	95.00
Jane's Air Launched Weapons 1988	175.00
IISS Military Communications 1988	100.00
Jane's Military Logistics 1988	100.00
Jane's Military Training Systems 1988-89	75.00
Jane's Nato Handbook 1988-89	60.00
Jane's Security & Coin Equipment 1988-89	65.00
Jane's Spaceflight Directory 1988	80.00
IISS Strategic Survey 1987-88	11.50
Jane's Weapon Systems 1988-89	100.00
Jane's World Railways 1988-89	95.00

Reference Publications

	£
ABC Aerospace Directory	155.00
Air Defence Initiative	800.00
Air Forces of the World	325.00
Commercial Air Transport Industry 1989	390.00
Conventional Defence Initiative	800.00
Current Aircraft Prices	125.00
Defence & Aerospace Markets	800.00
Emerging Technologies	800.00
International Defence Directory 1988	220.00
Military Communications	640.00
Military Fuzes	800.00
Military Optronics	550.00
Precision Guided Munitions	800.00
Soviet High Command	550.00
Submarines of the World	125.00
Top 500 RDT & E Contractors	800.00
Turbine Engine Overhaul	800.00
US Defence Prime Contractors Market Study	800.00
World Armoured Vehicle Forecast	1350.00
World Helicopter Inventory & Forecast	750.00
World Military Aircraft Forecast	1350.00
World Military Aircraft Vol. 1 : Europe	170.00
World Military Avionics Inventory & Forecast	750.00
World Missiles Forecast	1350.00
World Ordnance Forecast	1350.00

D.M.S. Market Intelligence Reports

	£
Aerospace Companies	640.00
AN Equipment	640.00
Antisubmarine Warfare	640.00
Civil Aircraft	640.00
Command, Control, Communications & Intelligence	640.00
Defence Market	640.00
Electronic Systems	640.00
Electronic Warfare	640.00
Gas Turbine Engines/Gas Turbine Markets	640.00
Middle East/Africa	640.00
Military Aircraft	640.00
Military Vehicles	640.00
Missiles	640.00
Nato/Europe	640.00
Ordnance	640.00
Radar	640.00
South America/Australasia	640.00
Space Systems	640.00
Warships	640.00

Prices quoted are Publishers' original prices in Pound Sterling.

Please send your orders.

UBSPD

UBS Publishers' Distributors Ltd.

5 Ansari Road, New Delhi-110 002

Branches : New Delhi • Bombay Bangalore • Madras • Calcutta • Patna Kanpur

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ASSAM

Role Reversal

Bodo tribals confront AGP

THE stage and the style are all too familiar. So are the rhetoric and the slogans echoing in the submontane northern bank of the Brahmaputra. Only some of the roles have undergone a reversal. Four years after they rode the crest of a popular student agitation to power in Assam, Chief Minister Prafulla Kumar Mahanta and his Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) Government are realising the bitter price of power.

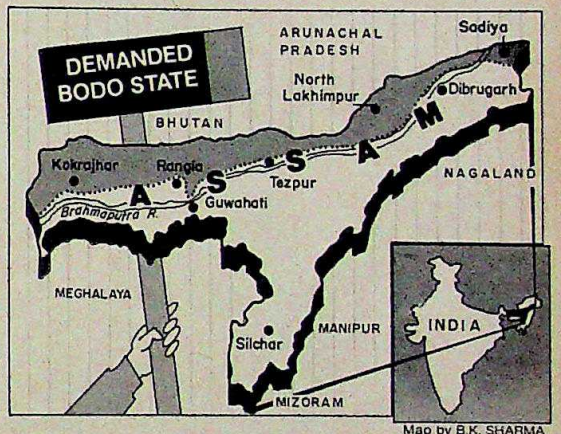
After fighting the "foreign nationals" and immigrants for nearly a decade the AGP Government has now locked horns with a strident section of the state's 40-lakh-strong tribal population of the plains. And last fortnight as the tribal agitation for a separate state took an ominously violent turn forcing the Mahanta Government to call in the army and the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), which his own followers had dubbed as the army of occupation in their streetfighting days, the irony was obvious. Even more so since the agitation led by Mahanta was aimed at driving out the immigrants in order to safeguard the ethnic, economic, cultural and political identity of the original inhabitants of Assam.

And now the most "original" of them all, the tribals, were taking up cudgels against the Mahanta Government. Says Upendra Nath Brahma, president of the All Bodo Students Union (ABSU), in the vanguard of the agitation: "The movement will live on as the Bodos will not be weighed under Assamese dominance and will strive to keep their identity." He adds in the same strident tone: "The creation of Bodoland is inevitable as Assamese chauvinism has reached a peak."

Last fortnight, as the agitation for "Bodoland" as the plains' tribals, predominantly Bodos, call their mythical state, headed for its first anniversary, the Bodo-dominated areas of Kokrajhar and Udalguri were in turmoil. The latest phase of agitation, culminating in a five-day bandh, left 32 dead and nearly 40 injured.

Earlier Mahanta had stiffly opposed induction of the army and the CRPF. Now his hand was forced as he asked the army to stand by and inducted seven companies of the CRPF to stem the violence. As groups of young armed Bodo extremists went about setting houses on fire, looting passengers in buses and private cars, attacking security men and looting arms, panic struck the Bodo-dominated areas with Assamese non-tribals fleeing to nearby towns.

Besides a separate state, the Bodos want the inclusion of the Bodo language in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.



Map by B.K. SHARMA

Fear that this would be used to cripple the administrative machinery increased as government employees became a target of attack. Home Minister Bhrigu Kumar Phukan was forced to make two visits to Kokrajhar last fortnight to boost the sagging morale of the administration as faith in the AGP's ability to handle the agitation was being seriously put to question.

On previous occasions, whenever the ABSU called for a bandh the AGP adopted a conciliatory stance cancelling bus and train services. This time when the student body called for a five-day bandh, it decided to run the services with armed guards. The ploy failed, and it had to retreat as trains were repeatedly fired upon by militants and tracks were blown up with bombs. Besides, railway employees were kidnapped, an assistant station master was shot dead and a goods train derailed.

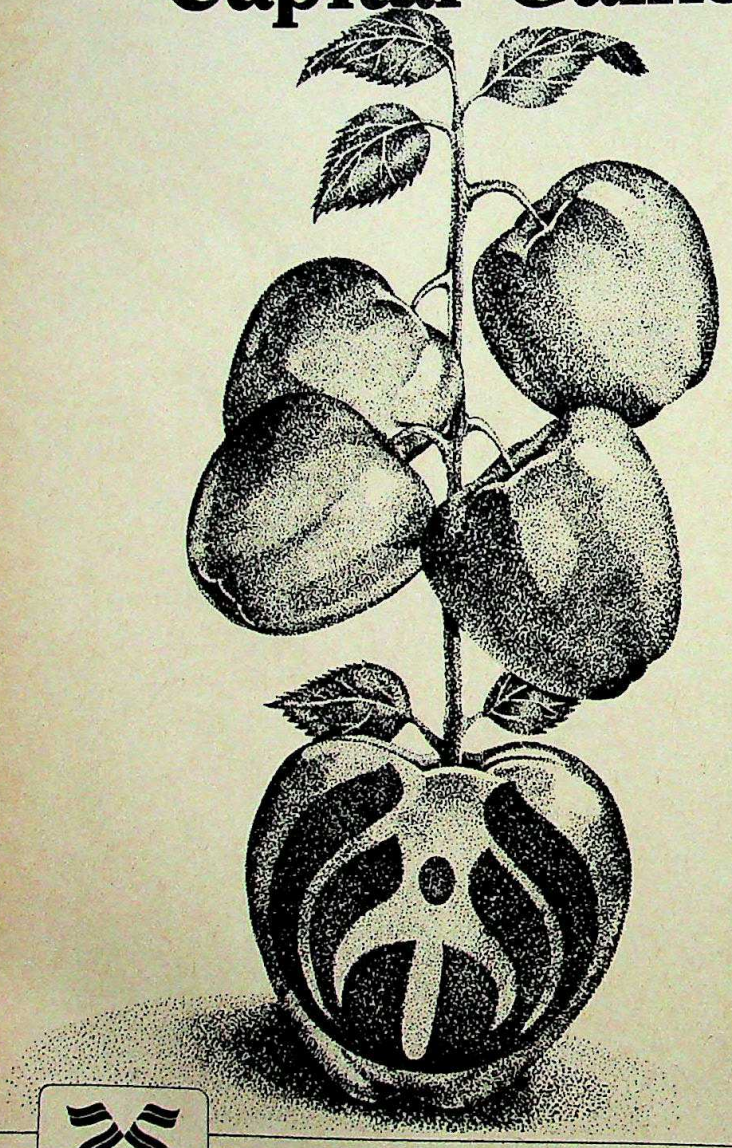
Besides a separate state, the agitating Bodo students demand greater job reservations and inclusion of the Bodo language in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Both Mahanta and Phukan have said that they are ready to consider all the socio-economic demands of the tribals but simply cannot agree to any further division of Assam. Mahanta has often said that the Assamese would shed the last drop of their blood to prevent any further vivisection of their state.

Mahanta and Phukan are obviously trying a carrot-and-stick approach and accordingly have called the ABSU for talks. But as often happens with ethnic agitations in the North-east, the conciliatory process has begun much too late, when control of the movement has passed into the hands of the hardliners. In fact the Bodo extremists are believed to draw encouragement from the recent accords the Centre finalised with extremists in Tripura and Darjeeling. "The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IDBI Capital Bonds An attractive instrument for exemption from Capital Gains Tax.



- Available at par throughout the year.
- Exemption from Capital Gains tax under Section 54E of the Income Tax Act, 1961.
- Exemption from Wealth tax under Section 5(1) (xvie) of the Wealth Tax Act, 1957
- Income tax benefit under Section 80L.
- Interest at 9% p.a. payable half yearly.
- At the investor's option, interest for the full period of 3 years can be paid in advance on discounted basis.
- No deduction of tax at source.
- Outstation cheques accepted and cost of collection will be borne by IDBI.

25TH YEAR OF SERVICE TO INDUSTRY

For further details contact the nearest IDBI office or write to Manager.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BANK OF INDIA

Jolly Maker Chambers No. 2, 225, Vinay K. Shah Marg, Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021.

Sobhagya-B-/88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

lesson is that the Central Government concedes nothing unless ethnic minorities resort to violence," says Naren Basumatari, a tribal student activist. Accordingly, the ABSU insists that it is unwilling to talk to the AGP and will only talk to New Delhi.

The AGP leaders quote this as evidence to prove that the Bodo stir has been fuelled and encouraged by the Congress(I) to embarrass them. The Assam Government claims that Bodo hardliner Sonaram Baglary, chief of the newly-formed Bodo Volunteer Force, told police interrogators that Union Home Minister Buta Singh had encouraged the ABSU to press for a separate state so that it became imperative for the Centre to intervene as the demand would lie out of the purview of the state Government.

Again, Assam's Minister of Social Welfare, Rekha Rani Das Bodo alleged that the Union Minister of State for Home, Santosh Mohan Dev, had "secret parleys" with ABSU leaders. Warns an agitated Phukhan: "If the Centre thinks it can get rid of the AGP by such methods, it does not know what it is in for. The Centre will end up paying a heavy price." Retorts Dev: "All this is nothing but insinuation." Another Central minister claimed that the AGP Government is only paying the price for the "ethnic hatred that it had introduced in the Brahmaputra valley."

Meanwhile, many Bodo leaders openly say that an armed conflict is the only way out. N. Hazari, publicity incharge of the ABSU has announced the formation of the armed Bodo security force "to protect the tribals from Assamese politicians and AGP hooligans". State police chief S.V. Subramaniam says that combing operations in Bodo-dominated areas are being intensified because of reports of armed Bodo training camps in the forests bordering Bhutan. A gun factory has also been unearthed in the forests.

While the Centre and the state Government bicker, the writing is yet again on the wall in the hapless state. Unfortunately, no one seems to have learnt a lesson from the frequency with which history has repeated itself in the Northeast, from Nagaland to Tripura and from Assam to Darjeeling.

—RAMESH MENON

BOTTOMLINE BY D. BUNKER

Topsy-Turvy

JUDGING by the public mood, the electorate seems to be impaled on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, is the Congress(I). And, on the bicycle (or is it a bullock?), is the Janata Dal. Neither inspires much faith. The ruling party has a lame-duck prime minister who is also a dame luck prime minister—the power-struggle in the Opposition ensures that he continues to stay on course to retain his crown. But, off course, come what may, the final choice will be between Rajiv Gandhi and V.P. Singh. One possible way to resolve the crisis in the public mind would be to do it the American way—a televised public debate between the two with Prannoy Roy and Vinod Dua acting as moderators. Here's how it could go.

Roy: Good evening. Welcome to another edition of *The World This Week.*

Dua (sotto voce): Psst, this is the debate.

Roy (weakly): Sorry viewers, there was a bit of a mix-up. And now, the event everybody has been waiting for, a debate between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Prime Contender V.P. Singh. Gentlemen, do you have anything to say before I ask Vinod to read out the rules.

Rajiv: Yes. Who is that funny looking guy with the glasses and the Hitler moustache?

Dua: *Pradhan Mantri ka kehna hai...*

Roy: Not now Vinod. Gentlemen, the rules are very simple. No hitting below the belt. Let's keep it clean.

Singh: That should be no problem for Mr Gandhi. He is Mr Clean-up. Just look at the way his friends have cleaned up....

Rajiv: That is a national affront. There is no proof except those silly photostats from Sweden that are being churned out by anti-national elements to destabilise the country. *Dal me kuch kala hai....*

Dua: The prime minister says that there is some black....

Roy: Vinod, you are supposed to translate into Hindi and not the other way around. Now Mr Singh. Do you think you will be able to offer the electorate a better alternative?

Singh: Certainly. The Tamil Nadu elections show that the people want a change and the Janata Dal....

Rajiv: What change? Your party is nothing but old *dal* in a new *dekchi.* If it hadn't been for that movie villain in those cheap dark glasses, Tamil Nadu would have been....

Singh: At least they were Indian glasses and not Italian Ray Bans. Why do you think the Congress(I) is known as Congress(Italian)?

Rajiv: At least we have a foreign policy. Your party needs only one policy—a life insurance policy.

Roy: Gentlemen. Please. I think we are getting off the track here. Let's concentrate on the essentials.

Dua: Prannoy *ka kehna hai ke....*

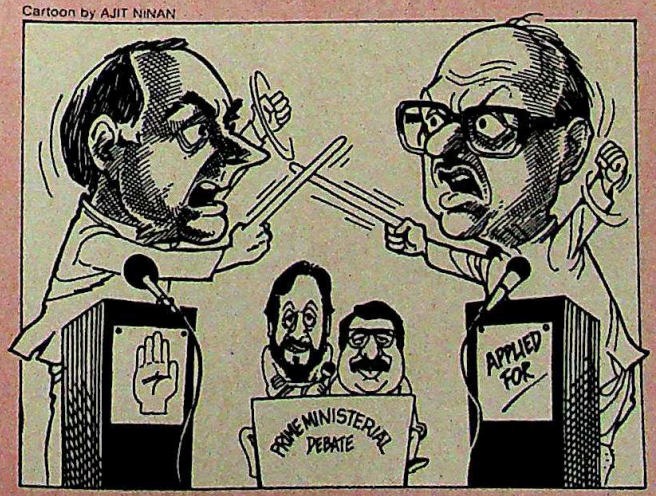
Roy: Vinod. Please. As I was saying, let's concentrate on the essentials.

Singh: Look at the price of essentials. In the last four years....

Rajiv: It started when you were finance minister. You were the one who went after all my friends... I mean those economic offenders. That's why they have raised their rates.

Roy: Just a minute, please. We have a caller on the line. Yes? Oh, yes. Well, gentlemen, there's a viewer here who wants to know why there was no prior announcement that *Ulta Pulta* was being revived.

Cartoon by AJIT NINAN



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HPF, pioneer in the manufacture of Medical X-ray Films in India, is all set to manufacture, in collaboration with Du Pont, Polyester-based Medical X-ray Films.

Ever since commencing operations, HPF has been virtually meeting the entire needs of Medical X-ray Films of the country.

Films that are CTA or cellulose triacetate-based. But worldwide, the shift is towards Polyester-based X-ray Film.

The State-of-the-art coating technology needs polyester as base material.

HPF is keeping pace with this advancement in medical science.

In collaboration with Du Pont, it is already engaged in conversion of Polyester-based X-ray Film.

And now, with the same collaborator, it is gearing itself up for manufacture of the latest generation Polyester- based Medical X-ray Film along with Industrial X-ray and Graphic Arts Films – on a Rs. 168-crore project.

Simultaneously, it is diversifying into integrated manufacture of Magnetic Tapes – for audio, video and computer applications – a Rs. 9.25 crore project. And, as the first step in manufacturing, it is concentrating on conversion of international quality Colour Roll Films and Paper to meet the changing demands from Black and White to Colour.

Last but not least, HPF is marketing INDU Photomaker, an automatic photo-dispensing unit for instant photography that's fast gaining popularity amongst entrepreneurs.

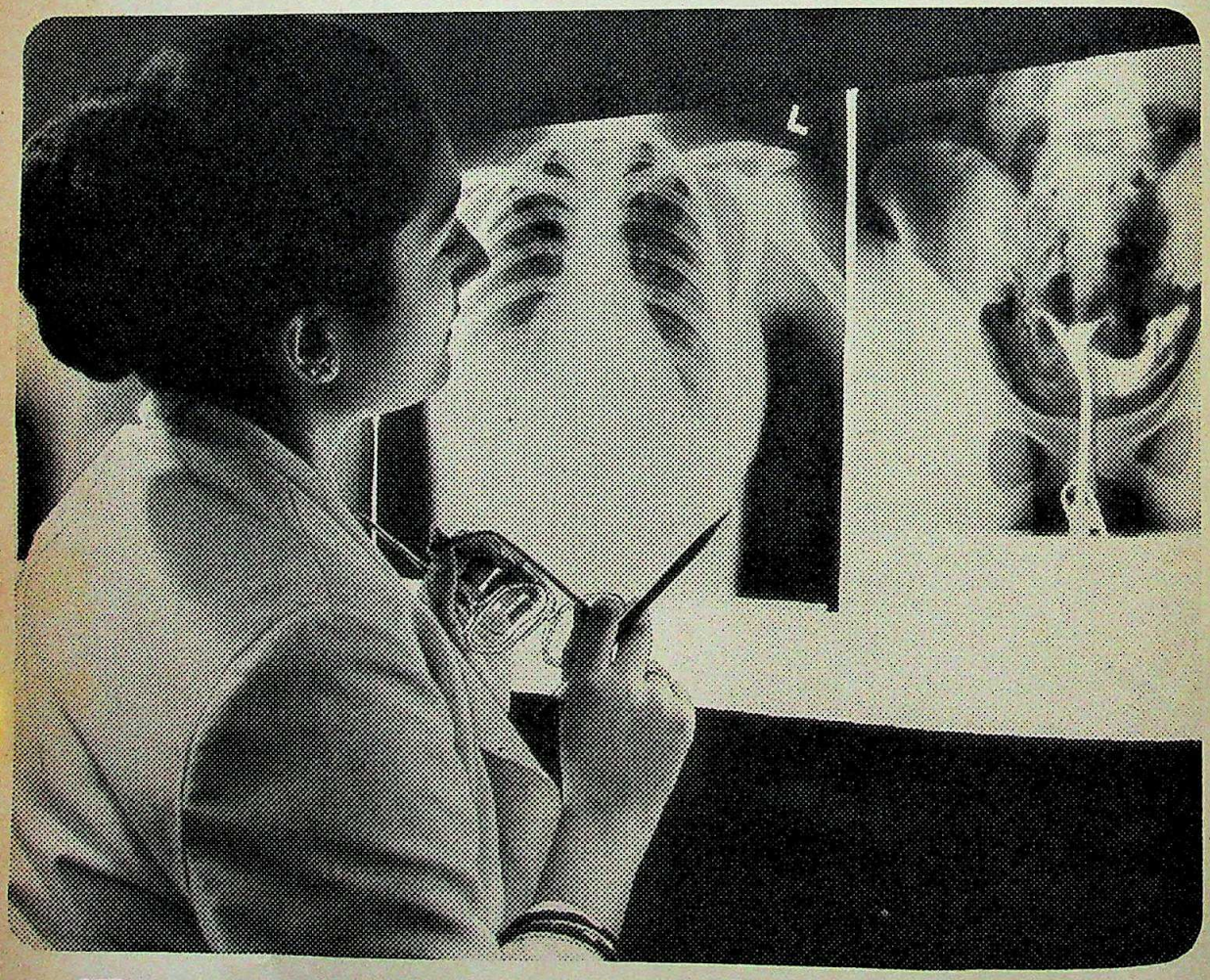
That's HPF: a progressive, profitable public sector organisation that not only cares for the health of the nation but also keeps itself abreast of the changing market demands.

Hindustan Photo Films Mfg Co Ltd
(A Government of India Enterprise)
Indunagar, Udhagamandalam 643 005.

Marketing Headquarters:
Subramanian Building,
Post Box No. 2771,
No.1 Club House Road,
Madras 600 002.

INDU

Exposing today tomorrow's needs



Presenting HPF's latest see-through polyester

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

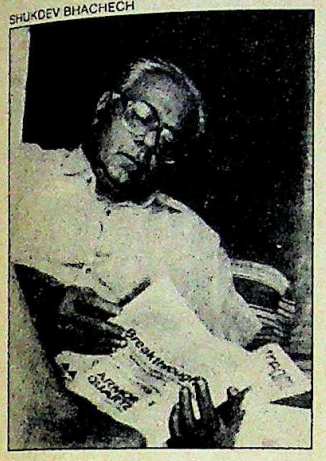
R K SWAMY/HPF/6603

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Crucial Victory

AHMEDABAD'S unsolved textile crisis saw the spotlight swing on a new actor—Congress(I) MP Haroobhai Mehta. A former communist, he went on an indefinite fast to press for the reopening of the textile mills. Says Mehta: "With the state Government's passive stance on the issue, there was no other course left for me. But my action is not a part of the dissidents' campaign to oust Chief Minister Amarsinh Chaudhary."

SHUKDEV BHACHECH



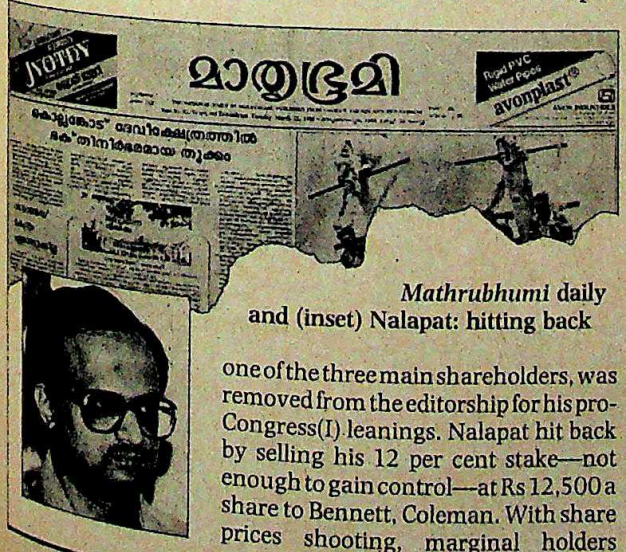
Haroobhai: workers' champion

As many as 35,000 workers have been rendered jobless following the closure of 16 textile mills. Some have been reduced to begging, while others have committed suicide. The chief minister made an attempt to provide alternative employment, but the results were not encouraging. Mehta declares: "What is deplorable is that the Government is unwilling to encourage those workers who want to run mills on a cooperative basis." However, seeing Mehta getting wide-scale support, Chaudhary has promised concrete steps within two months. Mehta, of course, triumphantly broke his fast on the sixth day.

Take-over Tussle

THE attempt by Bennett, Coleman and Company to take over the three-edition Malayalam daily *Mathrubhumi* (circulation: approximately 4.5 lakh) has created convulsions in media circles and prompted the CPI(M) which heads the Left Democratic Front Government in Kerala, to strongly deplore the move by "a monopolist newspaper chain which distorts democratic privileges". The reason for the boardroom battle spilling over to the political arena is obvious. The managing director and one of the leading shareholders of the publishing group M.P. Veerendrakumar, is also a leader of the Janata Dal—a partner of the LDF.

The boardroom conflict has been on since M.D. Nalapat,



Mathrubhumi daily and (inset) Nalapat: hitting back

one of the three main shareholders, was removed from the editorship for his pro-Congress(I) leanings. Nalapat hit back by selling his 12 per cent stake—not enough to gain control—at Rs 12,500 a share to Bennett, Coleman. With share prices shooting, marginal holders might now unload. The *Mathrubhumi* management is fighting back by trying to whip up parochial passions—about north Indians taking over a Malayalee institution.

According to Nalapat, it was Veerendrakumar himself who initiated the trend of wrenching the paper from its original owners like K.P. Keshava Menon who even held talks with Bennett, Coleman for launching an edition from Bombay in return for *Mathrubhumi* helping to bring out a *Times* edition from Cochin. Whatever the truth, the adrenalin is now really flowing in the highly competitive media market of Kerala.

Royal Dilemma

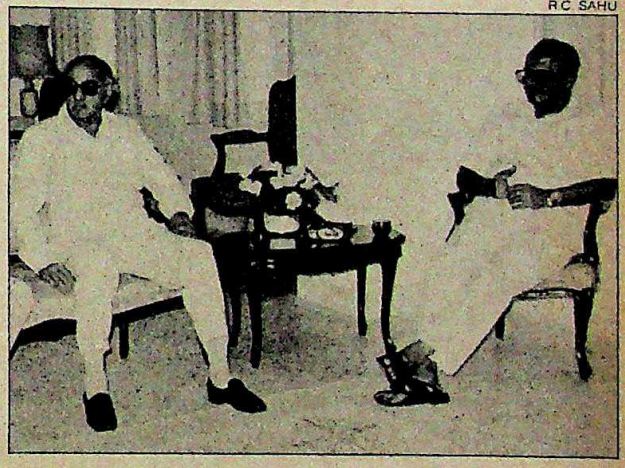
MAHARAJA Martand Singh of Rewa, well known for rearing white tigers, has become a victim of the crossfire between Arjun Singh and the Motilal Vora-Madhavrao Scindia camp.

The 66-year-old former prince is the chairman of Churhat Children's Welfare Society, whose lottery led to Arjun Singh's ouster. Insiders say the maharaja is just a nominal head, the reins actually being held by Arjun Singh's son, Ajay Singh.

But now the Government has begun to hound him. The society has been sent an avalanche of tax notices, one of which demands it pay Rs 25 lakh as lottery tax by March 8.

Although the society is seeking protection from the

R C SAHU



Martand Singh with Arjun Singh: greatly perturbed

Supreme Court, the maharaja is reportedly greatly perturbed, and has sent in his conditional resignation from the Lok Sabha to Rajiv Gandhi—for acceptance in case he is found guilty in the Churhat lottery scandal.

Controversial Rulings

SHIVA Nandan Paswan, deputy speaker of the Bihar Assembly and Lok Dal member, found himself officiating as speaker last month following Shiv Chandra Jha's resignation. However, his reversal of Jha's ruling that Bhagwat Jha Azad could not be leader of the Assembly since he was not a member has earned him brickbats. His detractors claim it was in return for an assurance on the assistance he has sought for a kidney replacement in the US, at a cost of Rs 5 lakh. He also invited flak for admitting a privilege motion against Jha. Says Paswan: "I've written to the Government withdrawing my request for financial assistance. I'd rather lose my life than be seen trading for it." Nevertheless his critics have gone ahead and challenged his ruling in the Patna High Court.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

High performance in Engineering

DURAMETALLIC

Dura Seals

Sealing every known fluid and sealing it successfully. From **Durametallic (I) Ltd** in collaboration with Durametallic Corporation, USA, internationally acknowledged experts in sealing systems.

BS·B

BS&B Rupture Disks

"Safety equipment of the last order" which surpass established international standards. From **BS&B Safety Systems (I) Ltd** in collaboration with BS&B Safety Systems, USA, the largest and oldest company in its field.

TUFLIN

Tuflin Plug Valves

The most effective isolation valves — the only ones of their kind in India. From **Xomox (I) Ltd** in collaboration with Xomox Corporation, USA, leaders in valve technology, worldwide.

Smith Meters

A complete range of Flow Meters including Turbine Meters for accurate fluid volume measurement. From **Moorco (I) Ltd** in collaboration with the pioneers in flow measurement technology — Smith Meters Inc., a subsidiary of Moorco Inc., USA.

Crosby Relief Valves

Safety Relief Valves — the most dependable equipment for added plant safety. From **Moorco (I) Ltd** in collaboration with the specialists for nuclear and process industries — Crosby Valve and Gage Co., a subsidiary of Moorco Inc., USA.

ASCO

ASCO Solenoid Valves

High quality valves from **ASCO (I) Limited**, available in a wide range to suit every conceivable application. Produced to the stringent specifications laid down by ASCO, USA, its technical and financial collaborator. A world leader in Solenoid Valves, ASCO, USA, has 100 years of proven experience.

A range of hi-tech engineering products that play a critical role in smooth, safe and uninterrupted plant functioning...

Proven products that were being imported until recently by Indian industries from the very same companies.

Identical technology, changed location
Result : the 'Made in India' advantages.

- No more import licence and foreign exchange problems.
- Prompt supply and service throughout the country.
- Specialised engineering capability for Indian needs.
- Assistance in selection, installation and commissioning.

So, for precision and reliability in fluid control and safety systems, come to:

Regd. and Head Office:
147 Karapakkam Village
Madras 600 096

Branches:

407-412 Swastik Chambers
CST & Sion Trombay Road Junction
Chembur Bombay 400 071

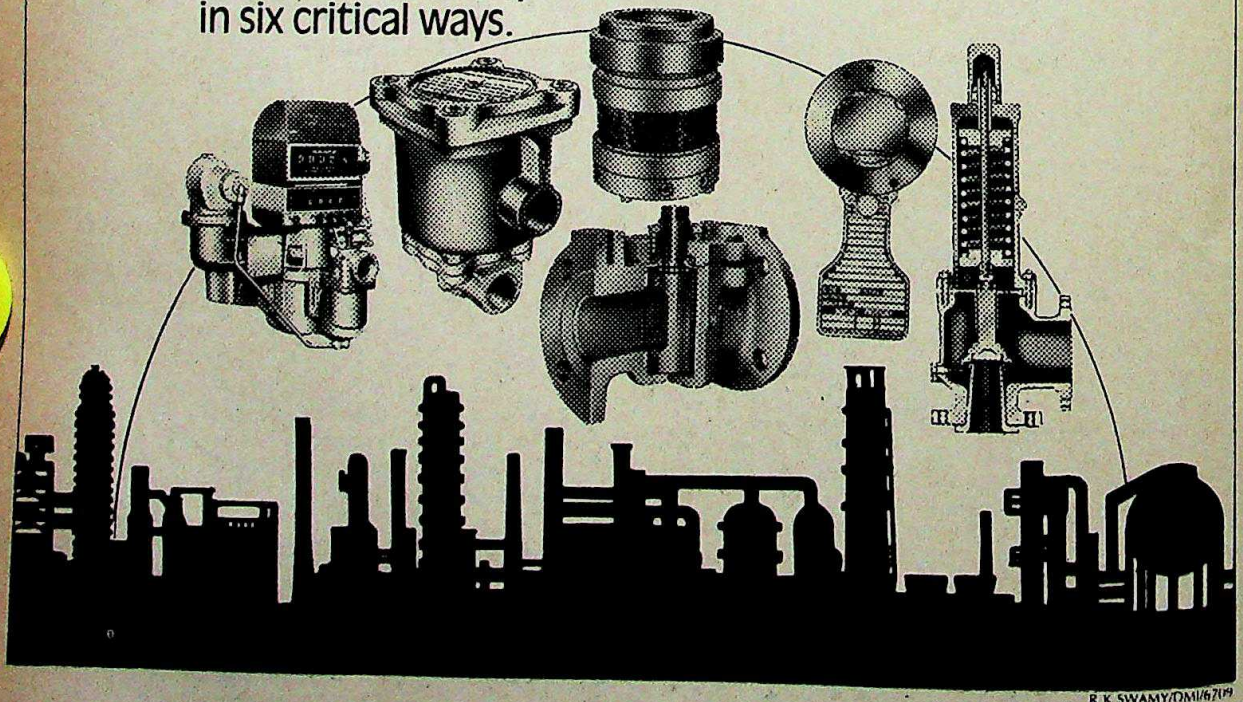
203 B N Chambers
R C Dutt Road
Alkapuri Baroda 390 005

1209-11 Padma Towers-1, 4 Rajendra Place
New Delhi 110 008

51 Shakespeare Sarani
Calcutta 700 017

'Dhun Building' 827 Anna Salai
Madras 600 002

Minimise maintenance and maximise safety in six critical ways.



R K SWAMY/DMI/67109

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FAST FOOD FRACAS

COMPETITION in the processed foods market is getting hotter. New entrants are challenging established bigwigs with alacrity. Lipton, the packaged tea giant, has ventured into biscuits—an area dominated by Britannia and Parle. In late-January, the company test-marketed its biscuits and insiders claim the response has been "gratifying". Lipton has also recently launched its Treetop range of packaged soft drinks in Bombay, Parle's home turf. Earlier, the two were involved in a price war in other cities which bruised both badly. Since Lipton's track record in launching new products has so far not been inspiring, the summer of 1989 will be crucial for it. Bombay is also the battleground for Parle's Bisca brand of ready-to-eat noodles which hopes to give Maggi of Food Specialities a run for its money. The interesting part of the marketing strategy is that Bisca will be sold through 200 outlets, each fitted with a geyser to enable hot water to be poured into the pack. The idea: people should chomp Bisca on the streets and not bring it home and compare it with Maggi.

MICROWAVE FAD

AFTER video cassette recorders and washing-machines, the well-heeled are all agog about microwave ovens. Such ovens have replaced VCRs as the favourite item brought back by Indians from abroad, and their imports are said to have gone up dramatically in the recent past. Not surprisingly, several established companies are formulating plans to set up manufacturing units. While Escorts and Kelvinator are scouting for foreign collaborators, the Indore-based Microvin Appliances seems to have already got its act together. It has advertised for personnel and claims it will begin production by the end of the year. Another company, Power Control and Appliances, which manufactures the Sumeet range of kitchen gadgets, even hopes to develop an indigenous model. But everything is not hunky-dory. Assuming a price-tag of not less than Rs 22,000 per oven, demand projections are rather hazy. And the capital cost of a microwave oven project is high—between Rs 20 crore and Rs 25 crore. Yet another snag is that the Government is unsure whether to allow foreign collaborations in this area which is not exactly a "priority" one, particularly in an election year.

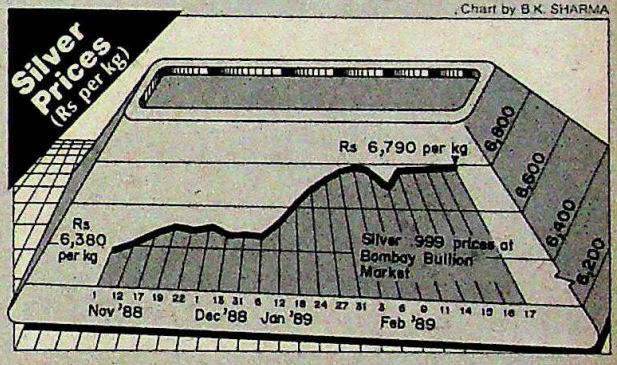
HONDA'S GAME PLAN

HONDA motor company of Japan, the world's leading manufacturer of portable generator sets, has drawn up an interesting strategy for its India operations. The Japanese firm, which holds 33 per cent of the equity capital of Shriram Honda Power Equipment Ltd, is negotiating a deal by which the splintered Shriram family will offload its stake in the Rudrapur (Uttar Pradesh) company to the Tata group. The Munjals of Hero Honda were also in the race for Shriram Honda but seem to have been sidelined for an important reason. Rallis India, a Tata group associate, has a collaboration agreement with another Japanese company Kubota—Honda's main rival in the business—to manufacture gensets. Thus, by tying up with the Tatas, Honda hopes to kill two birds with one stone: beef up the sagging fortunes of the Indian company and also prevent a newcomer from entering the fray since the Tatas will obviously not collaborate with two Japanese concerns for manufacturing the same product. Shriram Honda, which started commercial production a year ago, shut its factory in October on account of accumulation of unsold stocks of 6,000 gensets. Subsequently, Honda pumped in fresh funds and ensured that Shriram Honda slashed its prices below those of its only competitor in the country, Birla Yamaha. Honda obviously does not believe in being No.2.

NO SILVER LINING

AT the rate silver prices have been rising over the last few months, they should soon crack the ceiling. Last fortnight, prices in the Bombay market were perilously close to Rs 6,800 per kg. The average price of silver crossed the Rs 6,500-mark in the third week of November, but

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



then stabilised and did not exceed this level till early January. Since then, however, silver prices have moved vertiginously and during most of February remained well above Rs 6,700. The prospects of silver fetching more than Rs 7,000 a kg by the middle of the year are no longer in the realms of fantasy.

SHIFTING BATTLE LINES

MANUFACTURERS of moulded luggage in the organised sector are on the warpath. This time not against one another, but against the small-scale sector. The story is a familiar one: small moulded luggage producers do not pay excise duties and sales tax aggregating 48 per cent of the ex-factory value of the products which companies in the organised sector have to cough up. As a result, established brands like VIP, Aristocrat and Safari—which had undercut one another for years—today find themselves being priced out by products of the small sector. For example, against a price-tag of Rs 270 for the least expensive VIP suitcase, a look-alike brand produced by a small unit sells for only Rs 150. Adversity makes friends out of former adversaries. The big boys in the business have ganged up and sent strong representations to the Finance Ministry for tax concessions. And, for the time being, the rules of the discount game have been changed. The average discount offered by established manufacturers of moulded luggage has been halved from 40 per cent to 20 per cent.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES

Conflicting Perceptions

The balance of payments position is not comfortable, but yet to turn critical

IS India heading for a Latin American-type debt crunch? Not really. But Central ministers and Finance Ministry officials have lost no opportunity in claiming that the balance of payments position is worrying and that extreme caution has to be exercised in managing the country's meagre hard currency reserves. As Union Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh told INDIA TODAY: "The balance of payments position is quite serious."

For most of last year, India's foreign exchange reserves have been roughly equivalent to three months' imports. On some days, stocks of hard currency have dipped below import requirements for two months. What is bothersome is that while exports have shown a heavy rise of 50 per cent in rupee terms and 42 per cent in terms of dollars over the last two years, imports have gone up even faster.

Total foreign exchange reserves (excluding gold stocks which are substantially undervalued and Special Drawing Rights, an international unit of currency) slumped significantly by more than Rs 2,000 crore between April and August last year (*see chart*), but have since gone up. Reserves, however, remain well below the peak touched in March 1987.

Says a highly-placed bureaucrat in North Block: "Last year there was a bunching of import payments. Besides, world prices of metals and petrochemicals were unusually high." Due to the 1987 drought, foodgrains had to be imported. This meant a slowing down of imports of capital goods and machinery which, in turn, delayed the establishment of projects and inflated their costs.

Besides, the flow of external assistance, which shot up by over 40 per cent between 1986-87 and 1987-88, has come down since. Repayment of the principal amount borrowed from the International Monetary Fund is expected to reach a high of Rs 1,557 crore in 1989-90.

Between 1986-87 and 1987-88, the value of oil imports shot up by a whopping 52 per cent. The crude oil import bill is expected to go up from Rs 4,500 crore this year to around Rs 6,000 crore in 1989-90. This is on ac-

Chart by B K SHARMA

IT was time to talk tough. After months of whining about the poor export performance of big business houses, the Commerce Ministry last month told representatives of more than 70 top industrial groups—a virtual who's who of the Indian corporate world—that their export record was dismal and that if they did not improve it soon the Government would have to wield the big stick.

The Government's concern is understandable. The trade deficit for the period from April to December has ballooned to Rs 6,601 crore. And the foreign exchange reserves position is none-too-comfortable. So the Government has little option but to step up exports. The value of exports in 1988-89 is indeed expected to rise by 25 per cent over that in 1987-88 to reach Rs 20,000 crore. But this rate of growth cannot be sustained unless large industrial concerns improve their export performance.

Says Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh: "The export performance of big business houses has been far from creditable though these are the very companies which have always enjoyed a sheltered market at home." For instance, the 73 largest industrial groups in the country accounted for only 8 per cent of total exports in 1986-87. Of the total income of these houses, only 3.4 per cent came from exports. Worse still, most of the big houses have imported much more than they have exported (*see chart*). In contrast, small-scale units accounted for one-fourth of India's exports.

Spokesmen of big business groups, however, hotly contest the charge that they have done little to boost exports. Most of them blame government policies for having created a high-cost economy which has rendered exports uncompetitive. Raunaq Singh, chairman of Raunaq Enterprises, says sardonically: "I have to pay 90 per cent import duty on my capital equipment and 60 per cent interest on working capital and then buy steel at two-and-a-half times the international price. Then I have to wait more than nine months to have part of my costs reimbursed under the scheme by which exporters are provided raw materials at world prices. How can you expect a dramatic rise in exports under such a system?"

Other industrialists are equally cynical. "We cannot be expected to compete with tailors and cobblers," quips Lalit Mohan Thapar, who heads the country's fifth-largest corporate conglomerate. He feels the Government should

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

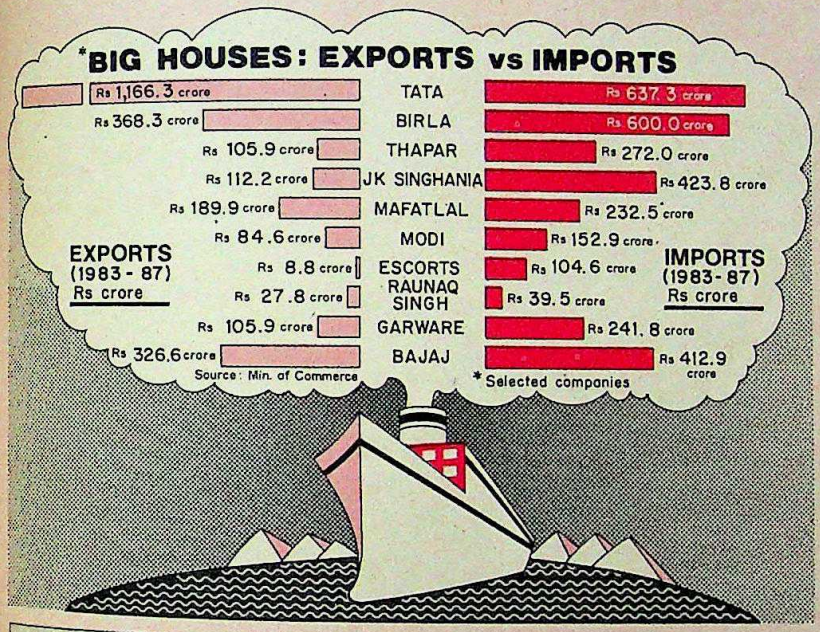
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EXPORTS

Pressure Tactics

reduce customs duties on capital goods and provide blanket import licences in cases where there are firm export commitments. Another problem faced by Indian exporters is that they are unable to offer attractive terms of credit. Ashok Leyland, for instance, was unable to export its trucks to Africa, mainly because its credit terms did not match those offered by Japanese truck manufacturers.

Y.K. Modi, managing director of Modi Alkalies and Chemicals, explains why big houses have not been historically attuned towards exports: "The Government encouraged groups like ours to enter import-substituting industries like steel, chemicals and fertilisers.



DINESH SINGH Union minister for commerce

"The export performance of big houses has been far from creditable."

Head, Thapar group **L.M. THAPAR**

"We cannot be expected to compete with tailors and cobblers."

How can you now suddenly expect us to shift our thrust? Large groups are not manufacturing 'simple' items like garments or jewellery which have ready export markets."

But though such complaints by businessmen have more than a grain of truth, the Government cannot obviously continue to sit back and wait for big houses to voluntarily step up exports. However, there are deep divisions within the ranks of the Government as well as the business community about what needs to be done. One section within the Commerce Ministry is arguing that punitive measures (such as withholding of licences) are the only way to compel large industrial houses to export more. At least one businessmen agrees: "Imposing export obligations is the only way," says R.P. Goenka who heads RPG Enterprises.

Another group in the ministry suggests milder steps such as the reduction of import duties on capital goods and the use of fiscal measures to curb domestic consumption (of products such as tea) in order to release exportable surpluses. Clearly there are no easy solutions. H.P. Nanda of Escorts points out that many large houses had in the past agreed to the imposition of export obligations merely to obtain production licences. Subsequently, though these obligations were not fulfilled, the Government did not impose penalties after hearing explanations about why exports could not be executed.

While government officials and economists argue that large houses will never export so long as it is more profitable for them to sell in the domestic market, businessmen like Nanda disagree. He believes that with the Government granting more and more incentives for export, it is no longer unprofitable to sell outside the country. "One good way to export is to set up joint ventures with firm buy-back arrangements," he says.

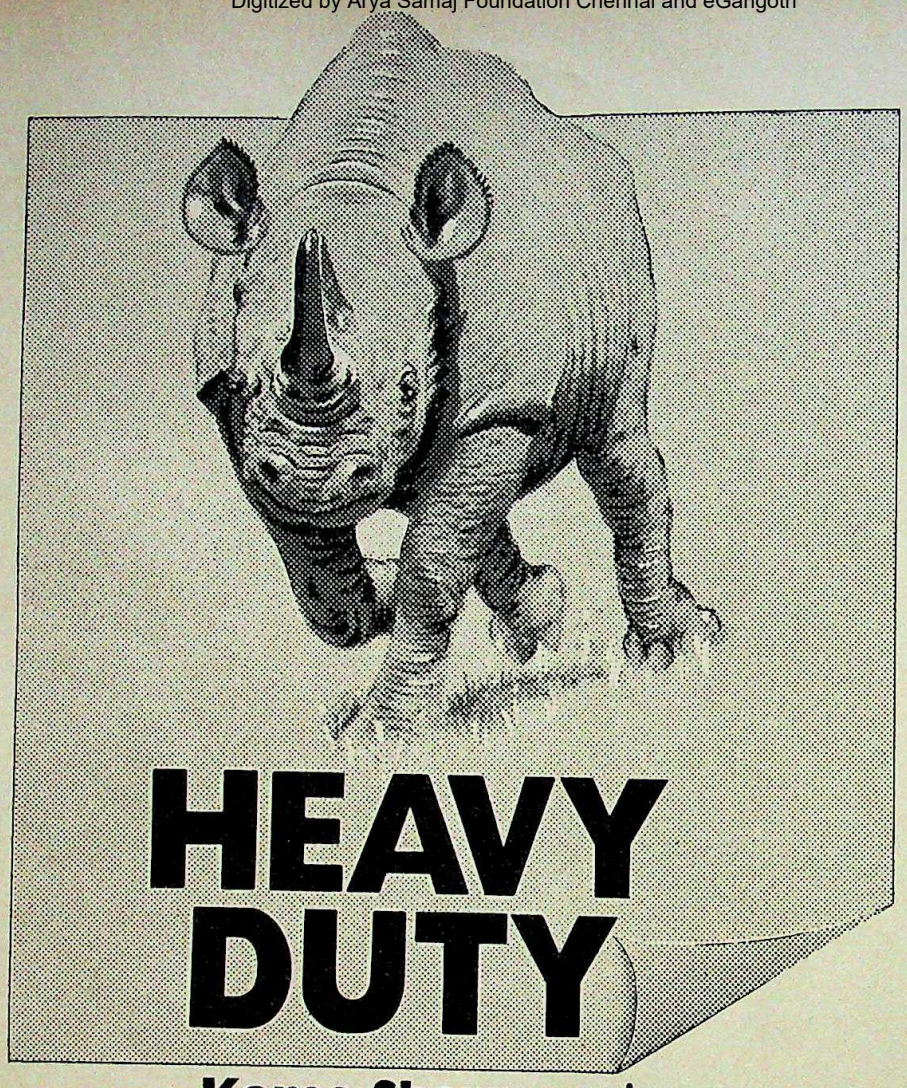
Minister Singh concludes: "If big houses don't deliver the goods, we have no choice but to wield the stick—either by strictly enforcing export obligations or further liberalising imports to force indigenous industry to become competitive. We would hate to do either, which is why we are conducting discussions."

As yet, these discussions have not yielded much. But the Government does not have too many options. For it is fast running out of carrots to offer to the country's exporters.

—SURAJEET DAS GUPTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



HEAVY DUTY

Kores-Sharp copier with unique OPC technology

Kores-Sharp's OPC technology – the latest in the world of Photo Receptors, making a world of difference in performance. Enhancing operations in an economical package.

Advanced features simplify operations

- Copying up to A3 size – 293 x 434 mm (11" x 17")
- Unique simulation function
- Tamper-proof electronic totaliser
- Built in dehumidifier
- Simple clamshell design

And of course, Kores' all-India network of offices and service centres ... for speedy response. Ensuring your copier stays in top condition.

For details contact your nearest Kores office.

kores®

Kores (India) Ltd. Business Machines & Systems Dvn., Worli, Bombay 400 018
Tel: 4921948, 4920696 • Branches all over India

Available on various State Governments' rate contracts.

The copier with the difference

AKA/408-A1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

count of a likely upswing in global oil prices. The outflow on this account goes up further with the devaluation in the world value of Indian currency.

Higher oil imports is only one constraint on the balance of payments front. The flow of remittances by non-resident Indians (NRIs) employed in Gulf countries—which shored up foreign exchange reserves in the late '70s and early '80s—has stagnated over the last three years and shows no signs of picking up. Above all, there is no certainty that the export growth rate of the last two years will be sustained in the long run since most big Indian businessmen find it more profitable to sell at home.

Yet, independent economists and World Bank representatives—normally critical of government policies, though for different reasons—see no cause for alarm. Says B.B. Bhattacharya, professor at the Institute of Economic Growth: "Since Independence, barring a few years in the mid-'70s, we've become accustomed to a hand-to-mouth situation as far as foreign exchange is concerned. I don't think this year has been exceptionally bad."

Adds an academic of the Delhi School of Economics: "The fear that like certain Latin American countries, India may fall into a kind of debt trap is highly exaggerated." The country's debt-service ratio (or outstanding payments of principal and interest amounts on borrowings as a proportion of total export earnings) stood at 23.5 per cent in March last year. This ratio will go up by around 4 percentage points if liabilities to NRIs are included. Such a debt-service ratio is considered "reasonable" when compared to those of other developing countries, says an official of the Reserve Bank of India.

According to independent economists, only 11 per cent of India's total external loans have been contracted on variable rates of interest against more than 80 per cent in several South American countries. This reduces the risk of external borrowing on account of fluctuations in interest rates, he explains. Officials of the World Bank echo similar sentiments. Says a bank source: "In a country like India, imports invariably grow at a rate which may be 10 per cent to 20 per cent higher than the overall rate of growth of the economy." He feels the balance of payments deficit is less bothersome than the budget deficit.

Thus, despite disagreements about the intensity of the foreign exchange crunch, there is unanimity on one point: there is little room for complacency.

—PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

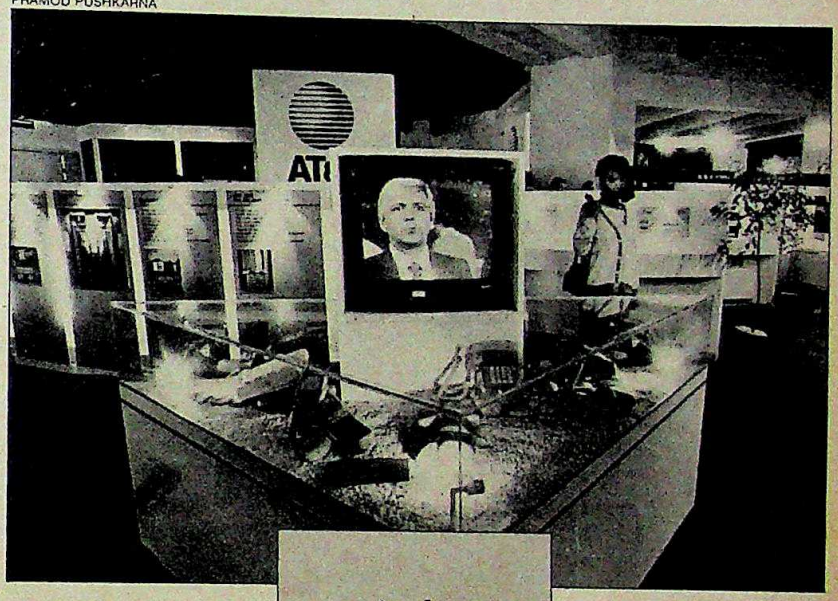
ENGINEERING TRADE FAIR

Clean Sweep

American firms dominate show

WITH the Soviets having taken India by storm in 1988, wasn't the arrival of the Americans just a matter of time? But they have not set foot on Indian shores to consolidate cultural ties through festivals. Instead, the American invasion—evident at the 8th Indian Engineering Trade Fair that opened last fortnight at Pragati Maidan, New Delhi—aims at promoting techno-

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



AT&T stall at the fair: hard sell

logical and business ties with this country.

At the second largest American exposition anywhere in the world, 120 US companies dazzled Indians with a display of high-tech—computer graphics, microwave products, communication gadgets and even ice cream freezers. From the Broadway night club music to the generously distributed Pepsi-Cola cans, it was an all-American show. Though in terms of sheer number, the Indian contingent with 350 companies was expectedly the largest, the Americans undoubtedly stole the show. The US was, in fact, given the status of 'partner country'—a privilege enjoyed by Canada last year.

At the second largest American exposition in the world, 120 US companies dazzled Indians with a display of high-tech.

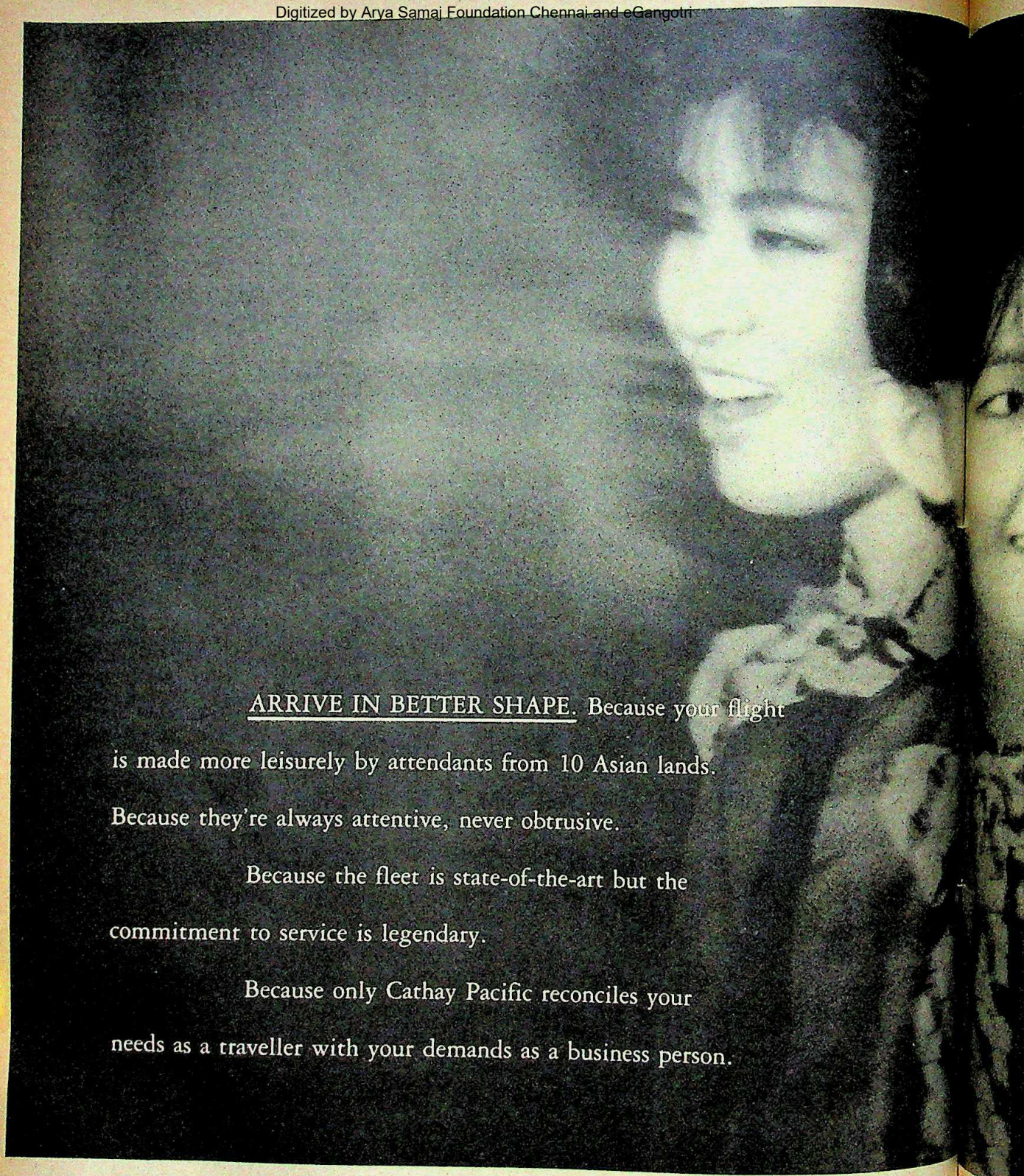
Said Melvin W. Searls, commercial counsellor in the US Embassy: "We were aware that India was going through a liberalising phase. The Rajiv-Reagan meeting evoked greater interest in the US. So American companies have come now to gauge the Indian market, and see the effect of liberalisation on industry."

For Indian businessmen, it was a show-window to the latest and the best of American technology. US businessmen were hawking goods ranging from tiny valves to huge oil rigs. For instance, the Oklahoma International Trade Consortium was trying to sell eight oil rigs to the Oil and Natural Gas Commission for $18 million (Rs 27.5 crore). And other Oklahoma companies were seeking joint ventures in the field of speciality chemicals and manufacture of valves. Even fire-fighting machines were on sale. Said G.P. Holden, manager, international sales, of Mertz Inc: "Aside from fire-fighting machines, we are also trying to push hydraulic vibrators used in oil exploration for $1 million."

World leaders in engineering, telecommunications and electronics were present in full force. There was the telecommunications giant AT&T with one of the biggest stalls. The company—which had opened a liaison office in India two months back—has offered fibre optics technology to Hindustan Cables Limited, is pushing its telephone systems, and considering a collaboration with the Modis in computer software. Said Krishna R. Tanuku, regional

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Swire Group

Arrive in better shape
CATHAY PACIFIC

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

vice-president of AT&T: "We are open to sell or enter into a joint venture in any kind of technology that the Indians want." Added Joseph Joseph M.S.C, area sales manager of Harris Corporation: "The market for selling transmission equipment is very big in this country. The exhibition gave us greater visibility in the Indian market." He had good reason to be pleased. Harris Corporation has tied up with the public sector Electronics Corporation of India Limited for a transfer of technology in the field of microwave products which can be used to install telephones in rural areas.

Larry Denny, president of Den Con Tool Company, too was upbeat about Indo-US trade relations: "Apart from the large internal market, India could be a base to export to other countries. It has cheap, highly efficient technical labour." So Allied Signal Inc, a US company, has tied up 24 per cent equity with Usha Amorphous and a Japanese firm, Diahen, for the manufacture of transformers entirely for export. And Mertz Inc is negotiating with Hindustan Motors for manufacturing truck chassis for export to the Soviet Union.

Attracting the largest crowds was the wide range of computers. The best in the business were present—Apple, Digital, Raba Contel and Unisys. And they were displaying their latest wares. Computer giant Unisys, for instance, was exhibiting its new desktop mainframe computer, introduced in the home market just two weeks back. Said Ramesh Patel, who plans to buy a computer for his consultancy business: "The number and variety of computers were amazing."

Of course, many of the more advanced exhibits are of no practical value to a developing country; and Indian businessmen continue to be hamstrung by the foreign exchange crunch. Moreover, India is by no means on the Americans' priority list. The volume of US trade with China, for instance, is three times larger. As Searls explains: "In India it takes years to get clearance. I can get clearances in Malaysia in 30 days. Even China is better. The MRTP and FERA laws have not been helpful. And Coke will be a test case of whether Indians want foreign investment or not. More US companies have left the country than have come in."

Yet, the US continues to be India's biggest trading partner (trade between the two countries stood at Rs 4,932.62 crore in 1987-88), and the relationship was undoubtedly cemented by the large American presence at the trade fair.

—SURAJEET DAS GUPTA

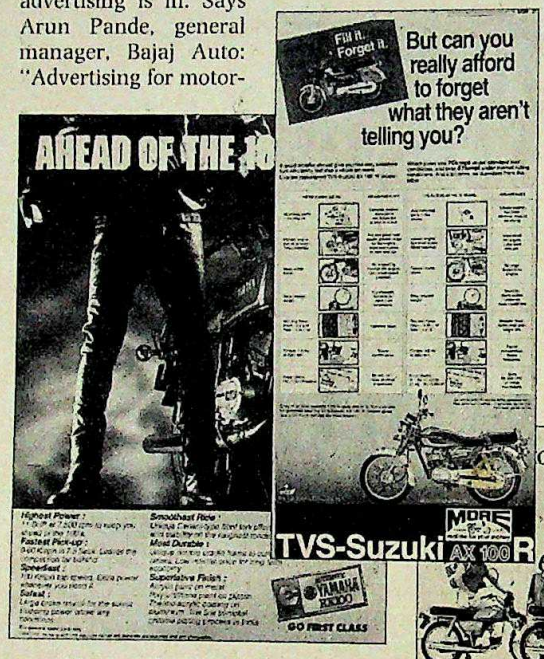
MOTORCYCLES

Revving Up

Stiff competition in market

FILL It. Forget It," says a Hero Honda ad for its 100 cc motorcycle. "But can you really afford to forget what they aren't telling you ?" questions TVS Suzuki hawking its AX-100R model.

Things are definitely hotting up in the motorcycle market. Comparative advertising is in. Says Arun Pande, general manager, Bajaj Auto: "Advertising for motorcycles reflects the severe competition in the market."

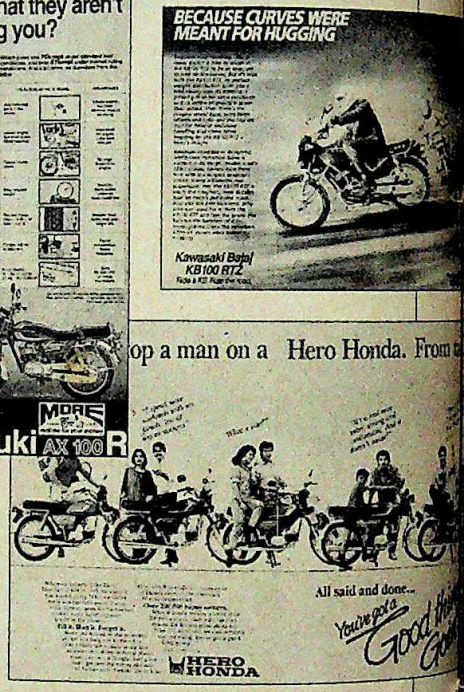


Motorcycle advertisements: comparative campaigning

The competition is matched by strong demand. In 1988 motorcycle production touched the 4-million mark, a healthy 30 per cent increase over the previous year. But figures can be deceptive. Only one segment of the motorcycle market is growing: the ventures with Japanese collaborations—Bajaj Auto with Kawasaki, Escorts with Yamaha, TVS Suzuki and Hero Honda. In 1988 the four manufacturers with Japanese tie-ups together produced 2.3 million motorcycles, up from 1.68 million the previous year. The other four "Indian" manufacturers—Escorts which produces the Rajdoot, Enfield, Ideal Jawa and Bajaj Auto with its M-80 line—produced 1.75 million bikes, only a marginal improvement over 1987.

The yen for Japanese motorbikes is not surprising. Consumer profiles show that there are two broad polarised groups. The 18-25 age group go for speed and regard motorcycles as a fun machine. In that, the Japanese bikes on the market have a clear edge. Pick-up speed is not all that important because of the traffic and condition of Indian roads. Most youngsters, however, prefer the Japanese makes because of the top speed—80 km an hour.

Styling is more important for the second consumer group, aged between 26 and 40. Consumer profiles reveal them to be sober professionals looking for a bike that looks good and offers fuel economy. They are not looking for a fun machine or speed but for something that is stylish and modern-looking. Says a dealer in Bombay: "Marketing motorcycles is radically different from scooters. A motorcycle enthusiast is more discerning."



Hero Honda learnt that lesson early. The company's CD-100 has been a runaway success. Hero Honda has two advantages over its rivals. The CD-100 is fuel efficient—giving 55-60 km to a litre, compared to TVS and Bajaj which offer 52 km and Escorts which gives 42 km. The company was also sitting on large deposits from prospective customers. This meant more money for expansion. The company now plans to double capacity to 2 lakh. Economies of scale will give it an edge over rivals, and it is the only new motorcycle company to report a profit. Bajaj executives say the KB-100

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Tiles with a splash of romance

SPARTEK SENSATIONS

Attractive new size
305 mm. × 152.5 mm.

INTRODUCING

THE Rain Song SERIES

Soft, gentle rain. Sensuous. Evocative.
The romance of rain captured on a tile.
The Spartek Rain Song Series. In three
subtle shades to add magic to the mood.

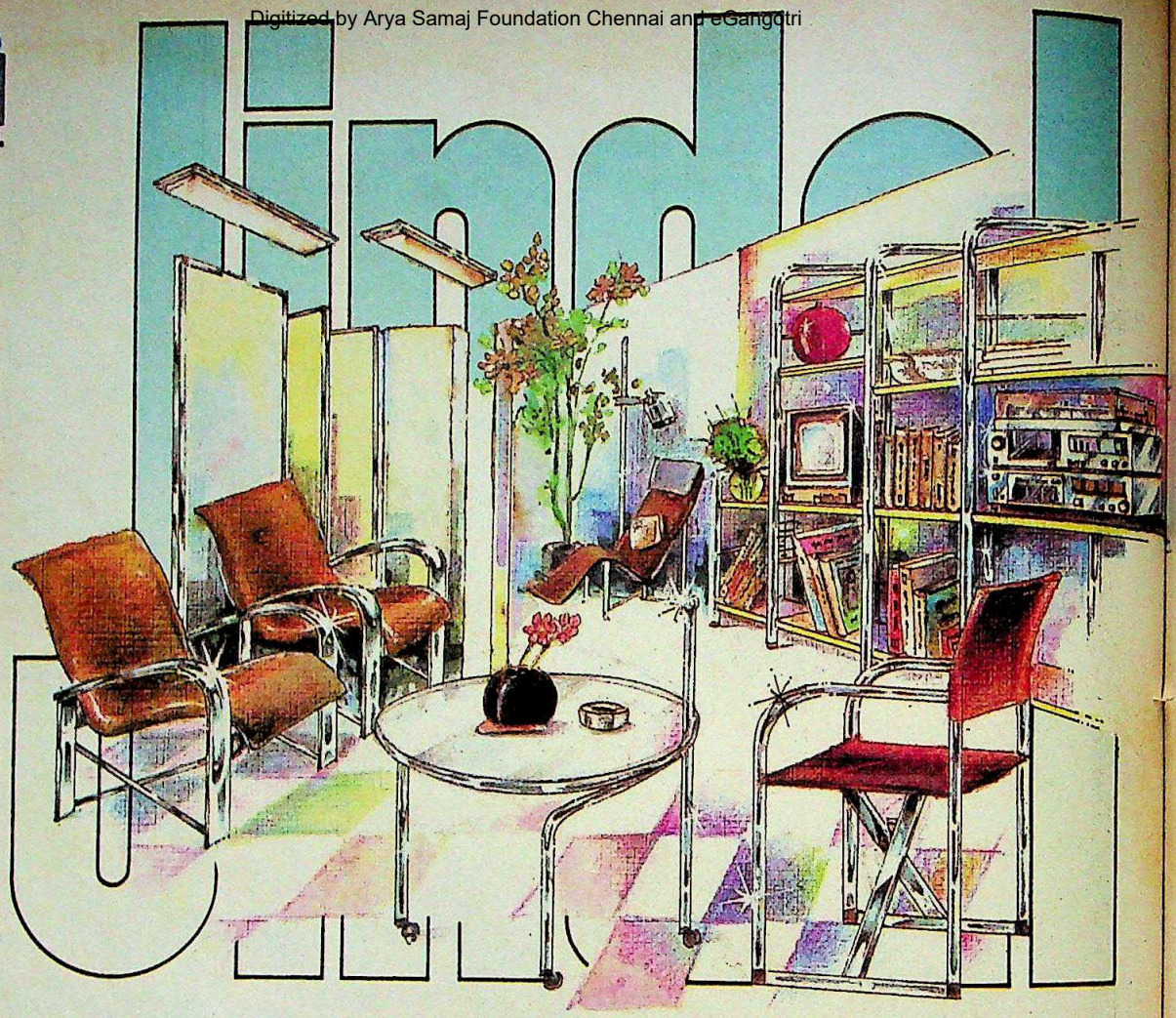
SPARTEK

52, Chamiers Road, Madras 600 028

India's largest selling ceramic floor tiles.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JINDAL



Steel designs

Stainless Steel adds design to your life. Makes consumer durables and architecture that lasts. Adds art to craft. And what's more. Stainless Steel refines petroleum and makes a material difference to almost any chemical and processing industry you name.

Stainless Steel

Today this exciting metal is 'steeling' a march over conventional materials in a diverse range of applications. Stainless Steel is corrosion resistant & rust proof with excellent formability and ductility. It is lightweight yet strong. It is abrasion resistant, autoclavable and hygienic. Never before has something that looks so good made such good sense!

A range to suit all applications

JINDAL STAINLESS PRODUCTS

Available in Grades of AISI-201, 202, 304, 304L, 316, 316L, 321, 430, 410 and as per customer specifications:

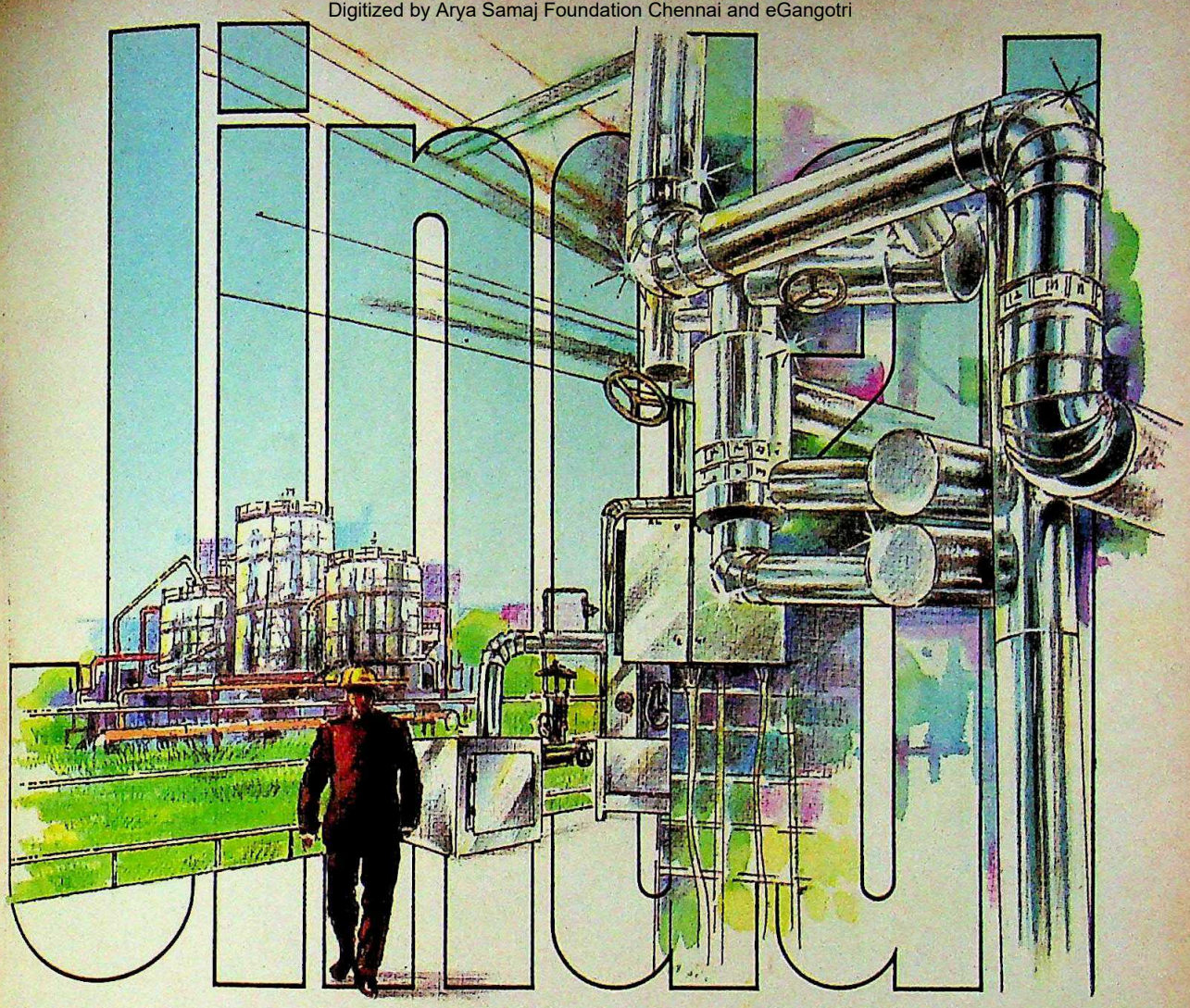
	Thickness	Width	Length
PLATES	4.0-50mm	1000 mm	upto 10 mtrs
HOT ROLLED STRIPS	2.5-4.0mm	450 mm	In Coil Form or Flats
COLD ROLLED SHEETS	0.20-3.0mm	450 mm	In Coil Form
STAINLESS TUBES	Outer Dia Wall thickness Length		: 19-75mm : 0.70-3.0mm : 5-6 mtrs
COLD ROLLED MILD STEEL SHEETS	Thickness Width Full Hard, Annealed, DD, EDD Quality		: 0.20-2.0mm : 1200mm in Coil Form

Jindal: Helping India prove its mettle

And helping pioneer this new world of steel is the Jindal Organization. A dynamic company fast moving upwards. A company that has made India's aspirations its own, dedicated not only to making the country self-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Steel refines

sufficient in Stainless Steel but setting standards for the world of steel to follow. Jindal manufactures Stainless Steel right from raw material to the final finished product. There's a steel revolution brewing and Jindal is proud to pioneer it.

Stainless Steel Advisory Centre

For free technical advise on the selection of the right grade of Stainless Steel for your specific application just fill and mail the following coupon.

I want free technical advise on Stainless Steel for the following application _____

Name : _____

Designation : _____

Company : _____

Address : _____

Telephone : _____

Mail this coupon to:

Mr. A.N. Singh,
Stainless Steel Advisory Centre,
Jindal Strips Ltd.,
28, Najafgarh Road, New Delhi-110 015.

JINDAL

• STRIPS LIMITED •

Pioneering the world of steel

LINTAS DELHI JSL/3/38.24

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

"There's an irresistible magic to a cool winter's evening."

"Something we really enjoy is a quiet evening in our garden. The soft shade of green trees, birds softly calling.... And for a final touch to this lovely setting, there's Gwalior Suiting — casual, yet always impeccably elegant."

— M.A.K. PATAUDI

GRASIM GWALIOR SUITING

IN A CLASS OF ITS OWN

A PRODUCT OF GRASIM INDUSTRIES LTD.

MAPP-GR-88-578

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

also makes money but decline to give details. TVS Suzuki expects to turn the corner this year. Escorts, which produced 42,000 of the RX-100, is believed to be losing money.

Motorcycle manufacturers are not competing on price, and price cutting is rare. All the four bikes sell in the Rs 17,000-Rs 20,000 range. So what distinguishes one product from the other? Says Pande: "The KB-100's fuel efficiency is not as high as the Hero Honda bike. But we have the best styling in the business." Styling and good looks play a crucial role in wooing the impressionable customers. Typically, motorcycle enthusiasts are in the 18-30 age group. Teeny-boppers and yuppie executives being the major customers. Says a Pune dealer: "The new motorcycles attract the teenage crowd. They are interested in speed and style. The bike which promises both grabs the market share."

Manufacturers say sales of new motorcycles are restricted to the metros, while "Indian-made" bikes like the Escorts "Rajdoot" are popular in small towns. The high price of the Japanese bikes is a deterring factor, though, and manufacturers feel the gap will widen in the next three years. Which will make motorcycles made with Japanese collaboration out of reach of most consumers. They are destined to become the "Rolls Royce" of the Indian two-wheeler market.

—S.N. VASUKI

BASMATI

Going Places

A new kind of immigrant is striking roots in the US—Basmati rice. And like the Devinders who turn into Daves on setting foot on American soil, Basmati too has acquired a new name: Texmati.

Being grown in Texas, this new variety of Basmati rice is fast making inroads into the non-ethnic US market. So are two other varieties, one grown in North Arkansas, the second in California.

In the mid-'70s, the prices of Basmati rice in India had spiralled due to increasing demand from West Asia, resulting in a clamour in India to ban its export. The Indira Gandhi government succumbed. But a couple of American entrepreneurs wasted no time in importing Basmati seeds and growing the rice in climatic conditions similar to Dehra Dun's. Although the Janata government removed the ban and today hundreds of tonnes of Basmati are being exported every month, the toe-hold secured by American growers has the potential of giving Indian importers in the US a tough time as far as the lucrative non-ethnic market is concerned.

The pioneer in US-grown Basmati is the Texmati farm located 40 miles from Houston. According to the owner, Don Braddock, he started marketing his brand in 1977 and business has since grown several-fold. Today, Texmati can be found in some major food chain-stores, selling at nearly twice the price of Basmati available in Indian grocery stores. The other two fledgling Basmati producing companies are the Lundberg farms of California and the Southern Brown Rice of Arkansas. All three do not employ any Indians, although Texmati has an Indian distributor for the local market.

American-grown Basmati rice

To make matters worse for the Indian importer, the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has put India-grown Basmati on the blacklist after a series of wounding rejections on the ground that the rice had either too much "foreign element" or enough husk to be branded paddy instead of grain. According to G. Soni, a leading Basmati importer in the US, this has had the effect of all Basmati imports being treated as "guilty until proven innocent," entailing added costs in inspection and wharfage, plus outright rejections. One container carrying around 25,000 pounds of rice is worth about $16,000 (Rs 2.5 lakh) and a rejection could mean dumping the rice at sea, or selling it below cost in neighbouring Latin American countries.

Soni said industry pressure had led senior Indian Government officials, including the minister concerned, to make several representations to the FDA. Prem Singh, minister consul in the Indian Embassy, pointed out that rejection or acceptance of the rice was entirely discretionary because the FDA had no guidelines. He said the Indian Government had requested that "defect-level specifications" be evolved so that the inspection bottleneck could be eliminated. But to no avail.

Despite this, import of Indian Basmati has inched forward. According to calculations based on current prices, over 1,000 tonnes still make it to the US market every month. And last year, US import of Basmati was estimated at $20 million (Rs 30 crore).

Rice importers are unanimous in stating that the indigenously-grown Basmati is much inferior in quality to the Indian variety, but are naturally concerned that they may be largely shut out from the non-ethnic American market where the real growth in demand lies. They are also unanimous in complaining that India's representatives take no for an answer too easily. Indian importers may have a point there, for their Pakistani competitors are apparently faring much better. A spokesman for the Pakistani commercial office in New York said: "We do not have all those problems (which the Indians are having)." His counterpart in the Indian Embassy, when asked about Pakistani imports, however, said that "we have been told (by the FDA) that all rice imports" are getting the same treatment.

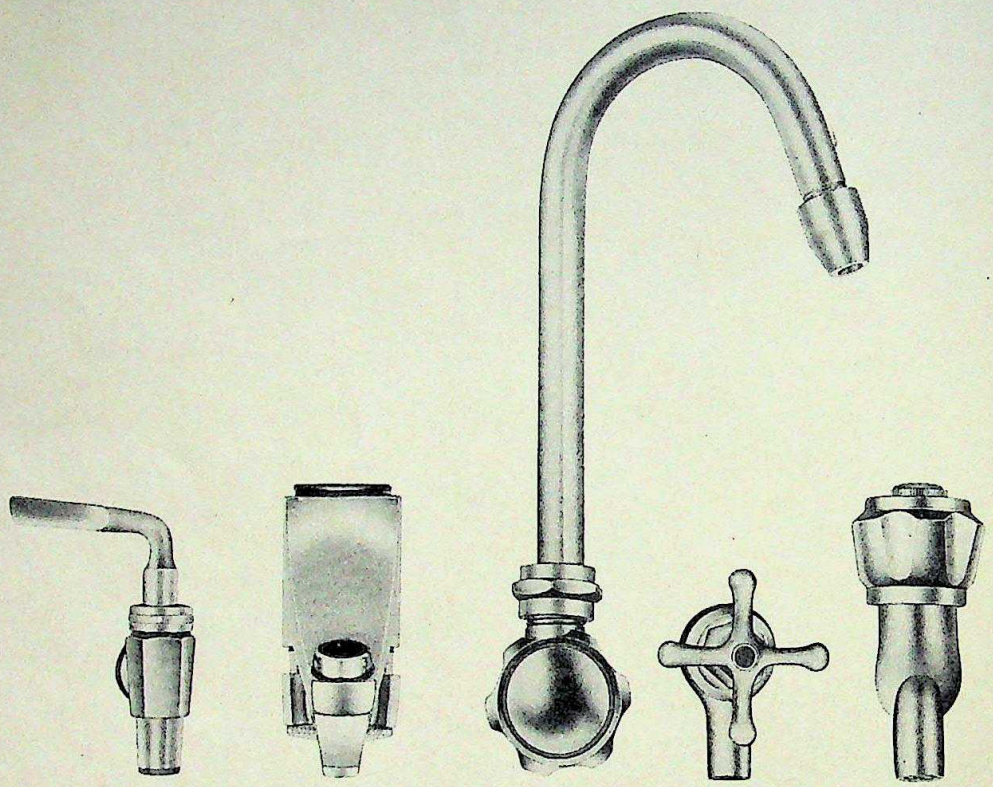
Thus, Indian importers are being subjected to what is popularly known as a "double whammy"—a tortuous passage through the American bureaucracy and mounting competition from US growers.

—AMRIT KAKARIA in New York

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WATER TREATMENT ON TAP.



THERMAX, THE BRAND LEADERS IN CUSTOM-BUILT WATER TREATMENT PLANTS, NOW OFFER READY-TO-INSTALL PLANTS TO SUIT YOUR NEEDS PERFECTLY.

Thermax Standard Water Treatment Plants.
They take all the headaches out of trying to find the correct water treatment package for your boiler or industrial process. As well as all the fuss, the mess, the guesswork, delays or misfits.
Thermax offer ready-to-install packages in the widest range of applications. With a highly sophisticated computerised selection process to "size" your requirements to available designs. Accurately.
Whether you need ultra-pure water, or any kind of raw water treatment. Through pressure sand filters, activated carbon filters, softeners, demineralisers, mixed-bed filters, deaerators, degassifiers or dealkalisers... Thermax Standard Water Treatment Plants fit the bill. As if made to order.

That's putting water on tap for you, all right!

Standard Water Treatment Plants are yet another value-added product from Thermax.

The company with a keen sense of professional commitment towards product innovation and development. Each of our products bearing this out... in its design, functionality and total reliability. Right from quality-assured manufacturing, to after-sales service.

That's what makes every Thermax product an invaluable asset. For years to come.

FOR BUSINESS ENQUIRIES, CONTACT:
THERMAX PRIVATE LIMITED,
WATER AND WASTE WATER
TREATMENT DIVISION,
97-E, GENERAL BLOCK,
BHOSARI INDUSTRIAL AREA, PUNE 411 026
TEL: 83169, 84207
TLX: 0146-290 TMCD IN
0146-331 TMAX IN

THERMAX

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Rediffusion/T/7082

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TECHNOLOGY

Tough Task

Indian supercomputer progresses

TUCKED away in a corner of the sprawling Pune University campus is the project office of the Centre for Development of Advanced Computing (C-DAC). It's an extremely ambitious project, the largest undertaken by the Department of Electronics (DOE). In scope and size it's similar to the country's space and nuclear power programmes. Widely regarded as technology mission chief Sam Pitroda's "baby", the project has one objective—to design and develop the country's first supercomputer, a machine capable of processing huge quantities of data for a variety of applications.

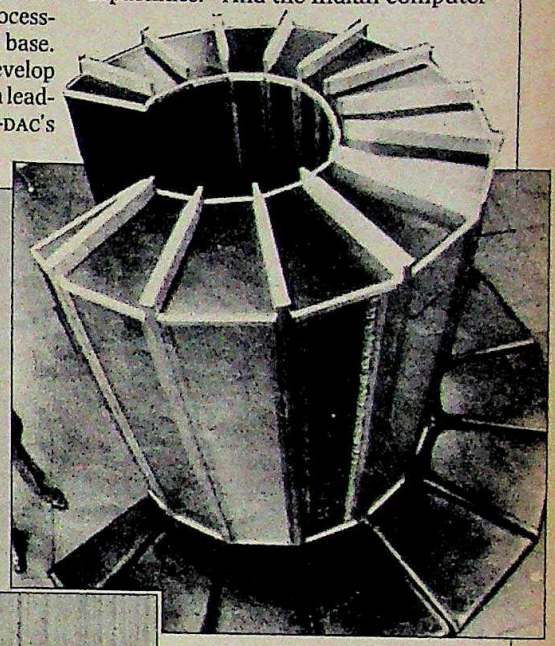
The supercomputer will by no means come cheap. The C-DAC has been granted Rs 37.5 crore and 36 months to deliver the supercomputer, and the metre started ticking away in August 1988. Now, five months later, its Executive Director Vijay Bhatkar maintains that things are moving smoothly. "Our infrastructure is in place, we have finalised the basic architecture of the machine, and we have a good team of scientists on board. The supercomputer will be delivered on time and without cost escalations," asserts Bhatkar confidently.

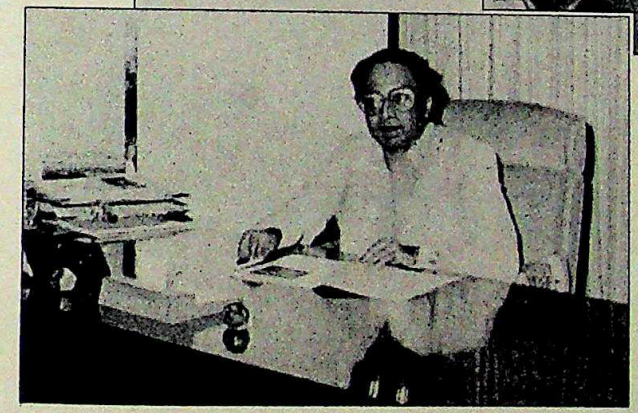
The difficulties in importing a supercomputer provided the impetus for the C-DAC project. For three years, between 1984 and 1987, India had to haggle with the US for getting the Cray XMP-14, manufactured by the Cray Corporation, for its weather forecasting facility. The US Department of Commerce initially demurred and blocked sale of the machine. The reason given by them for doing so: fear that the Soviets would gain access to the technology and that the Indians would use it for defence applications. After exhaustive negotiations the sale was cleared and the supercomputer is today installed at Mausam Bhavan, New Delhi. Trial runs for medium range weather forecasting have already started.

But the import tangle provided a clear signal for the DOE. "An Indian initiative in supercomputers is essential," says an official. And Bhatkar adds cautiously that the project is not merely research based. "We are developing a prototype. We are aiming for a commercially viable machine. And it should be price-competitive."

Not everybody shares Bhatkar's enthusiasm. The sceptics, and they are numerous, argue that the project is a "national waste". Says the chief executive of a computer company: "Parallel processing applications have a narrow base. The country needs strong R&D to develop smaller machines." Surprisingly, a leading computer scientist on the C-DAC's governing board refused to talk about the project saying: "It does not excite me."

Sceptics say the project is a national waste and of limited use in a developing country.





The Cray XMP-14 supercomputer; and (below) Vijay Bhatkar: optimistic

Several contentious issues are also involved. First, critics say supercomputers are available "off the shelf" and the US is not the only source of supply. Japan, Europe and the USSR are willing to part with the technology. So, they say, importing machines makes "eminent sense". Second, the technology is highly advanced and, in a rapidly changing environment, it's impossible to keep pace. The C-DAC budget of Rs 37.5 crore is minuscule, say industry observers, compared to the $100 million earmarked for the "Esprit" project of the European Economic Commission, and the $500 million set aside for the "strategic computing initiative" by the US Defence Department. "We cannot compete," says an observer. "In any case a supercomputer has limited applications in a developing country. The C-DAC will be reinventing the wheel."

Bhatkar defends the project on several grounds. "It's not easy to import supercomputers," he says. "So the country needs to develop its own capabilities." And the Indian computer industry is growing at a healthy pace. The R&D effort is uninspiring and the centre will provide the research base for the industry. He adds that supercomputer applications are enormous. "We are already working on applications development." Two projects are on the drawing board—seismic data processing and oil reservoir modelling for the Oil and Natural Gas Commission and image processing for the National Remote Sensing Agency. By December 1989 the centre hopes to develop the first prototype and demonstrate these applications and by August 1991 it hopes to ship the first machine out of Pune. "It's all systems go," says Bhatkar. Imported hardware has been installed and 50 scientists are working on the project. A systems software group has also been established at Bangalore.

Simultaneously, the National Aeronautical Laboratory in Bangalore has a parallel processing machine at the development stage. For computer buffs as well as critics the next 31 months will provide the answer as to whether the country has the ability to develop a sophisticated machine.

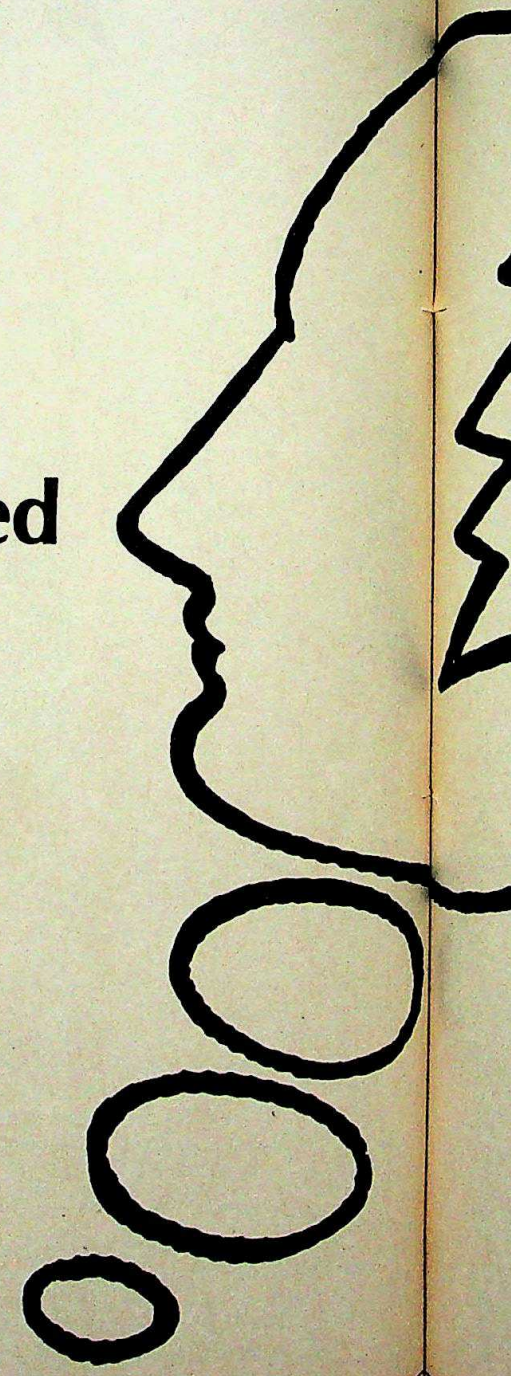
—S.N. VASUKI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PERIWAL GROUP

How the country's premier cable company electrified the industry with its thinking.



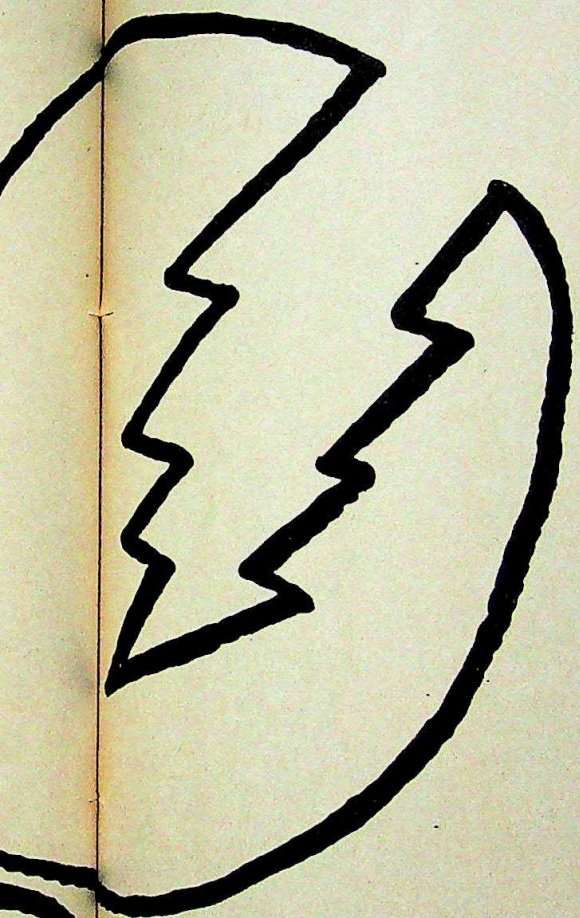
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To bring you innovative new products.

Premier Cables: thinking ahead of our times

For over 25 years, Premier Cables has been the innovator in cables.



It was the first with the high-technology Cross Linked Polyethylene (XLPE) cables using the superior Completely Dry Cooling and Curing (CDCC) process. First with Fire Retardant Low Smoke (FRLS) cables. First with Remote Temperature Detection (RTD) cables. Aerial Bunched Cables (ABC) are the latest innovation at Premier Cables.

These breakthroughs were possible because of Premier Cables' enduring commitment to research and development.

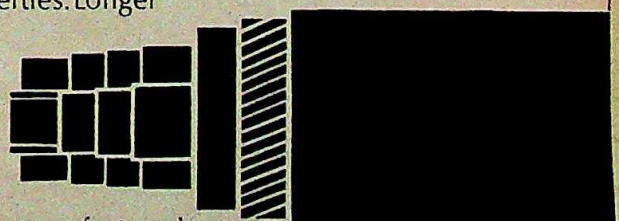
And in acquiring and assimilating the latest technology from reputed cable manufacturers around the world.

For instance, Premier Cables has the technology of Nokia, Finland, to manufacture XLPE cables.

What these innovations mean to you

XLPE cables, available for HV and EHV applications, have several inherent advantages.

Homogenous insulation that prevents breakdowns. Better electrical properties. Longer cable life. Low transmission losses. And virtually maintenance-free service.



FRLS cables are manufactured with special compounds and smoke suppressants – the outer jacket resists even intense heat and helps contain the fire from spreading.

RTD cables are capable of measuring temperature remotely through resistance comparison bridge, enhancing safety.

ABC cables are the ideal solution for rural electrification projects in India offering several advantages like higher reliability, lower transmission losses and lower installation costs.

Significantly, both these products are the result of Premier Cables' in-house R&D expertise.

It is this innovative approach to cable-making that has made Premier Cables what it is today: the country's most trusted high-technology cable manufacturer.

And now, turnkey projects

Premier Cables now offers you its cable-laying expertise through its Contracts Division. The services include pre-installation advice to selection of switchgear and transformers, on-site cable laying and jointing.

Making Premier Cables not only your prime source for cables but also for cable-laying expertise.

THE PREMIER CABLE COMPANY LTD.

(A member of the Periwal Group)
Premier Cable House
M G Road Ernakulam
Cochin 682 016

Cables that make all the difference.

HTA 8917

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Qantas one-stop to Australia. (But we never stop spoiling you.)

Qantas flies more people, via Singapore, to Perth, Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne, Cairns, Brisbane, Darwin and Townsville than any other airline. And all flights offer the inflight service that has made Qantas one of the world's great airlines. For details call your travel agent or Qantas.

QANTAS
THE AUSTRALIAN AIRLINE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MEDICINE

Ayurvedic Hard Sell

Marketing a new image for indigenous drugs

TAKE an ancient prescription, add a dash of essence, enclose it in attractive packaging and back it up with high decibel marketing methods. What you get is burgeoning business and hefty returns in one of the country's oldest industries.

Almost overnight, the indigenous medicine segment—which includes the ayurvedic, unani and siddha systems of medicine—is acquiring a new marketing image. Traditional companies like Dabur and Hamdard are changing their old style and image to that of corporate high fliers and are bringing out a whole range of new products, from digestive syrups to pain relievers. And now, even the once cautious multinationals and pharmaceutical giants are jumping into the fray.

The result: the Rs 450-crore industry is growing at the rate of 30 per cent annually, claiming nearly 15 per cent of the overall pharmaceutical market. The number of licensed companies has doubled from 2,500 to 5,000 in just five years, and a host of companies is eyeing the growing export market and negotiating with firms abroad for joint collaboration. "There is tremendous growth potential. Only a beginning has been made," says S. Ramachandran, marketing manager of Dabur, one of the leading makers of ayurvedic medicines.

Dabur has spent 34 per cent more than it did last year on its ad budget.

The basic thrust behind the growth has come from an increasing awareness of indigenous medicines and their greater acceptance by doctors and health organisations. Says G.K. Pendharkar, managing director of Vicco Laboratories, one of the high-profile ayurvedic firms: "Previously, indigenous medicines were looked upon with disdain. Now more and more people are realising that unlike allopathic medicines they have no side-effects."

About 7 per cent of Procter and Gamble's products are ayurvedic.

The new awareness has been exploited by an active marketing strategy. Most companies have large ad budgets and are targeting their products directly at the consumer instead of going through the effort of reaching them through medical practitioners. Says G.S. Sandu, director of Sandu Brothers, a growing Bombay-based ayurvedic company: "Our target audience is the urban market which has never used ayurveda, unlike the rural segment where it is already common. This is the market we are tapping." What's more, several companies are shifting their regional affiliations and trying to sell their products across the country, supported by massive ad budgets.

Dabur has spent 34 per cent more than it did last year on its ad budget, directed mostly towards television viewers. In the rural areas, the company promotes its wares through innovative methods: it ropes in elephants to carry its hoardings through villages and fairs. Bajaj Sevashram makes use of calendars. And Sandu is spending 10 per cent of its Rs 10-crore turnover on publicity, trying to push its products to the hitherto untapped markets in the south, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh through radio, newspapers and wall posters.

The Bombay-based Zandu Pharmaceuticals is forking out 10 per cent of its Rs 10-crore earnings to reach its products to the north Indian market where Dabur had a monopoly until now. But Dabur, which has now come out with its own brand of digestive drops, is also aggressively marketing its wares. Says Ramachandran: "The old method of selling medicines through *vaids* is restricted as there are too few *vaids* left in the country. We have to sell directly to the customer."

But competition is getting stiffer with multinationals having joined the fray, prompted by the incentives provided by the Government to indigenous medicines—an excise remission bringing down the cost of production, exemption from any price control or the legal necessity to sell the products through chemists as in the case of allopathic drugs. Says Arun Bevoor, vice-president of Procter and Gamble: "This gives us a better reach to the market. About 7 per cent of our products are ayurvedic." So, Procter and Gamble has renamed most of its products, like Vicks Vaporub and Inhaler, as ayurvedic products. And are currently test-marketing an ayurvedic

Vicco plans attractive packings for its turmeric cream and toothpaste.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

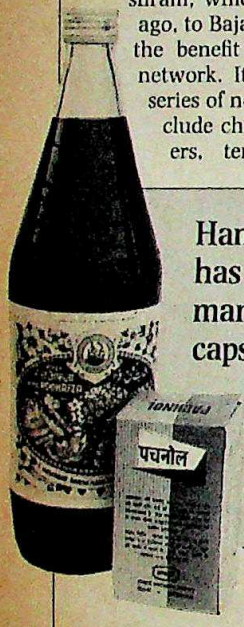
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cough syrup in Bangalore.

Warner Hindustan has also started selling its cough drops as an ayurvedic product while Duphar Interfran has entered the market with a tension-relieving medicine called Ginsec. Says D. Vasant Kumar, managing director of the company: "The product has come out after seven years of research. We are also working on some other products and have plans to set up a separate ayurvedic department later."

Zandu is forking out Rs 1 crore to reach the north Indian market.

The new market has, inevitably, caught the attention of big industrial houses like Bajaj. The company has changed the name of Udaipur Sevashram, which it bought 35 years ago, to Bajaj Sevashram to give it the benefit of Bajaj's marketing network. It is now launching a series of new products which include churans, memory boosters, tension-relieving drugs and toothpaste in attractive spray packings. It will also be taking on existing balms with the introduction of a pain reliever called Vicco Narayani.



Hamdard has plans to manufacture capsules of unani medicines and is changing its old image.

Both multinational and traditional firms are going in for research in a big way. Procter and Gamble has a Rs 4-crore budget for research in ayurvedic formulations and is testing four new medicines this year. Hamdard has a separate unit for carrying out research on cancer. And Himalaya Drugs, which follows the conventional route of pushing medicines through doctors, spends about 10 per cent of its profits on research on new drugs. Says a spokesman of the firm: "Unlike medicines which are sold off the shelf, we have to test our medicines clinically and it might take us almost 10 years to come out with a new product."

Companies are also exploring the untapped export market though there are restrictions in some countries on the import of many such medicines. Current export earnings from indigenous medicines, several of which are exported as food items, are a mere Rs 50 crore. Bajaj is tapping the export potential in Dubai and certain African countries which have a substantial Indian population, while Dabur is negotiating with companies to set up an ayurvedic manufacturing unit abroad. Zandu exports over Rs 1.5 crore worth of ayurvedic medicines to UK and South-East Africa.

There are, however, sceptics in the drug industry who feel the market is limited. Others question the efficacy of these drugs and whether they are subjected to the same kind of tests as allopathic drugs before they are allowed to enter the market. It will only be a matter of time before these products come under more stringent governmental regulation. And that could well have a dampening effect on what is now, by all counts, a booming business.

—SURAJEET DAS GUPTA

and cough syrups by the end of the year. Even the Government is getting into the act. The Centre has tied up with the Uttar Pradesh Government to set up the Indian Medicine Pharmaceutical Corporation, with a turnover of Rs 1 crore, to manufacture ayurvedic medicines.

Most companies are improving their image through better packaging, better taste and research in processing. Sandu, for instance, uses chocolate and lemon essences to make its products more appetising, while Hamdard is setting up a new plant to make capsules of unani medicines. Argues Anil Nijawahan, sales manager of the company: "With the setting up of the new plant, we will double our turnover to Rs 60 crore." Vicco, meanwhile, is planning to market its turmeric cream

Duphar Interfran and Himalaya are spending huge sums on research.

Form IV
(See Rule 8)

1. Place of Publication	:	New Delhi
2. Periodicity of its Publication	:	Fortnightly
3. Printer's Name	:	Aroon Purie
Whether citizen of India?	:	Yes
If Foreigner state the country of origin	:	Does not apply
4. Publisher's name	:	Aroon Purie
Whether Citizen of India?	:	Yes
If foreigner, state the country of origin	:	Does not apply
Address	:	Living Media India Ltd., K-Block Connaught Circus, New Delhi 110001
5. Editor's Name	:	Aroon Purie
Whether citizen of India?	:	Yes
If foreigner, state the country of origin	:	Does not apply
Address	:	K-Block Connaught Circus, New Delhi 110 001
6. Names and addresses of individuals who own the newspaper and partners and shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital.	:	Owner: Living Media India Ltd., K-Block, Connaught Circus, New Delhi 110 001

Shareholders holding more than one per cent of the total capital:

1. Mr Aroon Purie A-6, Palam Marg, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi
2. Mrs Rekha Purie A-6, Palam Marg, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi
3. Master Ankoor Purie (Minor) A-6, Palam Marg, Vasant Vihar, New Delhi
4. Mrs Mandira Purie Fawcett 5, Carlow Avenue, Nepean, Ontario K2G OP9, Canada
5. Mrs Madhu Trehan C-19, Malcha Marg, New Delhi
6. The All India Investment Corporation Pvt. Ltd., K-Block, Connaught Circus, New Delhi
7. L.M. Distributors Limited, K-Block, Connaught Circus, New Delhi

I, Aroon Purie, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated: 1st March 1989

Sd/-Aroon Purie
Signature of Publisher

Siddhanta eGangotri Gyaan Kosha, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Stormed on.
Stomped on.
Smashed on.
Spilt on.

Shine on.

Extra tough and trouble free, Naveen Tiles use the latest technology from Sacmi, Italy. So no dust, no stains, no scratches. And so easy to lay, it takes just one day. Do your home in style. Choose from an outstanding range of colours and sizes, with the option of a natural marble or parquet finish. Then, sit back and watch the years shine by.

Introducing

NAVEEN
CERAMIC TILE

MURUDESHWAR CERAMICS LTD.
Naveen Complex
14 Mahatma Gandhi Road
Bangalore 560 001 Phone: 562131

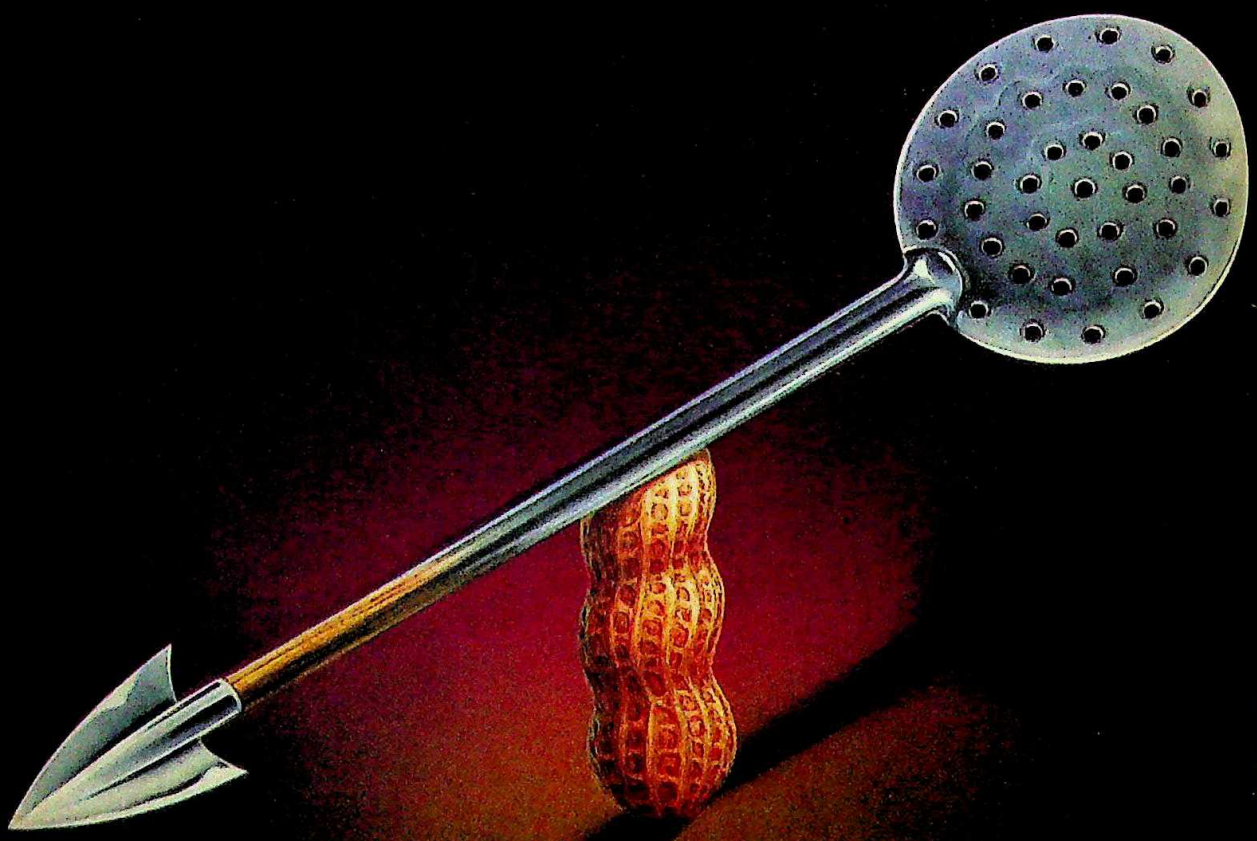
Tiles that forgive and forge

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai

FAMILY HEALTH

GUIDE



CHOLESTEROL

FRIEND OR FOE?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FAMILY HEALTH
GUIDE
COMMENTS

Thank goodness, I've never had to worry about the great cooking oil controversy!

Because I trust Postman. Just as my mother and my grandmother have done before me.

There was never any doubt about which cooking oil I'd use when I got married. Postman ... naturally.

Because, that's what has always been used in our family for years, and trusted for generations. Postman Refined Groundnut Oil.

Not that my mother knew anything about cholesterol. Nor did my grandmother. But I do. You just can't open a newspaper or a magazine today, without reading about cholesterol ... can you?

What is cholesterol?

Cholesterol is a fatty substance that your body produces naturally. And it plays several important roles to make sure you stay healthy. For example, it provides a protective coating over delicate nerve fibres. Then again, it helps in the formation of vital hormones and bile salts.

So when does cholesterol become an enemy? When you have too much of it.

Because, excess cholesterol in your bloodstream can lead to a slow blockage and hardening of the arteries. And this is one major reason for heart diseases.

Postman, it's zero-cholesterol.

Thank goodness for Postman. Like all other vegetable oils, it's completely cholesterol-free. Only animal fats, as present in butter, cheese, milk and red meat, have a high percentage of cholesterol.

Yes, Postman Refined Groundnut Oil. It's not just wonderful for bringing out the natural taste of goodness in all my cooking. It's healthy for the whole family too.

No one doubted this important fact fifty years ago. And no one doubts it even today. Despite all the controversy raging about which cooking oil has more cholesterol, and which one has less.

Postman has always been zero-cholesterol, you see. Naturally. Mother knows best!

Zero-cholesterol for fifty years.

POSTMAN... naturally.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Breakfasts are brighter with

Uncle Chipps

Great fun for everyone!

CHAITRA-D AC 2488 A

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

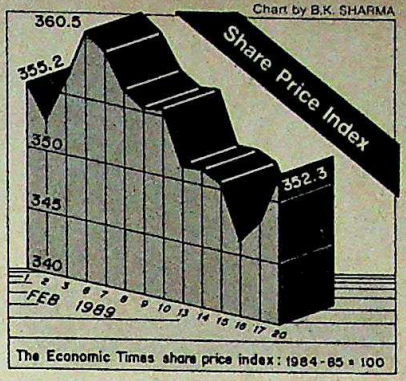
STOCK MARKETS

Perking Up

Adverse budget fears allayed

FOR almost the whole of last fortnight, the stock-markets were so subdued that it seemed that the bears were going to have a field day. Then, on February 19 and 20, the sun shone brightly on the bulls and the markets perked up in anticipation of a budget which would not prove depressing to investor sentiments. It was politics more than anything else which was responsible for the slightly depressed mood which prevailed until February 18. The stock-markets were apprehensive that in formulating economic policies, the Government would give populist electoral considerations precedence over pragmatism.

The fairly impressive gains recorded by active scrips towards the end of the fortnight were largely a consequence of widespread institutional buying of quoted shares, in particular, purchases made by the Unit Trust of India. After a quiet spell, the return of the institutions allayed fears about an adverse budget



and investors felt confident that the institutions would use their clout to keep markets buoyant. Reflecting this return in investor confidence, the national index of the Bombay Stock Exchange rose from 333.73 on February 17 to 338.87 three days later, after having slumped from the peak level of 350.50 on February 6 to 332.69 in the course of the second week of the month. And following a similar trend, the *Economic Times* all-India equity index declined from 360.50 to 346.30 between February 6 and 16, but thereafter rose to 352.30 on February 20.

An aspect of the temporary decline in the share indices was that even when they came down in mid-February, they were not drastically lower than the high levels achieved earlier in the month. Thus, for the astute market observer, the conclusion to be drawn was that last fortnight's depression merely represented a technical correction which did not undermine the underlying bullish trends in equity values.

What was significant was that for the first time in the last four years, the pre-budget atmosphere in the stock-markets was distinctly downbeat. The selling pressures on a couple of leading scrips were a manifestation of this mood.

Among the companies whose share values declined last fortnight were Associated Cement, Bajaj Auto, Baroda Rayon, Bharat Forge, Brooke Bond, Finolex Cables, Indian Organic Chemicals, Indrol, J.K. Synthetics, Larsen & Toubro, Hindustan Milkfood, Mico, Reliance, Shaw Wallace, SKF Bearings and Tata Steel. By way of contrast, companies which recorded gains included Bayer, Cyanamid, Hindustan Ciba Geigy, Ingersoll-Rand and Voltas.

The markets appear to have got out of this pessimistic phase, but whether or not share values will touch new highs in March depends, of course, on the incentives the budget provides to the investing public.

ACTIVE STOCKS

	1989 HIGH	LOW	CLOSE 20.2.89	Change in Fortnight
Ashok Leyland	72.00	61.00	67.50	2.50 –
Associated Cement	345.00	299.00	320.00	17.00 –
Asian Paints	226.25	200.00	213.75	1.25 –
Atlas Copco	51.00	41.00	45.00	nil
Bajaj Auto	417.50	372.50	381.25	25.00 –
Baroda Rayon	347.00	285.00	318.75	21.25 –
Bata India	82.00	68.00	73.00	3.00 –
Bayer	776.00	580.00	775.00	25.00 +
Bharat Forge	202.50	183.75	185.00	10.00 –*
Birla Jute	49.25	42.00	43.50	1.50 –
Bombay Dyeing	128.00	104.00	122.50	2.50 +
Britannia Ind.	108.00	89.00	90.00	5.00 –
Brooke Bond	126.75	98.50	116.00	9.00 –
Century Spinning	1570.00	1230.00	1550.00	40.00 +
Chloride India	76.25	72.00	75.00	0.50 –
Colgate Palmolive	340.00	281.25	328.75	1.25 –
Cyanamid	77.50	55.00	77.50	8.50 +
DCM	43.00	31.00	34.50	4.00 –
Dunlop	86.00	75.50	77.50	6.50 –
E.I. Hotels	60.00	50.00	56.00	1.50 –
Escorts	71.00	58.00	59.00	7.50 –
Finolex Cables	430.00	362.50	375.00	18.75 –
Food Specialities	193.00	161.50	190.00	1.00 –
Garware Nylon	46.50	38.00	39.00	2.00 –
G.E. Shipping	42.00	34.25	36.00	1.75 –
G.S.F.C.	155.00	123.75	132.50	6.25 –
Grasim Ind.	107.00	75.00	100.00	5.75 –
Hind. Aluminium	193.50	155.00	190.00	11.00 +
Hind. Ciba	810.00	600.00	810.00	160.00 +
Hind. Cocoa	117.50	98.75	108.75	5.00 –
Hindustan Lever	78.00	69.50	76.00	nil
Hindustan Motors	32.50	26.75	32.50	3.50 +
IEL	47.50	39.00	42.50	1.00 –
Indian Organic	46.50	30.00	32.50	8.50 –
Indian Rayon	93.00	76.50	88.00	2.00 –
Indrol	300.00	218.75	277.50	12.50 +
Ingersoll-Rand	395.00	315.00	365.00	17.50 +
ITC	54.25	46.25	53.00	0.75 –
J.K. Synthetics	86.50	73.50	77.00	10.00 –
Kinetic Engineering	395.00	367.50	390.00	2.50 –
Kirloskar Cummins	88.75	68.75	72.50	2.50 +
KSB Pumps	325.00	305.00	317.50	2.50 –
Larsen & Toubro	128.00	97.50	102.00	15.00 –*
Lipton	79.00	67.00	69.00	5.00 –
LML Ltd.	15.00	12.50	13.75	0.50 –
Madura Coats	97.00	92.25	94.00	1.50 –
Mahindra & Mahindra	94.00	76.50	91.50	1.50 –
Milk Food	242.50	190.00	197.50	17.50 –
Motor Industries	620.00	560.00	600.00	10.00 –
Mukand Iron	98.00	75.00	81.00	7.00 –
National Organic	835.00	735.00	780.00	20.00 –
Nirlon	14.00	10.75	11.50	nil
Orkay Silk Mills	29.00	20.25	22.50	nil
Peico Electronics	28.00	20.50	21.00	2.25 –
Pfizer	79.50	62.50	76.00	1.00 +
Ponds	185.00	157.50	165.00	7.50 –
Premier Auto	50.00	40.00	44.50	1.00 –
Raymond	75.00	65.50	73.50	3.50 +
Reliance Industries	155.00	117.00	138.00	10.00 –
Siemens India	95.00	74.00	80.00	1.00 –*
Shaw Wallace	103.25	75.00	77.00	10.00 –
Shriram Fibres	72.00	64.00	70.00	nil
SKF Bearings	2350.00	1760.00	2240.00	110.00 –
SPIC	56.50	39.00	45.75	3.75 +
Tata Steel	1253.75	1062.50	1197.50	47.50 –
Telco	797.50	657.50	776.25	6.25 +
Vam Organic	172.00	136.00	162.00	5.00 –
Videocon Int.	88.75	55.00	80.00	6.25 –
Voltas	615.00	470.00	605.00	35.00 +
Wimco	27.00	15.75	16.75	1.00 –

*Ex-dividend

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

COUNTRY	CURRENCY	UNIT	TT Selling Rates Rs	TT Buying Rates Rs
Australia	Dollar	1	12.6085	12.4685
Austria	Schilling	100	1.1944	1.1780
Bahrain	Dinar	1	40.7829	40.6928
Bangladesh	Taka	100	48.9200	48.8101
Canada	Dollar	1	12.9051	12.7721
Denmark	Kroner	1	2.1574	2.1338
Egypt	Pound	1	6.0000	5.8912
France	Franc	1	2.50000	2.4361
Hong Kong	Dollar	1	1.9689	1.9492
Indonesia	Rupiah	100	0.0880	0.08000
Iran	Rial	100	21.7828	21.6929
Italy	Lira	100	1.1200	1.0910
Japan	Yen	100	12.4224	12.1065
Kenya	Shilling	1	0.8010	0.7518
Kuwait	Dinar	1	53.3628	53.1818
Malaysia	Dollar	1	5.6323	5.5745
Mauritius	Rupee	1	1.0500	1.0100
Nepal	Rupee	1	0.6326	0.6000
Netherlands	Guilder	1	7.4333	7.3527
Pakistan	Rupee	1	0.7628	0.7009
Singapore	Dollar	1	7.9942	7.9111
Spain	Peseta	1	0.1200	0.1100
Sri Lanka	Rupee	1	0.4550	0.4100
Sweden	Kroner	1	2.4499	2.4218
Switzerland	Franc	1	9.8816	9.7807
Tanzania	Shilling	1	0.1200	0.1100
Thailand	Baht	100	59.9845	59.9000
UK	Pound	1	27.1297	26.9869
USA	Dollar	1	15.3610	15.2091
UAE	Dirham	1	4.1500	4.000
USSR	Rouble	1	24.8992	24.7016
W. Germany	Deutschmark	1	8.5106	8.2988

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo Limited, New Delhi and quoted between the banks on 20.2.89.

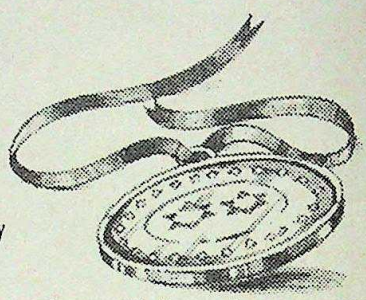
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When the goal appears in sight, we widen the horizons before us.

Neptune Business Computers

MINICOMP PRIVATE LTD.



We acknowledge with humility the Special Recognition Award received from the President of India.

In 1982, computer professionals with over 16 years experience in the U.S.A. returned to India and set up Minicomp Pvt. Ltd.

They promised themselves that they would be instrumental in bringing the latest in computer technology to India and usher in the benefits of progress and prosperity.

This promise was to become the underlying philosophy of Minicomp Pvt. Ltd.

The Pioneering Streak:- The early eighties saw Minicomp blazing a pioneering streak with the introduction of the Neptune PC/XT/AT Series. These little wonders evoked a tremendous response and computers were no longer confined to the rarefied echelons of large industrial concerns.

Recent Success:- The Minicomp 386 fired the imagination of users all over the country. Here was a computer that placed a mainframe on a table-top and savings of every kind was the name of the game. The march of the "different" mascot that launched the 386 seemed unstoppable.

Higher-end Hi-Tech: The Minicomp CAD provided comprehensive solutions to every CAD-related problem including the one concerning choosing the right CAD system.

The Mini Net Local Area Networking system broke down barriers of communication and ran up an impressive list of clients even before a formal hard launch.

The Recognition: When K.R. Sheth, M.D. Minicomp, received the Special Recognition Award from the President of India as an outstanding small scale entrepreneur for 1987, it was the culmination of a labour of love and a commitment to excellence.

The Future: At Minicomp, awards are just a reward for efforts and a spur to even greater achievements. Our ultimate reward is the smile of satisfaction on the faces of our valued customers throughout India. To all those who have made us worthy of this signal honour we say ..... **Thank You.**

CANCO/MC/89

Minicomp Pvt. Ltd. ..... *Not just a Company, a commitment.*

A-1 Udyog Sadan 3, Marol, M.I.D.C., Andheri (E), Bombay-400 093. Tel.: 6367273 - 4 lines, Telex: 11 79226 NEPN IN. FAX: (0091-22) 6344224. Grams: NEPNOASIS • **Bombay:** 402, Dalamal House, Nariman Point, Bombay-400 021. Tel.: 222760/222783/231013 • **Bangalore:** 20, 2nd Cross, Palace Cross Rd., Bangalore-560 020. Tel.: 367318 • **Baroda:** Tel.: 326956, Telex: 175 533 MCON IN • **Calcutta:** Tel.: 449731 • **Delhi:** Tel.: 615612 • **Hyderabad:** Tel.: 237325 • **Madras:** 814, 8th Floor, Shivalaya, 'A' Block, 218 C-in-C Road, Madras-600 105. Tel.: 473760 • **Pune:** Tel.: 57041 • **Solapur:** Tel.: 27595.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs. 727*, Rs. 668*

Has your watch kept pace with you? Look at your wrist, then read this message from Titan.

So many things about you have changed. Your income. The way you travel. The clothes you wear. Why then should you sport the watch you wore years ago?

Now Tata offers you Titan Quartz. Choose from the latest, international collection of over 200 fine quartz watches. From Rs 370 to Rs 2000. Titan Quartz is incredibly accurate, durable, reliable. In a variety of styles to suit your personality, your dress, your status.

With Titan Quartz you have the Tata assurance of many years of faultless performance. And every watch is guaranteed for two years. Our after-sales network offers service with speed and economy.

So reward yourself with a Titan Quartz. Its contemporary good looks will signal how your watch too has kept pace with you.

Titan Quartz from Tata

The changing face of time

TITAN QUARTZ

Rs. 539* Rs. 668* Rs. 762* Rs. 744* Rs. 568*

*PRICES SHOWN ARE INCLUSIVE OF ALL LEVIES IN MAHARASHTRA

Titan Watches Limited, Sona Towers, 71, Miller Road, Bangalore 560 052.

Titan Showrooms: F-43, South Extension-I, New Delhi 110 049.
55, Center Point, Panchawati, Ambawadi, Ahmedabad 380 006.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WALL FLOWERS

And lush greenery. Open-air patio and intricate wrought-iron furniture.

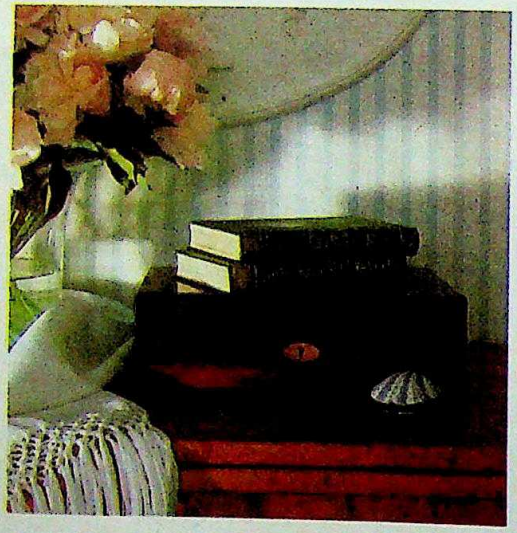
In our **Garden Suites**, a splendid bedroom, large living and spacious dining room overlook a private terrace garden.

So refreshingly different from any other suite anywhere else.

Host a cocktail party or arrange a candlelit dinner for two.

With such a happy ambience, even a flower in your buttonhole will look so right.

Come home to our **Garden Suites.**



TAJ PALACE
INTER•CONTINENTAL
NEW DELHI

THE TAJ GROUP OF HOTELS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In Public Domain. Vishal Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE growth of exports has tapered off over the last three months while imports continue to accelerate. The continued devaluation of the rupee against the dollar may help in regaining an improved balance of trade performance.

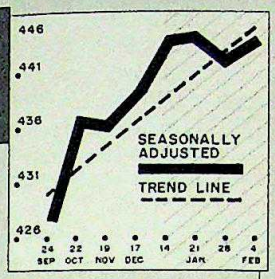
It is imperative for the Government to tighten up control over the money supply in order to keep prices in check. The seasonal development in Consumer Prices last month was the only positive side in the otherwise gloomy price scenario.

All data are seasonally adjusted. Current trends are computed on the basis of six months' (weekly data) or two years' (monthly data) figures.

Wholesale Price Index

1970-71 = 100

Current Trend
9.4% p.a.

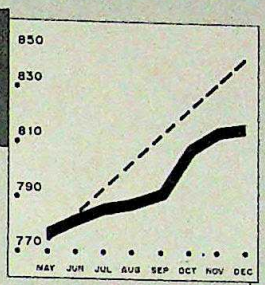


Although prices remained stable last fortnight the long-term trend gets closer to double-digit inflation.

Consumer Price Index

1980-81 = 100

Current Trend
8.3% p.a.

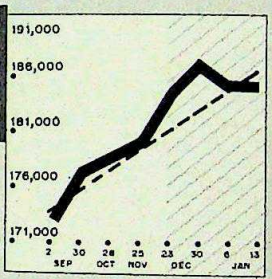


Last month saw a welcome drop in consumer prices but the long-term growth rate remains well above target.

Money Supply

Rs Crore

Current Trend
19.2% p.a.

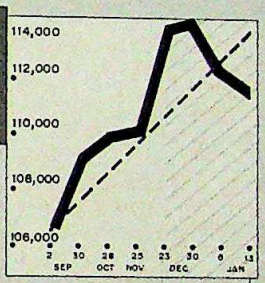


The supply of money in the economy grew at a rate above target, so the pressure on prices is likely to continue.

Commercial Bank Credit

Rs Crore

Current Trend
17.8% p.a.

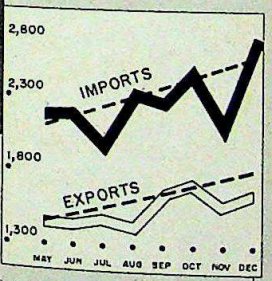


Bank credit to the commercial sector was tightened over the last fortnight making liquidity conditions difficult.

Foreign Trade

Rs Crore

Current Trend
20.9% p.a. EXPORTS
20.7% p.a. IMPORTS

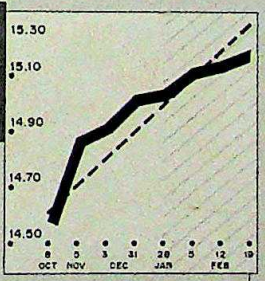


Exports over the last three months have remained more or less stagnant, causing considerable concern.

Foreign Exchange Rate

Rs per $

Current Trend
12.4%

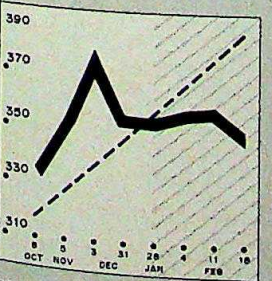


The rupee was further devalued against the US dollar as it forges ahead of the 15-rupee-per-dollar mark.

Share Price Index

1984-85 = 100

Current Trend
15.7% p.a.

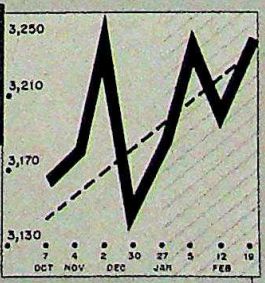


The prices of shares, which had risen until the end of 1988, fluctuated during the last fortnight.

Closing Gold Prices

Rs per 10 gm

Current Trend
7.6% p.a.



The price of gold which had shown a spurt some time ago seems to have tapered off—at least temporarily.

WHOLESALE PRICES

Growth of items in the 2nd fortnight of January 1989

	% Growth
Fish	12.49
Masoor	5.79
Tea	4.91
Coffee	4.82
Moong	3.33
Jowar	2.50
Barley	2.41
Wheat	2.38
Maize	2.24
Meat	1.78
Bajra	1.11
Ragi	0.53
Eggs	0.40
Khandsari	0.20
Pig Iron	0.00
Matches	0.00
Cement	0.00
Dyeing Materials	0.00
Rice	0.00
Copper & Alloys	0.00
Skelp	0.00
Zinc	0.00
Aluminium	0.00
Pipes & Tubes	0.00
Plates & Sheets	0.00
Steel Structurals	0.00
Rails	0.00
Bars & Rods	0.00
Synthetic Fibres	0.00
Camel Back	0.00
Caustic Soda	0.00
Soda Ash	0.00
Tubes	0.00
Board	0.00
Hides Tanned & Leather Belting	0.00
Tyres	0.00
Nitrogenous Fertilisers	0.00
Bulk Drugs	0.00
Formulations	0.00
Linseed Oil	0.00
Pesticides & Insecticides	0.00
Phosphatic Fertilisers	0.00
Paper	0.00
Coir Yarn	0.00
Tin Containers	0.00
Buses	0.00
Cycles	0.00

Of the 138 series considered 14 of them with a total weight of 9.725 had a positive growth and 12 of them with a total weight of 15.236 had a negative growth.

SELECTED INDICATORS

	1989	1988
Coal		
Thousand Tonnes, January	20130	18468
Saleable Steel		
Thousand Tonnes, January	814.6	829.2
Cement		
Thousand Tonnes, January	3942	3598
Petroleum Crude		
Thousand Tonnes, January	2761	2612
Petroleum Refinery Products		
Thousand Tonnes, January	4291	3923

Compiled by THE POLICY GROUP

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SRI LANKA

Ballots vs Bullets

Voters back the ruling party but peace remains elusive

ON the surface, strife-torn Sri Lanka seems to have passed through a period of cathartic change. Two crucial elections within a period of two months have consolidated the political dominance of the ruling United National Party (UNP). More important, they have been widely viewed as a stentorian vote for peace.

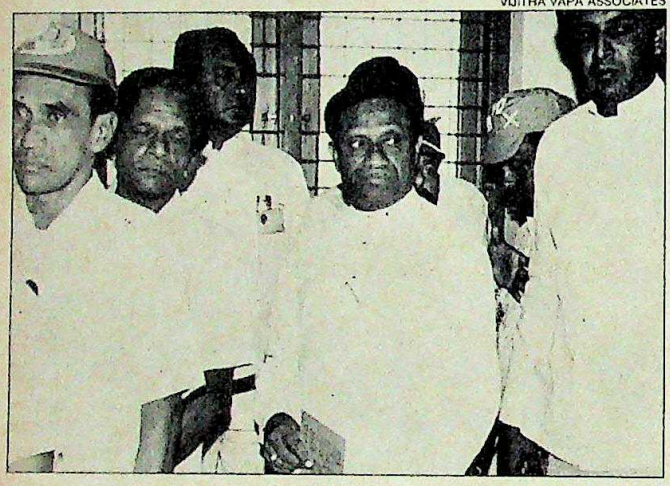
The presidential elections in December last year saw the installation of Ranasinghe Premadasa as the country's new President. Premadasa, the former prime minister, is believed to be more attuned to the aspirations of the masses compared to his predecessor, Junius Jayewardene, who was viewed as elitist.

Last fortnight, Sri Lankans were back at the polling booths to elect representatives to the 225-member Parliament. By bagging 125 seats, the UNP gained the mandate it so desperately needs to tackle the island's ballooning crises.

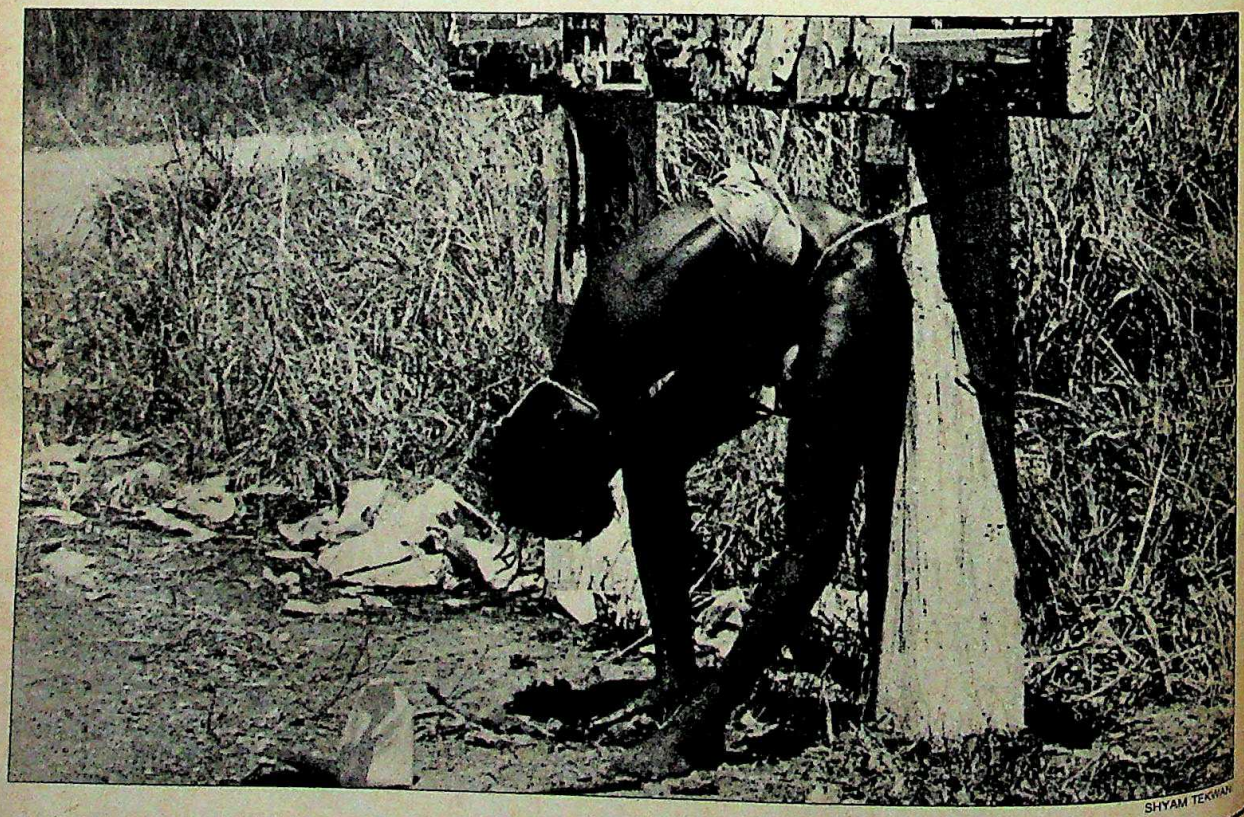
That is certainly going to prove a more formidable task than winning votes. The UNP's poll performance is well short of the five-sixth majority the party commanded before the elections and less than the two-thirds mandate Premadasa had sought.

Since the old British electoral system resulted in wild swings of the pendulum, the incumbent UNP, fearing that it would be the next casualty, had introduced a new proportional representation system. Implemented for the first time in last fortnight's general elections, the system instead worked to the advantage of the opposition parties, especially the UNP's main rival, the Sri Lanka Freedom Party

VIJITHA VAPA ASSOCIATES



The main threat that is confronting Premadasa—and Sri Lanka—continues to be the bloody civil strife.



SHYAM TEKWANI

Premadasa voting (left) and (below) a JVP 'lamp post' execution

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(SLFP) led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike.

In the last general elections, held in 1977, the SLFP got 29.7 per cent of the votes which gave them eight seats in Parliament. This time, it won 31.8 per cent of the votes but claimed 67 seats (under the previous system, it would have been reduced to just five seats). The SLFP's increased strength makes Premadasa's task of pushing through his promised policies and rural reforms much more difficult.

Ultimately, however, Premadasa's—and the country's—main threat remains the bloody civil strife that has convulsed Sri Lanka for the last five years. In the five weeks leading up to the elections, over 900 people, including over a dozen candidates, were gunned down, either by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP), the extremist Sinhala organisation violently opposed to the presence of Indian troops on the island, or the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), the militant Tamil group demanding a separate homeland in the north-east.

Both groups had pledged to boycott and disrupt the elections, leading to 57 deaths on election day alone. Scrawled across the walls of polling booths in Colombo were messages in large letters declaring: "Death is the penalty for voting." To counter the threats, the Government had arranged for unprecedented security measures. Assured of protection, 64 per cent of the voters cast their ballots, which was considerably higher than the 55 per cent turnout in the December presidential elections.

THOUGH the vote signalled a strong public desire for peace the future of Sri Lanka now rests with Premadasa and Bandaranaike who will dominate domestic politics. But even more crucially, it rests in the hands of two outlaws, Rohana Wijeweera, head of the JVP and Velupillai Pirabhakaran, the LTTE supremo. It is these two who will decide whether law and order can be restored and whether Parliament—whose election was a reassuring victory for democracy—is also a harbinger of peace.

Though they adopted different tactics and espouse differing views, their focal concern is identical—The Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF). Though both denounced the elections and urged the people to boycott them, the LTTE leader proved the cleverer tactician.

Mauled by the IPKF, hardcore Tigers had taken to the jungles in recent months. There were hardly any frontal assaults on the Indian or Sri Lankan Army though attacks on isolated Sinhalese villages continued. But once the LTTE gave the call for a boycott, the new cadres they had recently recruited and trained in the jungles launched a violent campaign of disruption and terror.

As the IPKF and the pro-Indian Tamil groups hit back, Pirabhakaran realised his error quickly. What's more, the LTTE leadership realised that the average Tamil family, eager to return to normal life, was keen on parliamentary representation, especially as the north-east provincial council was dominated by the anti-LTTE and pro-India Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front (EPRLF) and its allies which are strongly eastern province based. To fill an obvious vacuum, the pro-LTTE Eelam Revolutionary Organisation of Students (EROS) entered the fray.

Colombo's bid for peace now depends on the stands adopted by Bandaranaike, Wijeweera and Pirabhakaran.

(From top) Bandaranaike; Wijeweera; and Pirabhakaran

EROS fielded a list of 'independents', which included known LTTE men. Confronting them was another 'mixed' list fighting under the banner of the TULF, the old parliamentary party representing the traditional Tamil elite. Included in this list were former opposition leader and party secretary-general A. Amirthalingam, and M. Sivasithamparam, party president. The Tigers quickly switched tactics. They did not retreat from the formal position of 'boycott', but instead sent word to the Tamils to vote for EROS.

The result in the north was that 'independent' EROS candidates swept the polls, while the TULF was wiped out. The EPRLF-led group, however, held the east. EROS can count on 13 members in the newly-constituted Parliament, while the TULF-EPRLF combine has 10 MPs.

Casting their votes for the first time after 11 years, the people of Jaffna demonstrated their contempt for TULF leaders who deserted them for safe sanctuaries in Madras and Colombo when things got too hot. It became evident that they view the EPRLF-led combine as nothing more than a bunch of gun-toting opportunists.

The emergence of EROS—a group characterised by its compact size, cohesiveness, moderate stance and a self-effacing style—in the north-eastern province has not surprised many in the region. In its efforts to maintain a position independent of the other groups towards both the Tigers and the IPKF, EROS is largely seen as an extension of the LTTE. But EROS is neither anti-India nor anti-IPKF. Instead, it wants the Tigers to be given another chance to join the mainstream. The group made this a major plank of its election campaign and also pledged that it would make efforts to unite all the Tamil factions under a single banner.

Having kept its communications with all the other Tamil outfits open—and considering its relations with the Tigers—EROS was in a position to give credibility to such promises. The poll results have thus raised expectations of a settlement with the LTTE among the Tamils. As A. Thiru, 39, an officer in the state engineering department, Jaffna, said: "The LTTE has to come out now because the people have voted for them through EROS."

EROS would have fared even better if the voter turnout in the north-east had been higher. Despite the IPKF's security blanket, less than half the north-eastern district's voters cast their ballots. Fear of LTTE reprisals kept the rest away. Says S. Kulasabanathan, a resident of Jaffna: "We were scared to go out and vote. If the majority had gone out to vote, they would have voted for EROS as it is a better group and most of its cadres are an educated lot. Moreover, they have the blessings of the LTTE."

The EROS chief V. Balakumar, however, refutes the argument that the vote was for the LTTE. He told INDIA TODAY: "The vote is not for the LTTE. It is for unity. The LTTE has always been warning the people against voting. The Vadamarachi region (Pirabhakaran's birthplace) had a turnout of less than 10 per cent." He asserts that the real mandate is for peace. "The mandate has been given to us to bring lasting peace and to bring about the unity of all groups."

There is apprehension though, that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHYAM TEKWANI

SHYAM TEKWANI

The good show by EROS in the north could break the Tamil deadlock as it has close ties with the LTTE.

(Top) IPKF soldiers checking identity, and Balakumar: signs of hope

the elections may not bring about peace for the Tamils. Despite the IPKF having considerably curtailed the LTTE, there is appreciation for the fight the Tigers put up in the years before the Indo-Sri Lanka accord. "The election is not going to change anything for us. There can be no real peace without the Tigers. EROS will not be able to achieve anything in Parliament," said a member of the Jaffna Citizen's Committee.

Despite the reservoir of support and gratitude for the Tigers, most Tamils view the fight for a separate state as unrealistic and unprincipled. As a citizen in Jaffna says: "I'd be proud of attaining an independent nation but it's unrealistic. We can't dream of it and the LTTE should realise it." Most Tamils view the fight as not one for a separate state but only for equal rights, opportunities and equal status with the Sinhalese. Says a senior member of EROS: "We have also been demanding Eelam but we realise the reality and are willing to compromise. Eelam will come one day, in time. A new approach to the problem has to be evolved."

Besides, there are other pressing problems confronting the community. For instance, despite the high rate of literacy among the Tamils, jobs are increasingly scarce in the peninsula. Often, the only hope for them is to either leave the island or find a government job. As one Jaffna shopkeeper bemoaned: "I cannot expand my scope of business. My daughter is highly educated but jobless. She helps me in the shop rather than remain idle at home."

IN that context, the emergence of EROS is welcome. Instead of demanding the withdrawal of the IPKF, it is expected to ask Rajiv Gandhi to get the Indians off the Tigers' back, by declaring a cease-fire and reopening negotiations. They are also expected to forge closer ties with the newly-formed DMK Government in Tamil Nadu.

Balakumar concurs: "Our concept of genuine peace is not the immediate withdrawal of the IPKF, though they should restrict their presence on the peninsula. We understand India's geopolitical compulsions, but the Government of India should declare an immediate cease-fire and we make a similar appeal to the LTTE too." He plans to write to New Delhi, Premadasa and Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi, asking them to renew talks.

Obviously EROS—with covert LTTE backing—will now seek to upstage the EPRLF by claiming to be the authentic spokesman of the Tamils of Jaffna, the traditional homeland. It will also no doubt be projecting the EPRLF as a pro-India party confined to the east.

That may be the only way of breaking the Tamil deadlock. Initial reactions from the other moderate Tamil groups are encouraging. Says Kingsley Angelmore Joseph, 39, a member of the provincial council of Kilinochchi and president of the Eelam National Democratic Front: "We are looking forward to a peaceful future. We have to build the economy and educate the people, forget past bitternesses, unite, cooperate and find a solution together. There should be an end to the power struggle between the groups."

Much will therefore depend on how Premadasa handles the situation. He has already built up the basis of a relationship with the EPRLF-combine. Now, he needs to include EROS in the efforts to reassure Tamils that he is serious about giving them their rightful due, both politically and economically.

At the same time, he has to counter the threat from the JVP. Since December, he has released 1,400 JVP detainees, lifted the state of Emergency imposed in 1983 and orchestrated the withdrawal of 5,000 Indian troops. But his hope that the group would be placated has been rudely dashed as JVP-inspired violence continues unabated.

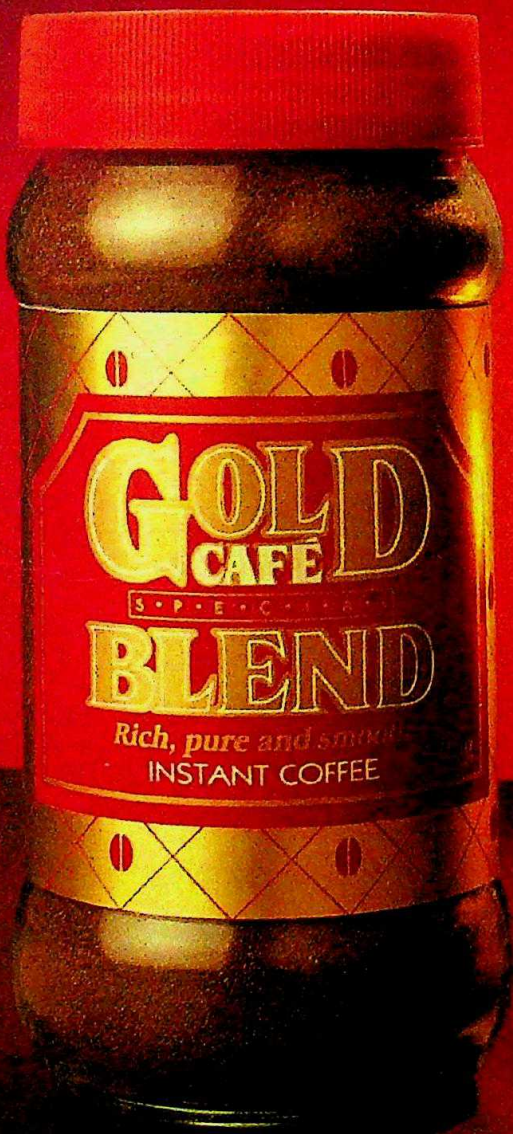
That puts him in an awkward position. Premadasa is essentially a pragmatist. However opposed he may be to the Indian presence, he cannot afford to take on the JVP as well as the LTTE. For that, he needs the IPKF in the north. He also realises that he cannot afford to antagonise New Delhi at so crucial a stage.

Premadasa's only hope is to use the carrot-and-stick approach with the JVP—crack down on the violence and at the same time keep the door open for negotiations. He will also need to reduce the need for the IPKF presence by convincing the LTTE that he is genuine about redressing their grievances. The results of last fortnight's elections give him the opportunity to push for peace. Unfortunately, Sri Lanka's recent experience has proved that often the bullet prevails over the ballot.

—MERVYN DE SILVA in Colombo and SHYAM TEKWANI in Jaffna

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

For Coffee Connoisseurs Only

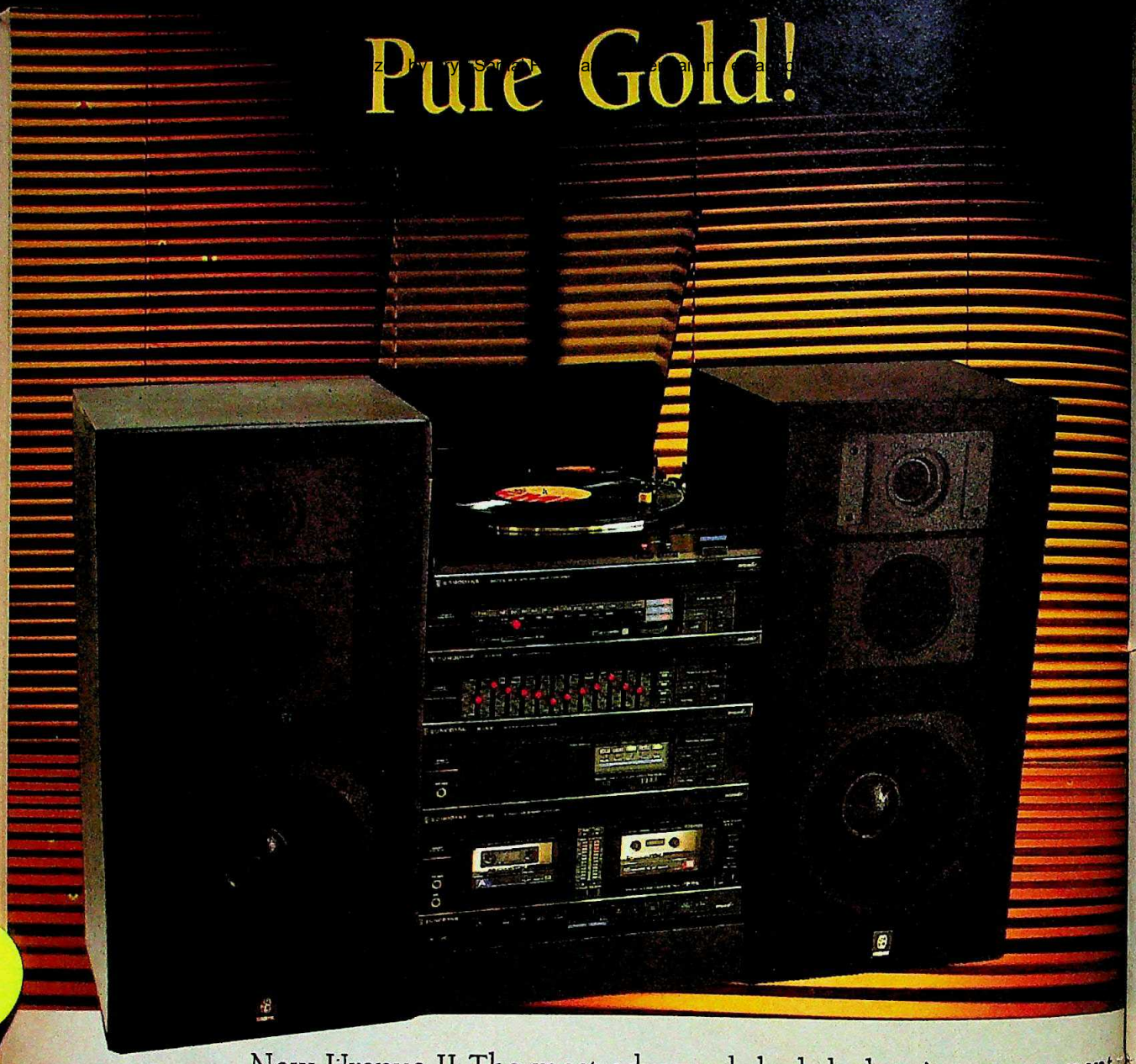


Rich, pure and smooth coffee.
Makes your every coffee moment
a golden moment.

FROM THE MAKERS OF
GOLD CAFÉ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Pure Gold!



Now, Uranus II. The most advanced dual-deck microcomponent music system, incorporating Dolby® NR.* With such outstanding features as high-speed synchro dubbing, found only on the most expensive models of world famous brands

ranus II by Sonodyne. It's for the nosen few. It's for you.

he deck alone is a stunner. With pace-setting igh-speed and 'Synchro' dubbing facilities. A olby Noise Reduction Circuit. And a 6-LED eak reading VU meter for precision recording.

he amplifier delivers a tremendous punch of 00 watts (PMPO). Loudness controls and a pecial hi-filter eliminate distortion. Logic ontrolled touch switches allow input selection. And there are mixing facilities — and a microphone input too!

The graphic equaliser allows you to engineer sound to suit the acoustics of your room. The finely balanced, belt-driven turntable makes for perfect tracking. The AM/FM stereo multiplex tuner catches local and overseas broadcasts. And the integrated 3-way, 3-speaker system with a wide-angle dome tweeter produces 400 watts' music power.

Uranus II.

Welcome to the Golden Age in audio engineering.

Uranus II is a totality of SD580 cassette deck, SA580 stereo integrated amplifier, ST500 FM/AM tuner, SQ500 graphic equaliser, SP500 turntable and SX909 speaker system

S O N O D Y N E **Uranus II**

* Dolby® is the registered trademark of the Dolby Laboratories Licensing Corporation, USA.

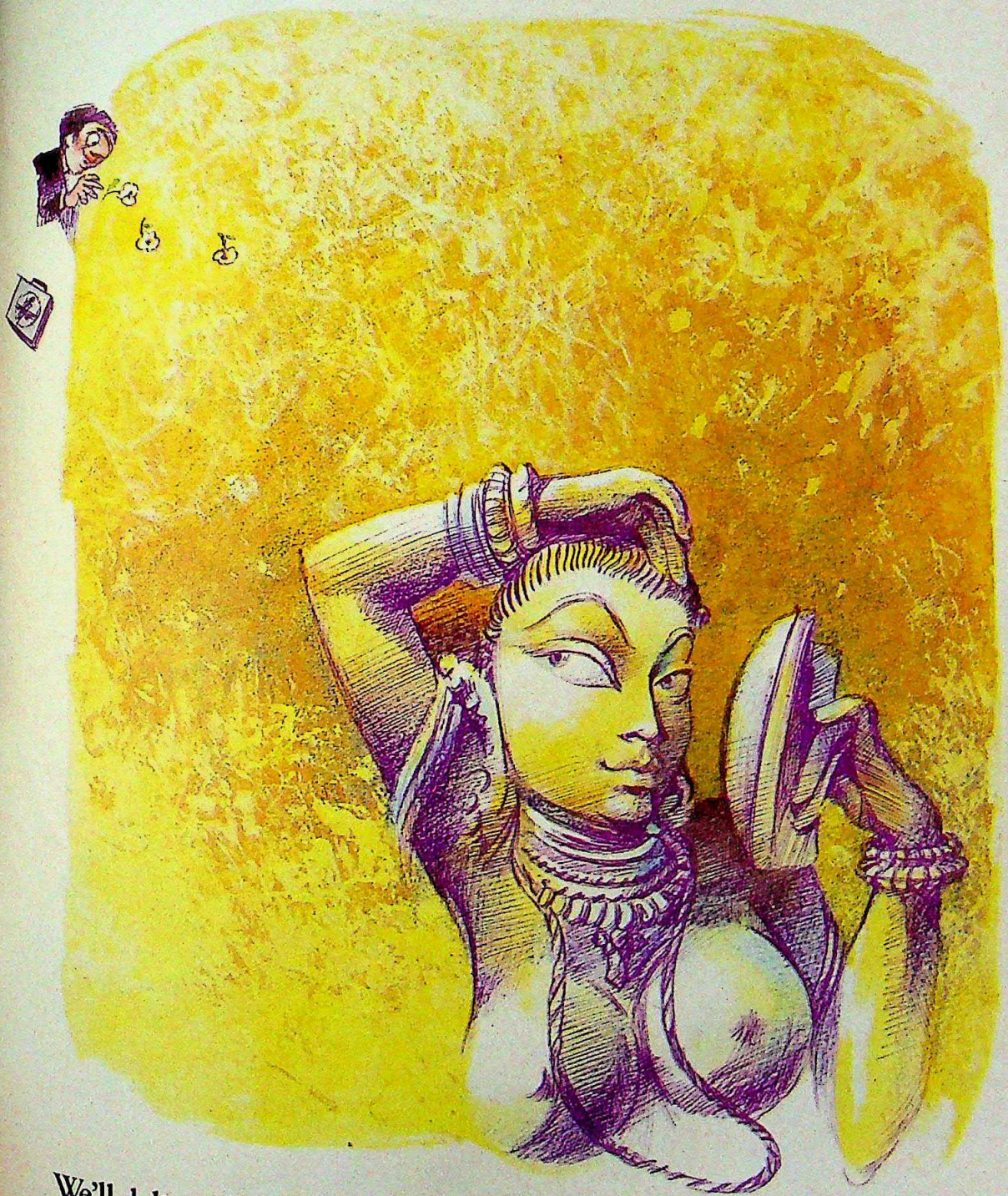
Storage rack supplied free of cost with the whole system.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Music has never sounded ri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What did the Khajuraho
Surasundari say to the Skypak Man?
"You've roamed the world...
tell me, did you see
any woman more beautiful than I?

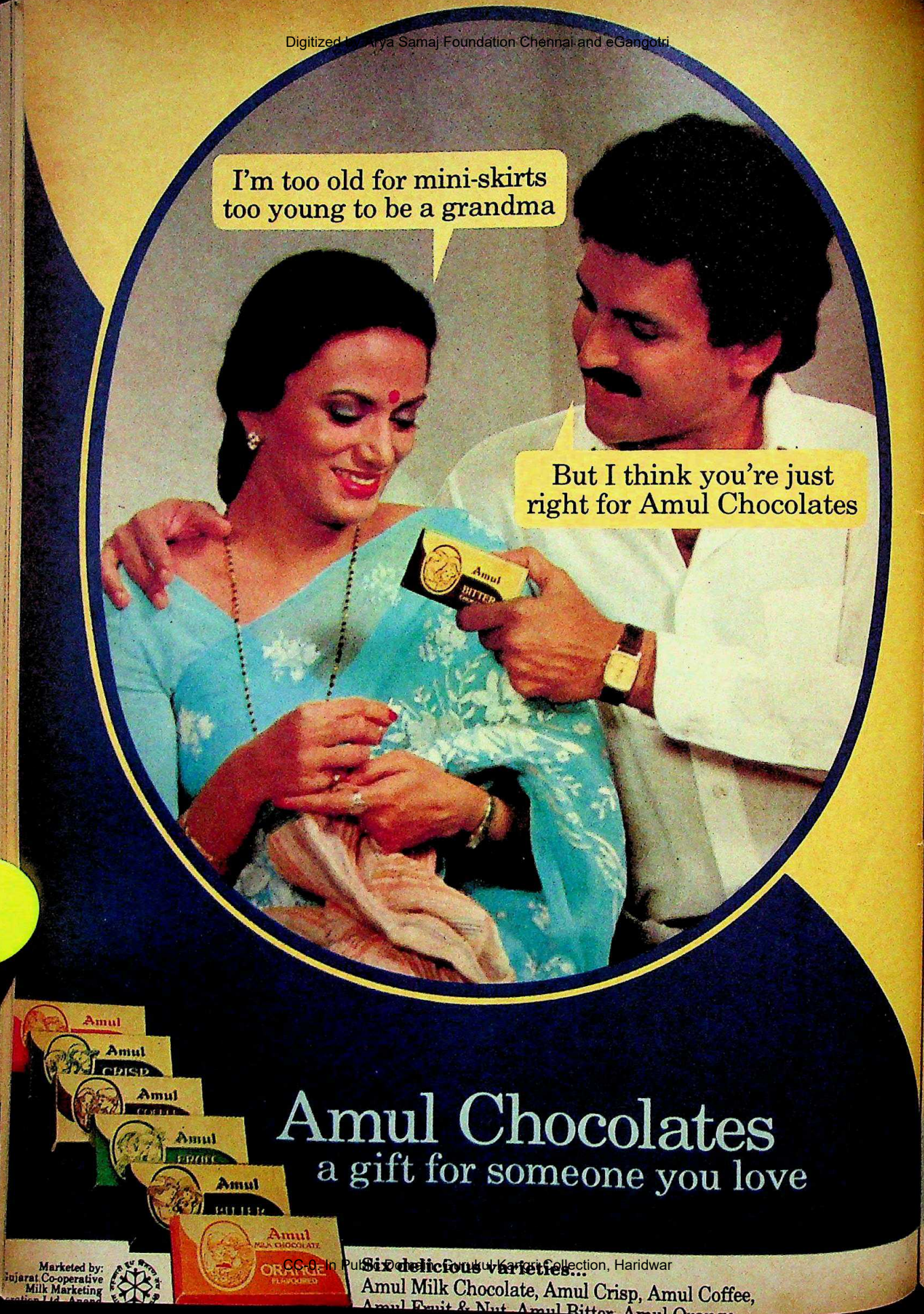


We'll deliver. Wherever on earth. SKYPAK The worldwide couriers.
Skypak House, Off M. Vassanji Road, Marol, Andheri (E), Bombay 400 059.

Avenues SC 495.89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanoria Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAKISTAN

Missile Missive

Claims of major breakthrough

FOR once since she took over power in December last year, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was pushed out of the Pakistani newspaper headlines last month. And significantly, her place was taken by Pakistan's Chief of Army Staff General Mirza Aslam Beg. Even more significant was the reason.

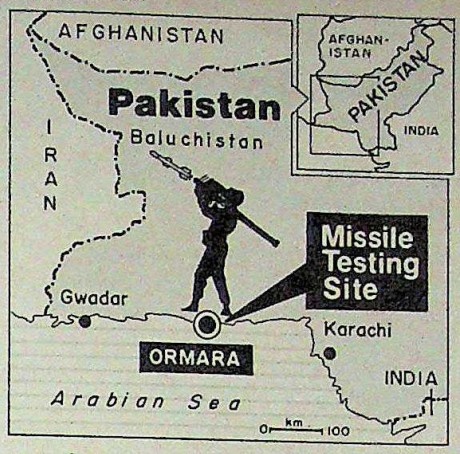
Addressing television audiences, Beg made a series of announcements which will have vital repercussions on the power equations not only within Pakistan but also in the sub-continent.

In the first week of February, Beg said that Pakistan had "tested two types of surface-to-surface missiles, one having a range of 80 km and the other 300 km". He added that "these missiles, including their guidance systems, have been developed indigenously and are extremely accurate systems which can carry a payload of over 500 kg". The missiles have been named Hatf-I and Hatf-II. *Hatf*, the Arabic word for "deadly", is the name of the sword used by Prophet Mohammad during many of his battles. Beg and other senior army officers had witnessed the successful firing of the Hatf missiles from mobile launching pads at test firing ranges on the Makran coast in Baluchistan, Pakistan's southernmost tip, touching the Arabian Sea. At the same time and place, defence scientists also successfully test-fired multi-barrel rockets, achieving a range of 25 km.

That was not all. On February 14, Pakistan claimed "another breakthrough in the field of defence production", when shoulder-fired surface-to-air-missiles and laser range finders were displayed on national television. The well-known Pakistani nuclear scientist, Dr A.Q. Khan—who oversaw the development of this equipment—formally handed it over to Beg at an official ceremony. The shoulder-fired surface-to-air missile—which has a range of 50 metres to 5,000 metres—has been named Anza, Arabic for the "striking lance," used by the Prophet Mohammad in several early battles. No further details or pictures were released.

By announcing these "achievements" Pakistan is sending out a clear message that it is trying to catch up with India in defence technology. That the country has a nuclear programme is an established fact and the success of the missiles has a definite bearing on it. Even the respectable *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* notes that the missile projects in various Third World countries "were unfolded in direct combination with nuclear weapons programmes".

Map by B.K. SHARMA



The timing of Beg's announcement, soon after the induction of a civilian government, was significant. Some observers have concluded that this is a clear example of the army's defiance of the Government. There was concern that such an important announcement should emanate from the army chief. As the Lahore-based English daily *The Nation* said in an editorial: "Would it not have been more apt to announce such momentous developments from the floor of the National Assembly?" The army chief also announced that the missiles would be on display at the March 23 Pakistan Day parade, an event certain to be played up in the Indian media just when Benazir and Rajiv Gandhi are talking in conciliatory terms.

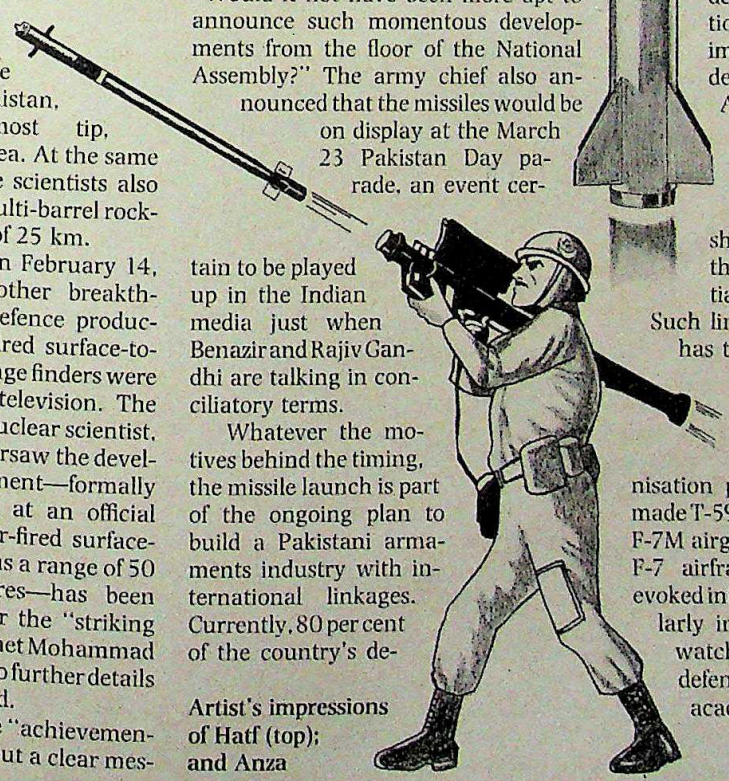
Whatever the motives behind the timing, the missile launch is part of the ongoing plan to build a Pakistani armaments industry with international linkages. Currently, 80 per cent of the country's defence needs are met by imports. Pakistan plans to change this. The strategy involves closer security and defence production linkages with China, Iran and Turkey, countries with which Pakistan has old ties. This marks a shift from the early '80s, when military manpower was used to promote Pakistan's regional clout and earn hard currency. For instance, the 10,000-odd troops it stationed in Saudi Arabia between 1983 and 1987, earned Pakistan nearly $300 million.

The new strategy was also reflected in Benazir's choice of China—the sheet-anchor of Pakistan's defence industry so far—as the first stop in her tour itinerary. Equally significant, Beg made his announcement at a gathering which included military officers from several Muslim countries like Turkey, Indonesia, Jordan, Malaysia and Bangladesh. It was also no accident that the new missiles were given Islamic names.

Also, last fortnight the highest level defence delegation from Iran since the revolution was in Pakistan for a week's visit. Said Ali Shamkhani, the powerful Iranian minister for revolutionary guards and leader of the delegation: "Iran in collaboration with Pakistan will form an important part of the Islamic defence line in the region." And on the eve of his arrival in Pakistan on an official visit, Turkish President Kenan Evren echoed: "Turkey and Pakistan should make a reappraisal of their defence industries' potential to increase cooperation."

Such linkages are vital if Pakistan has to collect the resources and wherewithal for its other armament development programmes. It is engaged in a limited modernisation programme of the Chinese made T-59 tank and the building of the F-7M airguard fighter on the Chinese F-7 airframe. These projects have evoked international interest. Particularly in India where analysts are watching the growth of Pakistan's defence industry with more than academic interest.

—MUSHAHID HUSSAIN
in Islamabad



Artist's impressions of Hatf (top); and Anza

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Taken for a Ride

THE national press fell flat on its face. And the Government followed suit the next day.

It was a good story. Newspaper headlines screamed: "G.L. Nanda evicted" (*The Hindu*). "Ex-pm made homeless" (*The Hindustan Times*), "G.L. Nanda's belongings thrown out" (*The Times of India*).

Going by the reports, a former acting prime minister, however brief his stints, was out on the street, thrown out of his humble dwelling in the capital's far from glamorous Defence Colony. Thrown out on the street, on the bailiff's orders, were documents, allegedly of national importance. *The Times of India* reported D.P. Upadhayaya, variously described as an associate and one-time help of Nanda, as saying: "These included valuable mementos of his association with the men who made Indian history. Much of it was damaged beyond repair."

There were photographs to drive home the point, with humble household articles propped up on the road or loaded on a luggage van. Copious accounts were provided to the press by the obliging Upadhayaya. There was purple prose too. *The Hindustan Times* wrote: "Nanda's half a century of service perhaps was not thought enough to entitle him to more consideration."

The Government—antennae out full tilt in a crucial election year—hastened to cover up its embarrassment by offering Nanda a government bungalow—category II—or a Delhi Development Authority flat of his choice.

The country learnt of the Government's generosity the day the story was blown sky high by none other than Nanda himself, who had discovered through newspapers that he had been thrown out of a Delhi house he did not occupy. He said he had moved out of the flat a year earlier and whoever was using the flat was doing so on his own account through some arrangement with the landlord of which he was not aware (*The Times of India*).

Nanda added tartly (*Indian Express*): "Useless belongings which we may have left behind may have been thrown out along with the flat's present tenant's belongings, that is, if the press report about the house being cleared following a court order is true."

If there is a lesson in this amazing story of the press being taken for a ride, the press gave no sign of discomfiture. Upadhayaya had disappeared from the news pages as mysteriously as he had hit the headlines. No one seemed interested in questioning him on his copious interviews.

For the press, it was like a bad dream, quickly to be forgotten.

It was not as if Nanda were in Timbuctoo. He was in the country. But trying to track him down would have assumed a habit which requires cross-checking "facts", and trunk calls cost money. There never seems to be enough money in Indian newspaper establishments for the primary task of getting and cross-checking stories.

The *Indian Express* reporter, Joseph Maliakan, was the only one among the reporting teams of the major newspapers to make some attempt at checking Upadhayaya's story. He quoted Nanda's daughter, Pushpa Naik, as saying in Ahmedabad that her father "does not have an apartment in Delhi any more—he has closed it down for nearly a year and there is another person living there now". But her statement was buried in the end of the story and made little difference to the heading.

R.K. SHARMA/Indian Express

If there was a lesson in the Nanda story of the press being taken for a ride, the press gave no sign of discomfiture. It was like a bad dream, quickly to be forgotten.

Three points are brought up by this bizarre display of naivety by the Indian daily press. Doesn't the press owe readers an apology? Is it not incumbent on the press to hammer home a few basic points to members of the reporting teams? And then what about the responsibility of the desks processing the stories?

Instead of pretending that Upadhayaya now does not exist, the press could begin to make amends for its earlier actions by questioning him. Was he simply hanging on to the flat by using Nanda's name or were there other circumstances? Or did Upadhayaya believe that Nanda would not say anything to contradict his story?

There are other troubling issues thrown up by the performance of the press. The landlord in question has been widely identified and presumably finds a place in popular fancy, on the basis of newspaper reports, as the hard-hearted man who threw out a pauperised former acting prime minister of the country. Isn't he owed a recompense in terms of an apology?

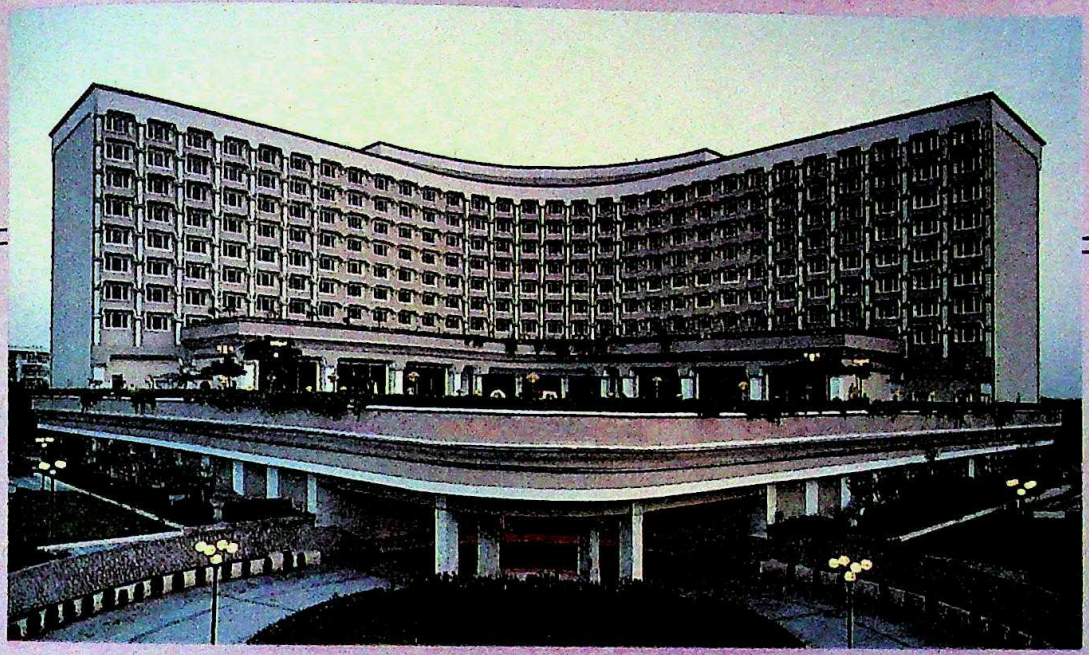
Nobody but the press can destroy its credibility, whatever politicians might say. Having been taken in by Upadhayaya was bad enough, but to pretend that it is business as usual, after printing Nanda's denial, is worse.

It is time to go back to the basic rules of journalism. That, rather than the expansion of the press, should be the order of the day.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NOW, IN DELHI, THE INTER·CONTINENTAL ADVANTAGE.



Now, we are known as

TAJ PALACE
INTER•CONTINENTAL
NEW DELHI

THE TAJ GROUP OF HOTELS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

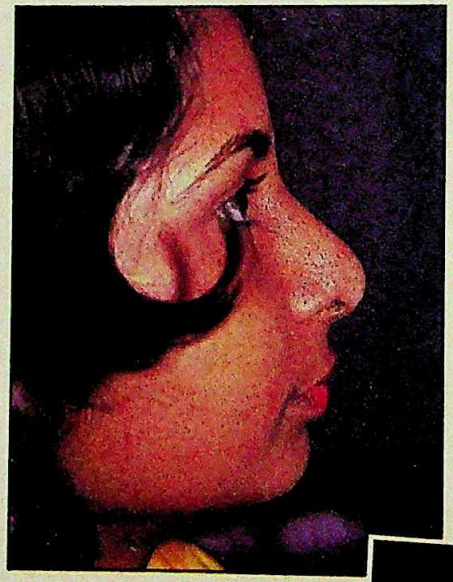
AESTHETIC SURGERY

INVASION OF THE BODY SCULPTORS

A wave of body consciousness is sweeping the metropolises. And riding its crest is a bevy of plastic surgeons who are changing the faces of Indians and reshaping the contours of their bodies.

MOVE over karma. The body sculptors are here. What nature or accidents put asunder, they are joining together. Prettily. The nose you always wanted. Well, almost. The puffy eyelids. Gone overnight. Those embarrassingly small breasts. Voluptuous now. The ugly rolls of fat that played hoola-hoop with your waist. Your chunky jodhpur thighs. All gone. At a price, of course.

Riding a wave of body consciousness that is sweeping urban India is a bevy of plastic surgeons. They are changing the faces of Indians and the contours of their bodies. "Looking good is becoming the fifth essential need in the country next to food, shelter, clothing and music," says Dr Suresh Gupta, past president of the Association of Plastic Surgeons of India (APSI) in Delhi. He adds: "The demand for correcting what the good God forgot has been growing steadily in India."



Nose correction (above) is the most popular operation

It's not as if Indians are suddenly becoming vain. Aesthetic surgery, as its practitioners take pains to point out, is really helping people overcome a traumatic inferiority complex. "A bad nose, small breasts or a bulging tummy can leave a permanent scar on a person's psyche. If corrected, it makes a dramatic change in someone's personality," says Dr R.J. Manecksha, well-known plastic surgeon currently attached to Bombay Hospital.

In their quest for the perfect look, more Indians are finding an easy panacea in plastic surgery. For years, Malavika (names have been changed to protect privacy), a Bombay housewife, worried over the small size of her breasts. Especially as she believed that "Indian males seem to have a fixation with the size of a woman's breasts". Recently, she had her breasts augmented through implants. Now she says: "After years of suffering silently I feel normal again."

For Madhu, a young Delhi lawyer, it was a ridge on the nose that was the cause of agony. "I just couldn't look into the mirror without feeling awful." She had it corrected through surgery and now says: "The change was so subtle that at first I couldn't detect it. But now my friends say—hey, how come you look so good?"

Indeed, as Dr Narendra Pandya, a well-known plastic surgeon from Bombay, says: "There's been a tremendous increase in awareness of how surgery can help your looks." A decade ago, Pandya did around 20 cosmetic surgeries a year. Now he performs 20 to 30 such operations every month. Says he: "Initially it used to be the affluent who would come. But now the middle class are into it in a big way too."

Current estimates put the total number of cosmetic surgeries done in the country annually at 15,000—up from barely 7,000 five years ago. Half these cases are of women between the ages of 18 and 23, hoping to brighten their marriage prospects by improving their looks. "Grooms these days seem more conscious of how their would-be wives look—even the moles are a big minus," says Manecksha. So, the women want moles and scars removed, breasts augmented or crooked noses corrected.

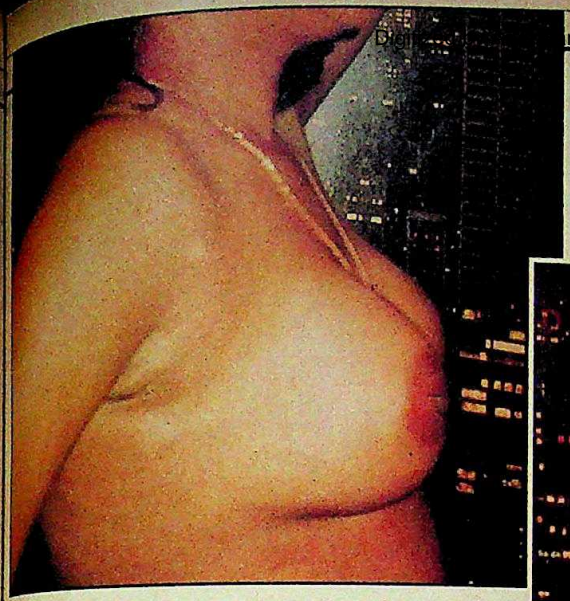
Current estimates put the total number of cosmetic operations done in the country annually at 15,000—up from barely 7,000 five years ago.

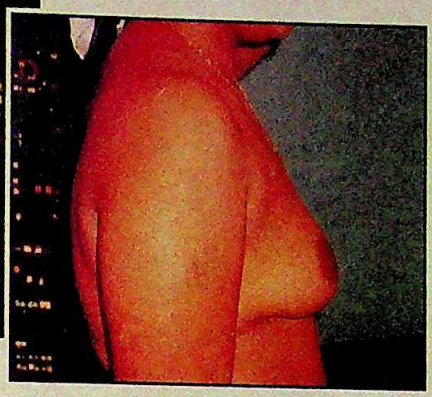
An increasing number of middle-aged women, who have borne several children, too are knocking at the doors of plastic surgeons. Most come for lifting sagging breasts and knocking off fat around their waists. Some want baggy eyelids removed or wrinkles smoothed out.

But cosmetic surgery is by no means a women's preserve. Males also want their noses corrected or jowls removed. Some balding men

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



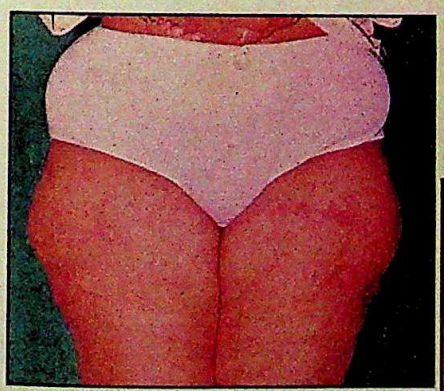


Augmentation of the breast (left) using silicon gel implants is common

even want hair transplants, while the macho ones want penile implants. And obese people—both men and women—are opting for surgery to knock off the rolls of fat that otherwise prove impossible to shed. "It's a whole range of people we are seeing—salesmen, models, executives, housewives," says Dr Behman Daver of Bombay. He believes that "the demand had always been there. Now there are more trained personnel to meet it". There are in fact 210 plastic surgeons in the country, up from 50 a decade ago.

But the high cost of such surgery still restricts it to an option for the relatively better off. For correcting noses, private surgeons charge anything between Rs 1,000 and Rs 3,000, which includes the hospitalisation costs. (Rates are cheaper in general hospitals.) While removal of baggy eyelids costs around Rs 3,000 or more, a complete face-lift would work out to over Rs 8,000. Breast augmentations are the most expensive at Rs 10,000 or more. Fat can be removed from the waist for about Rs 5,000.

While surgery on noses is popular, increasingly women are coming in to augment their breasts, to remove fat from their waists and thighs.



Fat around thighs (above) is sucked out by a curette attached to a pump in an operation called lipolysis.

Though Bombay is undoubtedly the Mecca for cosmetic surgeons, cities like Delhi, Madras, Calcutta, Bangalore and even Ludhiana are reporting a rising number of clients. Over half a dozen clinics specialising in aesthetic surgery have sprung up. Says Dr Vijay Sharma, who has opened one such clinic in Bombay's Bandra area: "The initial response has been tremendous. I have handled around 150 cases in a year."

Even plastic surgeons who specialise in reconstructive surgery are taking up cosmetic jobs. As Dr Mathangi Ramakrishnan, professor of plastic surgery at the Kilpauk Medical College in Madras and last year's president of APSI, says: "There's no doubt that cosmetic surgery is catching on. There's a growing demand, it's a lucrative practice and there are very few (reconstructive) surgeons who don't devote at least 10 per cent of their practice to it."

It's not as if all of them have gone cosmetic. In the past decade, they have taken rapid strides in what is still their prime task: reconstructing severed limbs, grafting skin to treat burn cases, correcting serious birth defects and reducing deformities arising from diseases like cancer and leprosy (*see box*). Yet, a greater number of plastic surgeons are willingly devoting more time to aesthetic surgery.

There are certain worrying aspects about the growing shift towards cosmetic surgery. The 15 centres for handling reconstructive surgery are still woefully inadequate. And of the 30-odd plastic surgeons that pass out of medical colleges every year, many opt for the more profitable cosmetic surgery. A group of young Bombay doctors, in fact, recently floated the Indian Association of Cosmetic Surgeons.

For the body-conscious Indian, however, the growing availability of cosmetic surgeons has proved a boon. "For years I did not know what to do with a tummy bulge and fat around my thighs," says Neeta, 23, an advertising executive. When she heard from a friend that the troublesome fat could be removed by a simple operation, Neeta decided to go ahead. Now she says: "It's made a world of difference. I can wear jeans without feeling embarrassed."

Aside from enhancing looks, cosmetic surgery is providing many answers to the ageing face and body. A frown, a furrow, crinkling around the eyes, grimaces, laugh lines—all these heighten as muscles sag and the skin becomes less taut. And the sheer force of gravity insidiously begins causing ugly jowls and the classic face sag.

Though still not an elixir, cosmetic surgery can disguise the ageing process. Indians are, in fact, credited with being the world's first plastic

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When you sign on BYN, you're signing on international quality.

When your project has to conform to stringent international quality requirements, make sure you get technical expertise recognised by such leading inspection agencies as Lloyds, Bureau Veritas, PDIL, Sweco, BARC, RDSO & EIL.

Bharat Yantra Nigam. A multi-dimensional Group comprising:

Bharat Heavy Plate & Vessels,
Bharat Pumps & Compressors,
Bridge & Roof,
Richardson & Cruddas,
Triveni Structurals and
Tungabhadra Steel Products.

With the combined resources of these six companies, the BYN Group provides you with one-source expertise in a wide spectrum of industries—in terms of design, engineering, fabrication, construction and project management. In industries as diverse as fertilizers, chemicals, petroleum oil and gas, power, communications & transportation—to name but a few.

Backed by 21 international collaborators, and a vast manpower resource of 15,000 trained personnel—which includes 3,000 qualified engineers, the BYN Group's products and services are recognised by leading international inspection agencies.

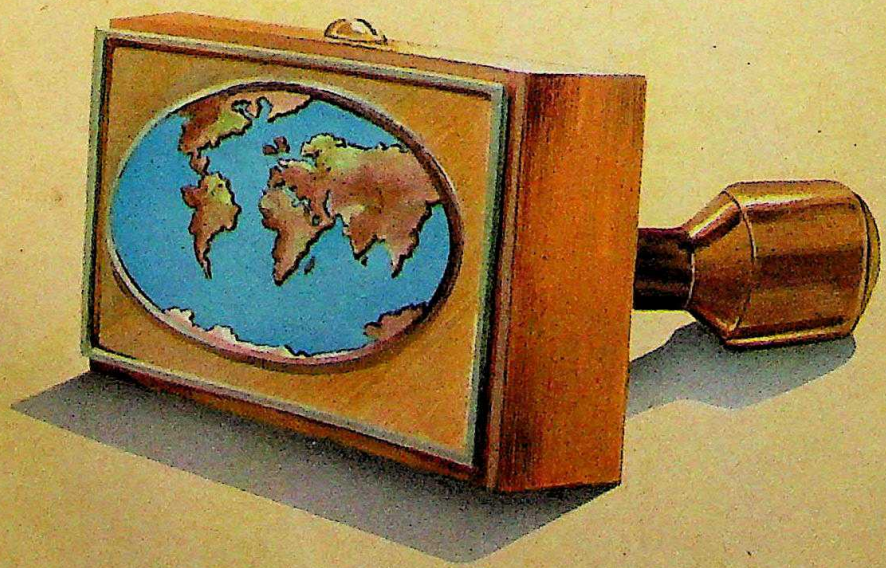
Whatever by your requirements, the BYN group is well equipped to meet your multiple needs by way of products, services, sub-systems, systems and turnkey packages from concept to commissioning, tailor-made to specific requirements.

Contact BYN.

BYN byn

Bharat Yantra Nigam Limited
15/1 Thornhill Road, Allahabad 211001
Phone: (0532) 4584 Telex: 0540-298 BYNL IN

The one source, multi-resource engineering group



• Bharat Heavy Plate & Vessels Limited, Vishakapatnam • Bharat Pumps & Compressors Limited, Naini, Allahabad • Bridge & Roof Co. (India) Limited, Calcutta • Richardson & Cruddas (1972) Limited, Bombay • Triveni Structurals Limited, Naini, Allahabad • Tungabhadra Steel Products Limited, T.B. Dam, Hospet, Karnataka

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Sista's-BYN-88/89-A

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

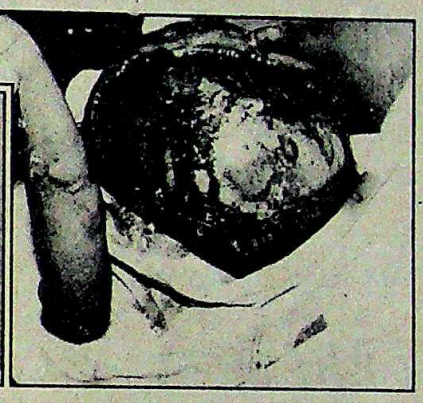
RECONSTRUCTIVE SURGERY

A Minor Revolution

THEY work in overcrowded and under-equipped hospitals, often operating for 10 hours at a stretch. Still, plastic surgeons across 15 centres in the country have brought about a minor revolution in what was till recently an area of darkness. Examples:

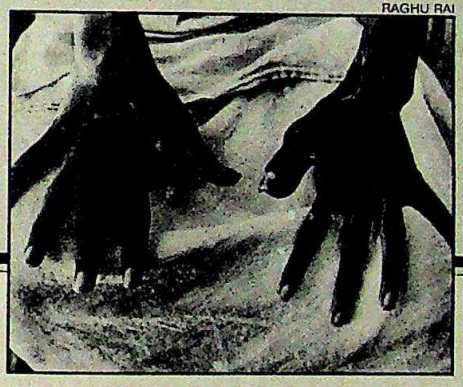
▶ In Madras, Jayaram, 18, a mechanic, had his left thumb cut off on a lathe. In an eight-hour operation done under a microscope, doctors at Stanley Hospital removed his big toe and attached it to his palm—rejoining nerves, arteries, tendons. Today he can use his right hand again.

▶ In Bombay, Karan Duggal, 3, had a congenital defect: cranial stenosis. His skull sutures were fused at birth, preventing expansion of the cranial chamber. With his growing brain, the head became elongated, his eyes bulged and jaw became crooked. Surgeons at KEM General Hospital, operated on his skull, corrected the orbital space for his eyes and re-sutured it. Scars apart, Karan looks normal.



▶ Ludhiana's Bhupinder Singh, 34, got his hair caught in a threshing machine. His scalp was ripped off, exposing the cranium. Doctors at the Christian Medical Centre (CMC) worked for hours to suture the scalp. In a month, blood circulation was normal and Singh's hair is now lush as before.

RAGHU RAI



A detached scalp is sutured back through microsurgery (above); a toe replaces a damaged thumb

The demand for reconstructive plastic surgery as these operations are called, far outstrips the availability of surgeons and equipment. The number of burn cases that need skin grafts, industrial accidents, and deformities caused by diseases has shot up. While the number of centres specialising in reconstructive surgery has grown slowly, this decade has seen a dramatic improvement in the techniques for treating such cases. "There has been an explosion of technology and a growing competence to deal with the most complex cases," says Dr K.S. Goleria, head of the reconstructive surgery unit in Bombay's KEM Hospital.

Goleria and his team are one of three units specialising in cranio-facial surgery, the last frontier in plastic surgery. Such operations are now done routinely. Major strides have also been taken in micro-surgery. The technique of using a powerful microscope to operate on delicate nerves and blood vessels is now commonplace. In the past five years, Madras' Stanley Hospital and Ludhiana's CMC have done over 400 operations.

Despite growing specialisation, facilities are inadequate. Also most deformities are reported late and initial treatment is poor. Says Dr M. Ramakrishnan, former president of the Indian Association of Plastic Surgeons: "We need a seven fold increase in facilities to meet the demand." Adds Dr S. Gupta, a plastic surgeon: "We're still fighting to convince decision makers of the need for plastic surgery." That may prove more daunting than the most complex operation.

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

surgeons. In the 6th century B.C. primitive surgeons performed the first skin grafts on women whose noses were cut off as punishment for adultery. Since then, techniques for surgery have obviously leapfrogged, especially in the latter half of this century (*see box*).

Simultaneously, there has been a sea change in the attitude towards cosmetic surgery. Says Dr Vimala Rajan, a Delhi-based plastic surgeon: "A few years ago there was a stigma attached to it. Today that is fast vanishing." Plastic surgeons too have evolved their own code of dos and don'ts. For instance, they discourage persons from having their body contours changed simply because their spouses are straying. As Dr Rajan says: "The marriage could be on the rocks for other reasons. When an operation doesn't help to restore it the patients tend to blame us."

Requests for a Jaya Prada nose, Sridevi breasts or Dimple Kapadia chin are treated with

Facilities for reconstructive surgery are still inadequate. But there has been a leap in technology with microsurgery becoming common.

equal caution. Says Dr Sharma: "We are not magicians. We tell them that we can't make them Miss India." Doctors usually spend two or three long sessions with the patient before agreeing to perform an operation. They take pictures of the patient and show them exactly how much change they can bring about. "We tell them that there is a good chance of failure and that post-operational complications like bleeding, scarring and pussing can occur," adds Dr Gupta. Patients are also warned that the risk involved is as high as in general surgery. Deaths, though rare, do occur on the operating table.

Though most cosmetic surgery is fairly simple, doctors stress that it involves considerable skill. Says Dr Pandya: "There's a whole lot of art in this surgery." Last fortnight, at the Breach Candy Hospital in Bombay, he was removing fat from the thighs and stomach of a 32-year-old woman through a new technique called 'lipolysis'. First he outlines with a pencil

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Why didn't we think of that before?"

That's what the competition always says.
Everytime Blue Star comes out with something new.

The first water cooler in India

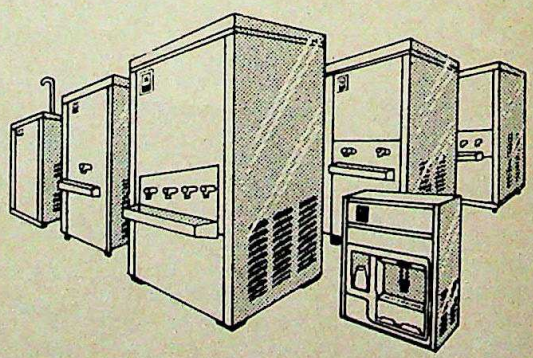
Stainless steel front panel on several models

The only wall-mounted water cooler

Stainless steel body on two models

A large number of models with the ISI mark

The only Indian company to export water coolers to over 30 countries



BLUE STAR
Aquarius
WATER COOLERS
Select models available on DGS & D Rate Contract

★ BLUE STAR
The only guarantee you'll ever need

FSA/BSU/14/88

For more information, please contact Blue Star Limited offices at: Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Indore, Pune, Nagpur, Bhopal, Chandigarh, Kanpur, Jaipur, Lucknow, Jamshedpur, Guwahati, Bhubaneshwar, Patna, Bangalore, Secunderabad, Cochin.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TECHNIQUES

Art in Surgery

PLASTIC surgeons can alter most parts of the body. The most popular operations are:

The Face: The most common operation performed by Indian plastic surgeons is 'rhinoplasty' or the nose job. By removing, shifting or altering the underlying bone and cartilage structure, a surgeon can alter the nose's contours. For a flat nose, bone implants are made by taking a chip from the hip or with the new safe silicon polymers substitutes. They are then put in the nose to raise it.

Wrinkles around the forehead and eyes, laugh lines or unseemly jowls are removed by a 'rhytidectomy' or facelift. Incisions are made near and behind the ears. The facial skin is lifted, the excess snipped off and the rest stretched to remove wrinkles. It is sutured back around the ear.

Removal of baggy eyelids through 'blepharoplasty' is becoming popular. Incisions are made on the eyelids, the fat around the eyes removed, excess skin snipped off, then stretched and sutured back. The scars heal after a month.

A surgeon removing acne and scars from a woman's face

Operations to correct deformities of the ear (otoplasty) and chin (mentoplasty) are possible but not common. What is common is the removal of small pox scars. The top layer of the skin is gently scraped with medical grade sand paper. Large scars are erased by a new month-long technique called 'skin expanding'. A plastic bag is introduced below the scarred skin. This is expanded every week by injecting saline into the bag. Once the skin is stretched, the bag is removed. The loose skin is then stretched over the scar.

The Breasts: The most popular cosmetic surgery among women is 'augmentation mammoplasty' that increases the size of breasts. Incisions are made just below the fold of the breasts and safe silicone gel implants (available in different sizes) inserted. Lactation is not affected, but rejection and hardening of implants are some complications. Injectible fluids are banned as they're unsafe. In 'reduction mammoplasty', the size is reduced by raising the nipples and the main blood supply vessels, lopping the lower half and suturing the skin. It takes some time to heal.

The Rest of the Body: Till recently, excess fat around the waist and buttocks was just lopped off. But for removing a lesser amount of fat, a new technique, 'lipolysis', is revolutionising such surgery (*see main story*). To remove over three kgs of fat, surgeons use a combination of the old and new methods.

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

the area from where he will be removing the fat. After the patient is anaesthetised, he takes a scalpel and makes a small cut above her pelvis. He then takes a long curette, a hollow tube with a hole at one end and the other end attached to a pump through a plastic tube. He slides the instrument through the incision and jabs repeatedly at the fat inside. Yellow blobs of fat begin to fill the connecting pipe. "You can remove about 2 to 3 kgs like this but not more. The loss of blood could lead to complications," he cautions.

Similar nicks are made on the other side, followed by two nicks just below the knees to remove the fat from the thighs. To prevent the skin from hanging loosely and to stop unwanted accumulation of blood, a corset is slipped on after the operation, which the patient wears for a month and a half.

What is worrying is that as the number of such operations increase, there is an almost proportionate rise in the number of botched-up jobs. With three deaths reported recently in Bombay, surgeons warn against scalpel-happy doctors. Take the experience of a Delhi-based chartered accountant. He went in for a nose job but found that his nose looked even more crooked after the operation. Three operations later his nose was still not set right. There are other hazards. Some women's bodies reject breast implants, resulting in the operation having to be repeated. Worse, careless surgeons can leave the most unseemly of scars.

Aesthetic surgery techniques are fairly advanced. But there has been a rise in the number of botched-up jobs. A large gap between expectations and results exists.

The gap between expectations and results is perhaps the biggest problem confronting plastic surgeons. Many doctors have patients coming back to them, saying: "I can't accept my new face. Somehow it's not me." To resolve this identity crisis, many patients have to go in for counselling.

For those satisfied with the results, however, the change can be dramatic. Often, the comfort is psychological rather than physical. A marketing executive, whose breasts sagged badly after she had two children, had them surgically lifted recently. Says she: "Before, I could not look at my figure in the mirror. Today I feel whole again." People report that a new look makes a difference in their working life too. A salesman, who had a Pinnochio-type nose fixed, now says: "My clients' attitude towards me has changed. I feel far more confident."

Few people are, however, willing to speak openly about their surgery. Still, as has happened in the West, the universal desire to look good and young is bound to push cosmetic surgery out of the closet in India as well. With scientists in the country keeping apace with the latest innovations in every field, it was just a matter of time before Indians began reshaping the human face and body too.

—RAJ CHENGAPPA in Delhi, Bombay and Madras

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

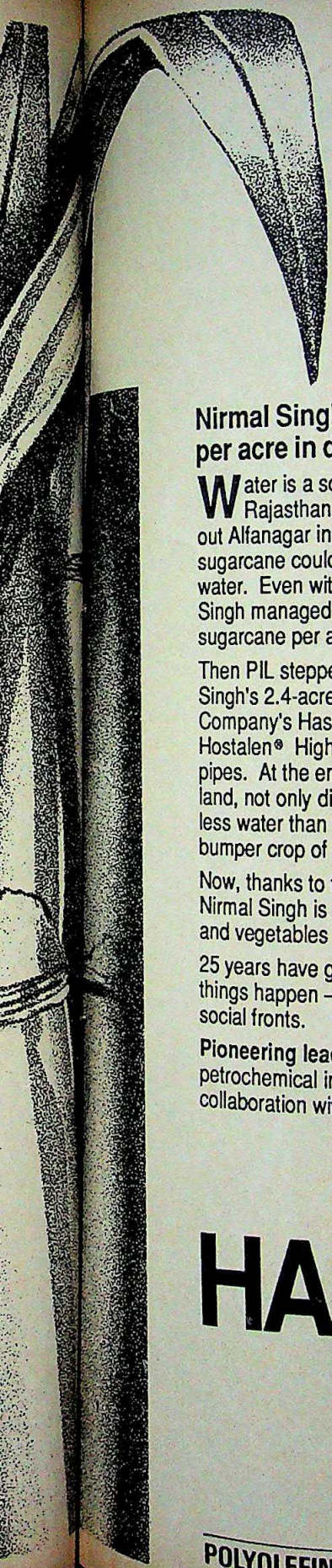
25 YEARS

PIL

The years turn silver. . . and our commitment grows

CC-0. In [illegible] Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Nirmal Singh astounded farmers with a bumper crop of 65 MT of sugarcane per acre in drought-prone Rajasthan

Water is a scarce resource in drought-prone Rajasthan. Nirmal Singh, a farmer in far out Alfanagar in the Kota district, believed that sugarcane could not be raised without abundant water. Even with a plentiful water supply, Nirmal Singh managed to raise only 17 metric tonnes of sugarcane per acre of land.

Then PIL stepped in. PIL's engineers used Nirmal Singh's 2.4-acre plot of land to demonstrate the Company's Hasti® Sprinkler System using Hostalen® High Density Polyethylene (HDPE) pipes. At the end of a one-year experiment on the land, not only did Nirmal Singh find himself using less water than before, but he also harvested a bumper crop of 65 MT of sugarcane per acre.

Now, thanks to the Hasti® Sprinkler System, Nirmal Singh is able to raise wheat, groundnuts and vegetables as well as sugarcane on his plot.

25 years have gone by, and PIL continues to make things happen – on the industrial, agricultural and social fronts.

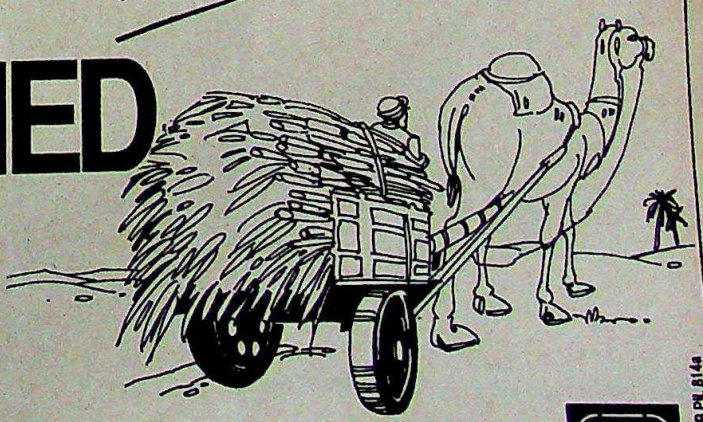
Pioneering leadership: PIL's role in the Indian petrochemical industry began in 1963, in collaboration with Hoechst AG of Germany, the largest chemical company in the world. In 1968 PIL commenced manufacture of Hostalen® HDPE. Since then, PIL has entered into collaboration with Monsanto Company of the USA and has access to other world renowned companies for the technological know-how to manufacture high-tech products to improve the quality of life.

R&D – Byword at PIL: But it is not PIL's way to be content with the ways of others. Our R&D Centre is constantly innovating to find simple solutions to complex problems. Like the import-substitution of expensive materials, the manufacture of products with in-house know-how, and the utilisation of wastes. These are just a few of PIL's R&D activities, resulting in major savings in foreign exchange and better utilisation of available resources.

The PIL range: Thermoplastics, Rubber Chemicals, Plastic Processed Products—the PIL product range today, contributes in so many diverse ways to the betterment of human life. Helping translate the Company philosophy 'technology for a better life' into concrete reality.

PIL-Technology for a better life!

IT HAPPENED WITH PIL



POLYOLEFINS INDUSTRIES LIMITED Mafatlal Centre, Nariman Point, Bombay-400 021

PIL

CHAITRA-B PIL 8144

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IRDP LOANS

A Methodical Fraud

IRDP was aimed at helping the poor. But in Madhya Pradesh falsification of records has ensured that the money never reaches the poor.* INDIA TODAY *is in possession of documents which throw light on this shameful scandal.

Official Statistics: *More than 22 lakh people in Madhya Pradesh have been helped to cross the poverty line thanks to the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) during the last eight years.*

The Truth: *The figures are fudged by the state Government.*

GOVERNMENT records show that Pappu Vishwakarma, 21, of Pipalkheda village in Vidisha district, was given a Rs 5,000-loan in 1986-87 to start a welding unit under IRDP, aimed at helping the poorest of the rural poor.

He never got the money. But financial jugglers in the state Government have claimed that they have spent the money. In fact they have already obtained reimbursement from the Centre.

Vishwakarma was trained as a welder under TRYSEM (Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment), a government scheme that gave him priority in obtaining an IRDP loan. When it did not materialise, he borrowed Rs 11,000 from a money-lender and now pays an interest of 30 per cent on the amount. An IRDP loan would have meant a one-third subsidy and an interest of merely 4 per cent. Says Vishwakarma: "I can hardly manage after paying the money-lender."

Vishwakarma is just one of the lakhs of faceless persons below the poverty line in whose name the Madhya Pradesh Government has been committing a systematic fraud ever since the IRDP was launched by the Centre in 1979.

Says a note written by former chief minister Arjun Singh: "Lakhs of the poorest of our poor have been denied their legitimate right to these funds...It is this denial of dignity, literally snatching away a few more morsels from the countless children of potential beneficiary families, which constitutes the core and the real face of this administrative lapse or whatever euphemism we may label it with. This is a matter of collective shame."

The programme was launched with the objective of raising poor families, with an annual income less than Rs 6,400, above the poverty line by giving them income-generating assets and access to credit and other inputs. Now a component of the 20-point programme, the funds for the scheme are provided on a matching basis by the Central and state governments. Tribals get a subsidy of 50 per cent on income-generating assets purchased by them, landless and marginal farmers qualify for a subsidy of 33 per cent, and small farmers for a subsidy of 25 per cent. The scheme is implemented through a district rural development agency (DRDA), registered under the Societies Registration Act but actually an official agency working under the collector.

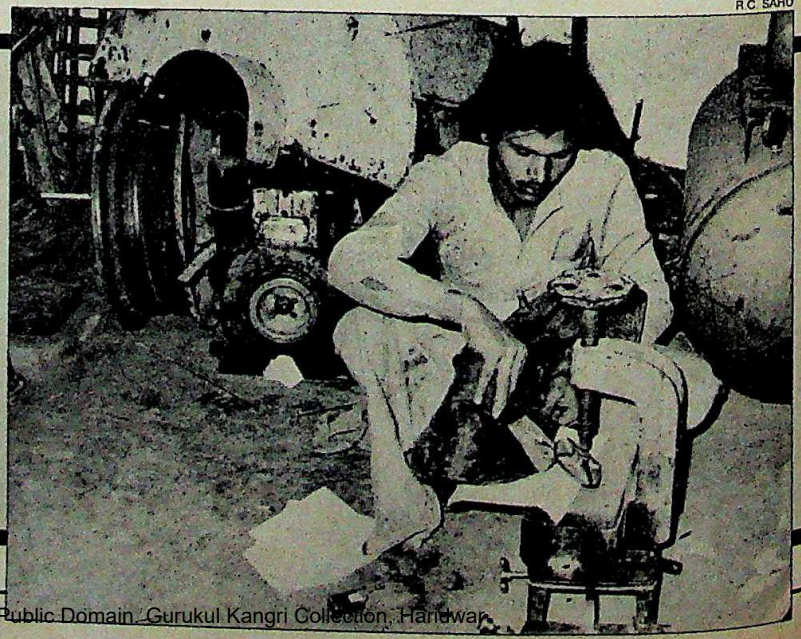
The report of the comptroller and auditor general of India reveals that during the six years between 1978-79 and 1983-84, 80 per cent of the funds shown as having been spent in 13 districts of the state were not spent. Of the Rs 20.43 crore handed over to banks in these districts, Rs 14.85 crore was lying in banks while Rs 1.4 crore was returned. The report also revealed that the development commissioner of the state did not have information about the "actual disbursement" of Rs 96.17 crore handed over to banks in the state between 1980-81 and 1983-84.

Besides, it pointed out that the district administration did not undertake a systematic identification of the beneficiaries or monitor the distribution of subsidies. In 30 districts, Rs 1.12 crore was found to have been misutilised by non-entitled people, Rs 24 lakh was paid in excess due to incorrect application of rules and Rs 60 lakh was irregularly spent on infrastructure. And a part of the allocations, meant for the benefit of the rural poor, was given to some beneficiaries in urban areas.

During physical verification by the

According to the records Vishwakarma was given a loan of Rs 5,000 under IRDP to start a welding unit. He never received the loan.

R.C. SAHU



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

मंत्रिपरिषद आदेश

विभाग द्वारा प्रस्तुत की गई संक्षेपिका में बताई गई [illegible] मंत्रि-परिषद अवगत हुई तथा तय किया कि [illegible] राशि की जांच के संबंध में श्री मुख्य मंत्री द्वारा [illegible] किया जाए।

: रमेश चन्द्र चौपड़ा :
मुख्य सचिव

Minutes approved.
I discussed this case with Shri Vasanji CM (H.P) along with Hon. Min. Shri Bhatti and Rural Dev. Min. Smt. Manjula, since the whole issue pertains to the time when Shri Vora was the Chief Minister. Shri Vasanji was surprised that such a reference etc be drawn up for approval.

22.12.88

Confidential/Immediate

LARGE UNSPENT IRDP BALANCES WITH DISTRICT RURAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES

Funds for the IRDP are provided on a matching basis by [illegible] State [illegible] the [illegible] by them in April of the year.

Secy. 9 hours discussed with CM. He has passed orders on this matter.

28 NOV 1988
PS(RD)

3. The position of our State examined in the light of the above criteria is very disturbing. The allocation of funds this year of Rs. 66.00 crores is the highest ever made to the State. Even with this level of funding our balance should not normally exceed about Rs. 22.25 crores at the end of any financial year and about Rs. 30 crores on the 1st of October. As against this, we have today a balance of Rs. 77.30 crores.

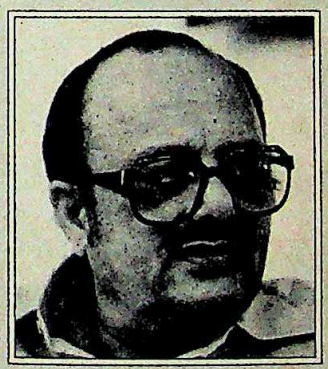
4. Indications have been received [illegible] number of [illegible] task of handling a programme of such dimensions.

(J. N. Kaul)
27.11.1988
Principal Secretary to Govt.
MP, Rural Development Deptt.

351/PA/PS/RD
27-11-1988
Chief Secretary
Secretary to CM

Notings in government file

Arjun Singh called the scandal a matter of "collective shame."



Kaul's confidential report

Chief Minister Motilal Vora refutes the suggestion of any irregularity.

auditor general's office it was discovered that although the district development agencies claimed they had financed 2.74 lakh and 2.68 lakh families in 1982-83 and 1983-84 respectively, the actual coverage was only 80,000 and 1.91 lakh families. For instance the Bastar DRDA informed the Centre that in February 1983, it had an unspent balance of Rs 93 lakh. But investigation revealed that the balance was Rs 2.87 crore. Says the report: "Investments and bank deposits were treated as final expenditure in the records."

The report notes a payment of Rs 71 lakh was made for development work which was not carried out. Funds were also spent on items not covered by IRDP—Rs 16 lakh for construction of Chinese-type hatcheries, about Rs 11 lakh for silk centres of the state textile corporation and Rs 11 lakh for Forest Department nurseries.

During Motilal Vora's last tenure as chief minister during 1985-87, the state earned the dubious distinction of accumulating an unspent balance of Rs 77.29 crore under IRDP—almost one-fourth of the total money spent in the country on the scheme. But the state Government falsified its records and reported a balance of Rs 14.53 crore. Says a confidential report by J.N. Kaul, former principal secretary of the Rural Development Department: "Loan amount sanctioned, but not distributed, was treated as expenditure."

To conceal the slackening in the pace of IRDP implementation as well as to qualify for Central assistance, at least 16 agencies did not report an unspent balance of Rs 22.51 crore as on April 1, 1987, which they had accumulated in the previous two years. Earlier, the Centre would sanction release of the instalment of the grant without scrutinising the balance. But in 1987-88 it noticed huge balances and found that most of the districts did not qualify for a second instalment. The state Government, however, devised a way out. It began to include the loans sanctioned but not disbursed as expenditure, thereby reducing the unspent balance. What's worse, as Kaul's report revealed, the practice was adopted following the advice of one of the Government's chartered accountants.

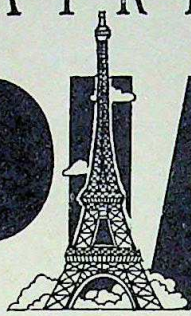
As this method was not in conformity with the accepted procedure, chartered

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

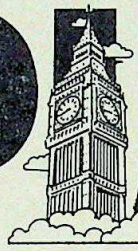
WHICH OTHER AIRLINE

takes you to the Towering heights of Paris...



PIA

drives you round the Ben in London...



PIA

gives you the Liberty of landing in New York...

PIA

adds a new Leaf to your schedule, with Toronto...

PIA

touches down at many other cities in the western world...
and yet leaves you walking on air with a memorable interlude at Karachi!

Only PIA does all this... and a bit more! It offers you the traditional hospitality and gracious service that many airlines try for. That's because PIA's highly efficient flight personnel have this special knack of making every passenger feel right at home, in any corner of the earth... or sky!

And now, every PIA traveller enjoys a memorable interlude in the beautiful tourist city of Karachi, en route to Europe, America, the Middle East, Africa and many more places — courtesy PIA.

PIA
Pakistan International
Great people to fly with

Interpub/PIA/4/88

DELHI: Kailash Building, 26 Kasturba Gandhi Marg, New Delhi-110 001 Phone: 3316286, 3316121.

BOMBAY: Hotel Oberoi Towers, Nariman Point, Bombay-400 021 Phone: 2021480, 2021598.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accountants in 17 out of a total of 45 districts refused to modify the balance sheet to suit the state Government. However, state officials persuaded New Delhi to release the second instalment, assuring them that the outstanding amount would be disbursed against the sanctioned loan cases. But no special drive was launched to clear the balance.

It was indeed a cruel joke on the poor beneficiaries. The Central Government was given to understand that they had received money that they never got. In Vidisha district, for instance, there was an unspent balance of Rs 1 crore at the beginning of April 1987. There are many cases of people denied their right to these funds:

Nanhu Lal got Rs 3,000 to buy a bullock-cart. According to the records, he was paid Rs 5,000.

R.C. SAHU

▶ Nanhu Lal, 45, of Khejda village, got Rs 3,000 for purchasing a bullock-cart in 1986-87. However, according to the records, he was paid Rs 5,000. Nanhu has been able to purchase only a pair of bullocks. There was no money for a cart.

▶ Madhav Singh, 42, also of Khejda village, got Rs 1,500 of the Rs 3,000 sanctioned for starting a shop in 1986-87.

▶ Babu Lal, 55, of Ahmednagar village, was sanctioned Rs 3,000 for his tailoring shop in 1985-86. The money came in '88.

▶ Suresh Lodhi, 22, also of Ahmednagar village, got a loan of Rs 3,000 in 1987-88 for his small tea shop, say records. He is yet to receive the loan.

The Arjun Singh government became worried when it noticed the over Rs 77-crore balance at the end of October last year, as against the stipulated balance of Rs 30 crore. At about the same time the Union Government indicated that one-third of the districts would not qualify for the second instalment of the grant.

A cabinet subcommittee was set up on November 28, conferences of commissioners and collectors were called to devise an action plan to spend the balance amount and finally the matter was placed before the Cabinet. Since the issue pertained to the time Vora was chief minister a delegation of three ministers, led by Singh, called on him in Delhi in December. Says a cabinet note: "Voraji was surprised that such a thing had happened of which he had no knowledge. He felt that an inquiry should be held by a very senior officer."

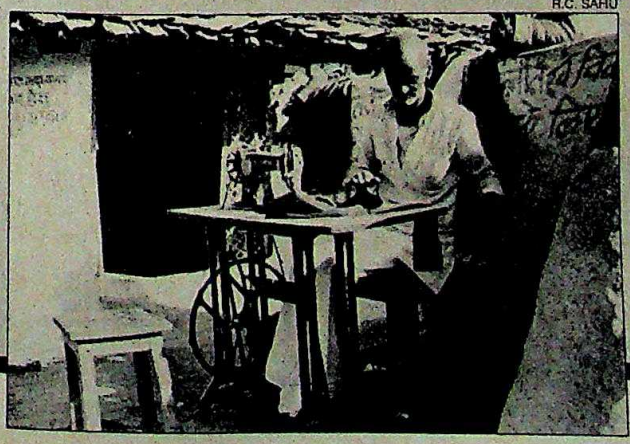
It was decided that M.K. Chaturvedi, president, board of revenue, would conduct the inquiry. The terms of reference were drawn up, and the order instituting the inquiry was drafted. But before the order could be issued on January 23, Singh had to bow out of office. The file is now pending with Rural Development Minister Shiv Pratap Singh.

Vora, incidentally, refutes the suggestion of any irregularity. Says he: "We utilised 94 per cent of the IRDP funds. I've gone through the papers and I am fully satisfied with the performance." But the fact is that since its inception, the scheme has been plagued by complaints of irregularities, corruption, malpractices and financial jugglery. It has also been found that rich farmers grab the benefits of the scheme in collusion with bank and DRDA officials. Not long ago the Government admitted in the state Assembly that a rich landlord was given a loan for digging a well and installing a pump.

The programme seems to be viewed as a fund-raising device by the state Government. While it keeps pleading for more funds from Delhi, it rarely releases its matching grant in time. For example in 1981-82, 36 agencies did not receive the second instalment of the state grant of Rs 3.29 crore. They got it after the financial year had ended—the final payment was in January 1983.

Babu Lal was sanctioned Rs 3,000 for his tailoring shop in 1985-86 but received the amount only last year.

R.C. SAHU



While officials and politicians point fingers at each other and try to duck the responsibility for the scandal, the real blame must rest at the top. The fudging of records on such a large scale could not have taken place without the tacit approval of the bosses. In fact the entire cabinet was aware of it. As an official said: "Everyone was compromised."

Obviously, the last concern of those involved is to implement the programme sincerely. While government officials treat it as extra work, banks too don't like the idea much—after all the recovery percentage is only 45. It seems to be a bad debt for all concerned.

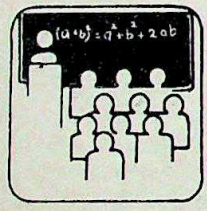
—N.K. SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Into its second year

IVY LEAGUE ACADEMY
"Mind without fear"



ACADEMICS	SPORTS	CO-CURRICULUR ACTIVITIES
C.B.S.E. format	Campus area of 27	Music
Co-educational	acres on the outskirts	Dance
Residential School	of Hyderabad	Dramatics
Std. I to VIIth	Separate playfields	Singing
Progressing year by	for: Cricket,	Hobbies
year to XII	Football Hockey, Tennis	Yoga
Computers	Volley ball, Basket Ball,	House Keeping
Modern pedagogy	Throwball, Tennikoit	Etiquette & Manners
Teacher student ratio	Table Tennis, Kho Kho	Personal Hygiene
1: 10	Indoor Games	

The School set up by Educators to cater to living in the 21st Centrury.

For Prospectus & Admission Form, write to us With DD For Rs 125 in favour of IVY LEAGUE SCHOOLS LTD:

Name _____

Address _____

_____

ADMISSIONS OPEN
STD. I to VII

Promoted by
IVY LEAGUE SCHOOLS LTD.
104, DECCAN TOWERS, BASHEER BAGH,
HYDERABAD-500 029, A.P. INDIA TEL. NO: (0842) 230539

V.R. MATHUR / ISL / 89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

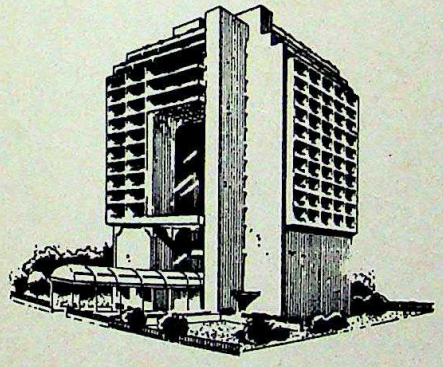
Buy peaceful security in business. Safe serenity at home.

Invest in these very special properties from the biggest builders in the South.

Barton Centre

Bangalore

- ☐ Splendid offices on Bangalore's principal business avenue: Mahatma Gandhi Road.
- ☐ Unique canopied walkway into landscaped fourteen storey central atrium.
- ☐ Extensive basement parking with access to two roads.
- ☐ Building clad in Dholpur Stone for permanent beauty.

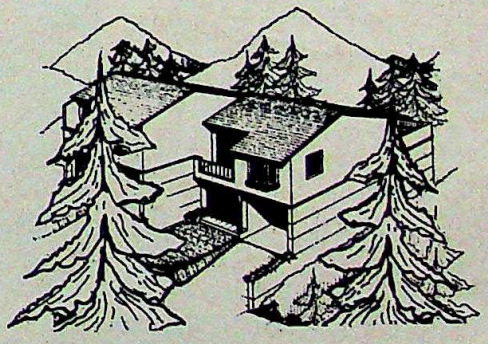


Buy safe and save. Buy SI

Milhaven

Kodaikanal

- ☐ Prestige enclave in wealthy neighbourhood next to South's loveliest Golf Course.
- ☐ The exclusive luxury of just twelve twin homes on five acres of sheer wooded splendour.
- ☐ The gracious privacy of two floor living.
- ☐ Spectacular vistas of Green Valley tumbling thousands of feet below.



Buy safe and save. Buy SI

SI

SOUTHERN INVESTMENTS

MADRAS Southern Investments, 65 Montieth Road, Madras 600 008. Phone: 867439.
BANGALORE Southern Investments, 45 Palace Road, Bangalore 560 001. Phone: 29738.
DELHI Mr. Ashok Kamal, Orient Resins Ltd., G-77 Nizamuddin (West). Phone: 694749.
BOMBAY Mukta Mahajan, Phone: 217000, 217409.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ROADS

Potholed Path to Progress

India ranks fourth in the world for the length of its roads. But now due to corruption and lack of resources this all important road network is collapsing.

IF India is to travel into the 21st century along its highways, there is a very good chance it will never make it. The twists and turns, the highs and lows, and the bone-breaking unevenness of the nation's roads are guaranteed to demoralise and stall even the most determined of travellers. The message for some time now has been pretty clear—the high road to economic prosperity has of necessity to be broad and smooth.

Though India ranks fourth in the world, after the US, Brazil and the Soviet Union, in road length, the quality of the road network would embarrass many small African countries. And the World Bank has categorised India as a country where both the road network and road-building technology are obsolete.

Nearly 18 lakh km of roads crisscross the country today, more than a fourfold increase from the 4 lakh km built by the British since the last century. For the British, and before them the Moghuls, roads were required more for military reasons than for economic development. It was Babar in the 15th century who consolidated the fabled Grand Trunk Road linking north Indian cities to the Khyber Pass. The history of Indian roads is a chequered one, with many ups and downs. The advent of the railways in the 1850s finally relegated roads to the background for more than a century.

However, in the decades since Independence, as the number of vehicles multiplied, roads have overtaken railways as the most important sector of India's transport system. And projections for the future further highlight the dominant position of the road transport network. The romance of rail may continue, but it is clearly the 10-tonner Tata truck which is the symbol of the nation's future.

In 1951, only 26 per cent of all passengers and 11 per cent of goods were transported by road. By 1986, nearly 80 per cent of passengers and 50 per cent of

Heading for Disaster

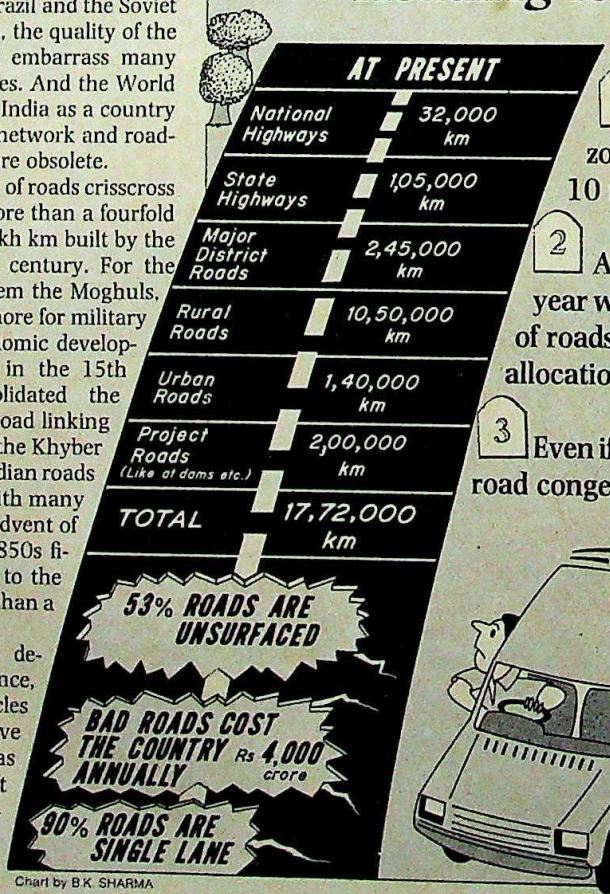
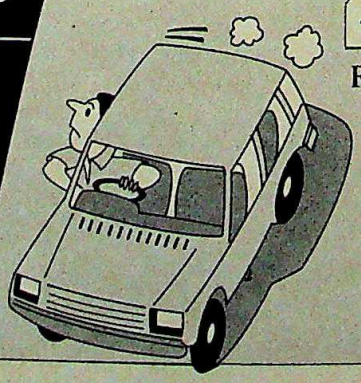


Chart by B.K. SHARMA

Projections for 2001

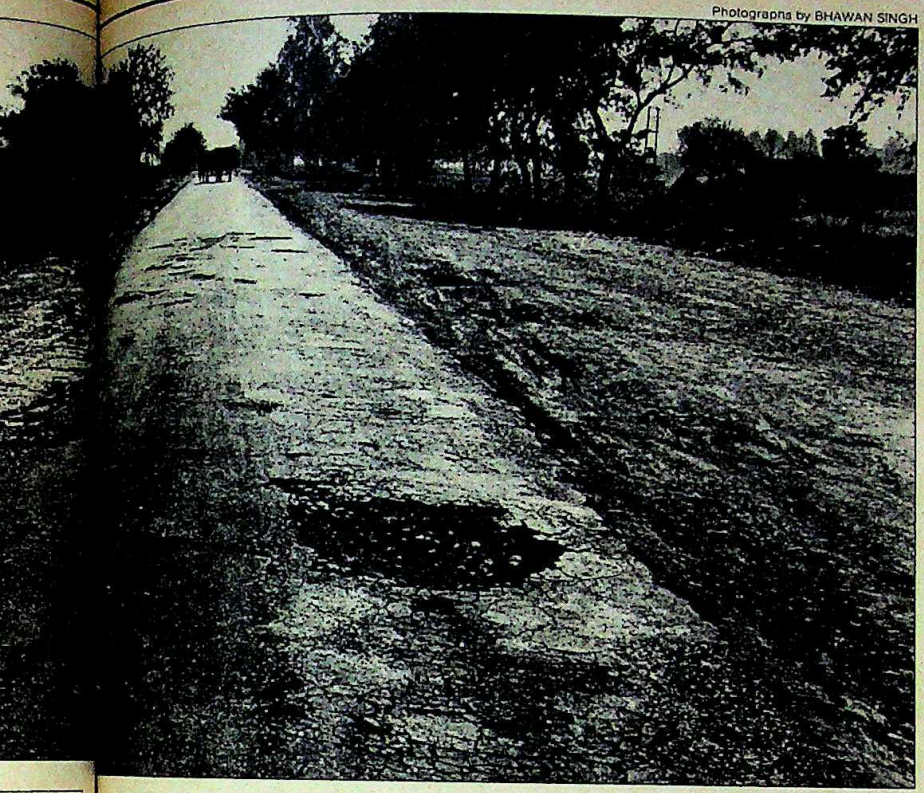
1. Vehicles on the road will zoom to 40 million from 10 million today.
2. An amount of Rs 5,000 crore a year will be needed to add 10 lakh km of roads by 2001. That was the allocation for the entire seventh plan.
3. Even if 10 lakh km of roads are added, road congestion will treble.
4. A stupendous Rs 47,450 crore is needed to maintain the existing roads till 2001.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by BHAWAN SINGH



Even surfaced roads are disintegrating (top); while the volume of traffic continues to burgeon alarmingly

goods moved along the nation's roads. Every year, 224 million tonnes of goods are transported by road, the prime commodities being cotton, jute, sugarcane, milk, fruit and vegetables, building materials and a variety of industrial goods. By 2001, roads will become even more crucial, carrying 86 per cent of passenger and 62 per cent of goods traffic.

The distribution of traffic along the nation's roads is totally lopsided. Of the 18 lakh km of existing roads, national highways form a bare 33,000 km. But being the main arteries, they carry a third of the total traffic. State highways are another 1 lakh km, while the bulk of the network consists of district and village roads. No wonder then that less than half the total roads have any kind of motorable surface.

But even surfaced roads are disintegrating rapidly, thanks to the post-Independence policy of stretching meagre resources by building a large number of poor quality roads. Even highways were built to last just five years, against the 10 to 15 years today.

The fact that many officials connected with the road sector have been busy feathering their own nests has further added to the collapse of the system. The states' Public Works Departments (PWD) which are responsible for both okaying road-building contracts and approving the work are notorious for corruption. As much as Rs 1 lakh has to be paid in some states for an engineer's posting in the PWD. Senior officials estimate that often as much as half the money allocated for the construction of roads may disappear into the pockets of corrupt officials and private contractors. There have even been instances of roads being built only on paper in remote areas—all the money having been creamed off. "We are not getting value for money in road construction, and what is required now is independent monitoring of road works by state-level expert groups," says P.G. Patankar, director of the Central Institute of Road Transport (CIRT) in Pune.

It has not helped matters that other officials connected with the road sector are equally corrupt. Overloaded trucks are a major cause of road deterioration, yet truckers defy the law with impunity by bribing the highway police. All-India Motor Transport Congress Secretary-General Chitaranjan Das points out that bribing the police is now such an established practice that even trucks which are not overloaded have to fork out money. The Income Tax Department even accepts these payments as legitimate expenses incurred by truck operators.

An estimated Rs 2,500 crore is required annually for even continuing with the antiquated form of road maintenance, so that the road network can be saved from total collapse. But the allocation for road development under the Seventh Five-Year Plan(1985-90) is just above Rs 1,000 crore annually. The money actually spent on roads under the plan is more though, since many developmental and anti-poverty programmes like the Employment Guarantee Scheme also take up road-building.

Yet the situation remains critical. As a Planning Commission study on the crisis of road maintenance points out: "The continuing gap between the requirement and allotment of funds for the maintenance of our road network has now snowballed into the road maintenance crisis of the present and next decades. If this gap is not bridged fairly soon, a significant proportion of our road network is likely to break down beyond redemption." With the entire road network threatening to crumble into a medi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

eval nightmare, the Union Government has finally woken up to the need for a change in policy. Some recent initiatives:

► A national highway authority (NHA) is to be constituted centrally to manage the national highway network. So far, though national highways are Delhi's responsibility, state Public Works Departments play a crucial role in their construction and maintenance.

► The levy on fuel for the Central Road Fund has been rationalised to increase the annual collection from a meagre Rs 10 crore to Rs 320 crore. Over Rs 100 crore will go to the NHA.

► A Rs 350-crore World Bank loan has been arranged for eight major road projects being undertaken in collaboration with foreign companies. The most prestigious is the construction of India's first autobahn, the 90-km Expressway linking Ahmedabad and Vadodara.

► A three-year computerised study is under way to chart and analyse the complex geometry of the entire national road network, which will prove invaluable when it is time to straighten out some of the highways.

► The Motor Vehicles Act has been amended to give the police greater authority in checking overloaded trucks, a major cause of road damage. A quarter of the trucks are heavily overloaded, some carrying an astonishing three times the specified payload.

► Though none of the corporate giants have put in tenders to build roads, and are insisting on bank loans and other concessions, the hitherto exclusive PWD preserve has been opened up in principle for the private sector. The R.P. Goenka and Reliance groups have shown some interest, and the Ambanis have now offered to build 130 km of Goa's roads.

► The Government is considering setting up a national highway finance corporation to raise money from the public.

After recognising the importance of a modern road system in the seventh plan, the Government is expected to give it more priority in the eighth plan, now under preparation. "We can't sit idle any more, and with the new initiatives we have to see how much we can catch up with our requirements," says Union Minister of State for Surface Transport Rajesh Pilot, who has lobbied hard to extricate government policy from a cul de sac.

The growth of the country's road network is determined by the Road Development Plan (1981-2001) prepared by the Indian Roads Congress and accepted by the chief engineers of the Central and state governments. Under this plan, at the beginning of the 21st century India should have a road network of more than 27 lakh-km, with the national highways doubling to 66,000 km. Such an expansion is considered essential if the country is to maintain economic progress. "Transportation is both the cause and effect of economic development. Not only does the transport system expand as development proceeds, but the system itself leads to development," says A.V. Raman, deputy director of the CIRT.

Because of poor roads Rs 2,500 crore is wasted every year in vehicle operation costs and extra fuel.

National highways constitute less than 2 per cent of the existing roads, yet carry 33 per cent of the total traffic.

BUT the money required to implement the road plan is mind-boggling. An investment of Rs 64,250 crore at 1983 prices is needed to increase the length of roads by nearly 10 lakh km by 2001—or about Rs 5,000 crore annually, which was the allocation for road development for the entire seventh plan period. Moreover, the cost of maintenance of the existing road network till 2001 is estimated at a stupendous Rs 47,450 crore.

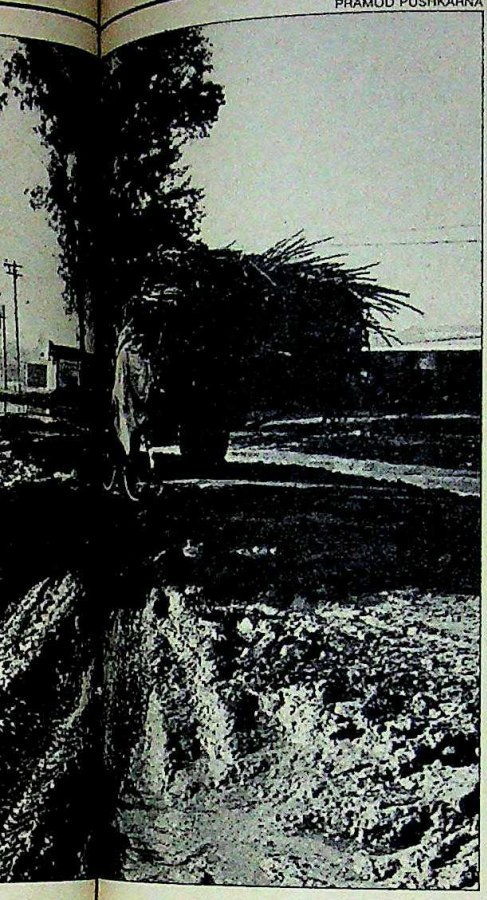
While roads are crumbling, the number of vehicles is increasing phenomenally. There are around 10 million vehicles on Indian roads today. By 2001, the number is expected to zoom to 40 million, a staggering 80 per cent of which will be two-wheelers. CIRT Director P.G. Patankar estimates that even if the Government succeeds in building another 10 lakh km of roads by the 21st century, road congestion will more than treble. As the CIRT's Planning Group on Road Transport points out in its report, "Although India will have a vehicle boom during the next 15 years it will hardly contribute to improvement in mobility. The country is heading for a more severe congestion on roads."

The future state of chaos can already be glimpsed on the 160-km Bombay-Pune highway, the busiest in the country. The narrow National Highway 4 (NH 4)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



Narrow, potholed highways have long been recognised as one of the main factors contributing to the high rate of road accidents, taking the death toll to more than 30,000 annually. On NH 4, frequent accidents also result in interminably long traffic snarl-ups. "Now when there is an accident, four or five vehicles can get involved, and even catch fire," adds Ramanna.

IN the '80s there has been an alarming increase in the number of road accidents, which now stand at 45 per 10,000 vehicles, against 1.8 in Japan and 3.6 in the United Kingdom. Besides, about 1.3 lakh people are injured every year. The accidents result in an enormous economic loss, expected to touch Rs 1,350 crore annually by the turn of the century.

Indian roads are not only a national disgrace, they also contribute greatly to national wastage. An estimated Rs 2,000 crore is wasted every year in vehicle operation costs due to poor roads. Another Rs 500 crore is burned up by the extra fuel consumed on bad roads. Tata Sons Director Nani Palkhivala estimates that Rs 1,000 crore is lost in avoidable fuel costs by the detention of trucks at octroi posts. A study by Delhi's Central Road Research Institute (CRRI) put the annual loss from road accidents 10 years ago at Rs 240 crore. The money squandered needlessly on India's bad roads every year: Rs 4,000 crore, far more than what the Government spends to run the network.

"Investment in roads will pay for itself if you look at the economy as a whole," says CRRI Director M.K. Dhir. "Vehicle operation costs are estimated at Rs 40,000 crore annually. If by improving roads these can be reduced by just 10 per cent, we save Rs 4,000 crore every year." Adds the newly-elected president of the Indian Roads Congress, N.V. Merani: "With the new focus on the importance of roads, we are hopeful that this sector will get greater emphasis in the eighth plan."

The expansion of the road network will also help millions of Indians living in remote villages to emerge gradually out of centuries of poverty. Even after nearly four decades of planned development, more than 35 per cent of India's 5.8 lakh villages are still without a road link, while two-thirds of the villages which are connected to the outside world do not have all-weather roads. "There is a clear relationship between poverty and accessibility levels," says K.L. Thapar, adviser (transport), in the Planning Commission. "The seventh plan gave a tremendous fillip to connecting villages, and by 1990 70 per cent of the villages will have some sort of road connection, against 15 per cent in 1950. But the task ahead is stupendous—Rs 25,000 crore is needed to connect the remaining villages."

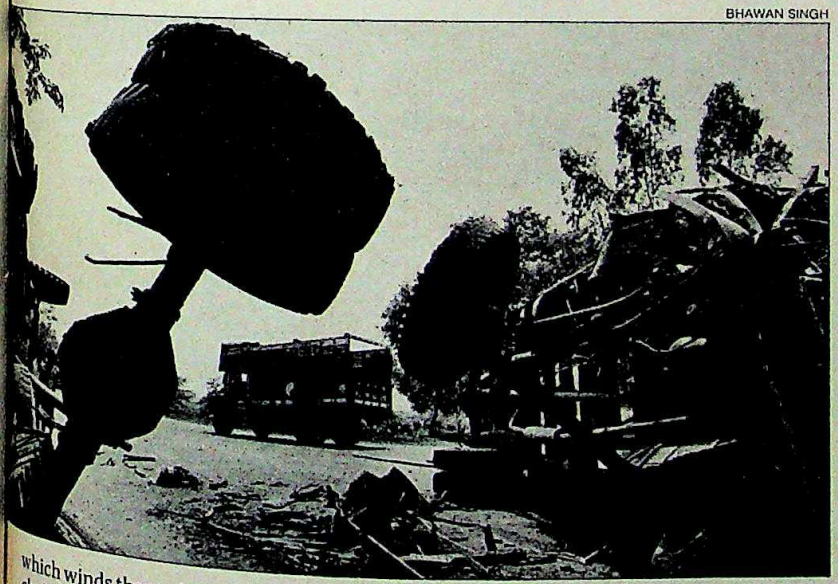
Even as the villages are gradually brought into the modern transport grid, the thrust in the eighth plan will be towards the construction of superfast Expressways. Though some experts believe that broadening existing national highways (nearly a third are still single-lane roads) is more necessary than building European-style Expressways, the Government has decided to construct 900 km of the superfast roads besides four-laning 3,000 km of national highways.

"Given the growth in road traffic, India has reached the stage when Expressways will be viable," says K.K. Sarin, director-general of road development and additional secretary (roads) in the Ministry of Surface Transport. "The Expressways will have limited entry and exit points, and users will have to pay toll on the basis of the distance they travel." While the Ahmedabad-Vadodara Expressway is expected to be ready by 1992, pre-feasibility studies will soon commence around the five major cities of Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Bangalore for the Expressway plan.

But the task of creating a modern road network is truly gargantuan, and the short-cuts taken in the past have only added to the problem. The crisis is the result not just of a lack of resources but also a lack of vision. The road user has clearly been short-changed—while Rs 5,000 crore is collected annually as taxes on road transport, far less is spent on modernising the road network. Only a clear reversal of policy will extricate the road system from a disastrous dead-end.

—M. RAHMAN

BHAWAN SINGH



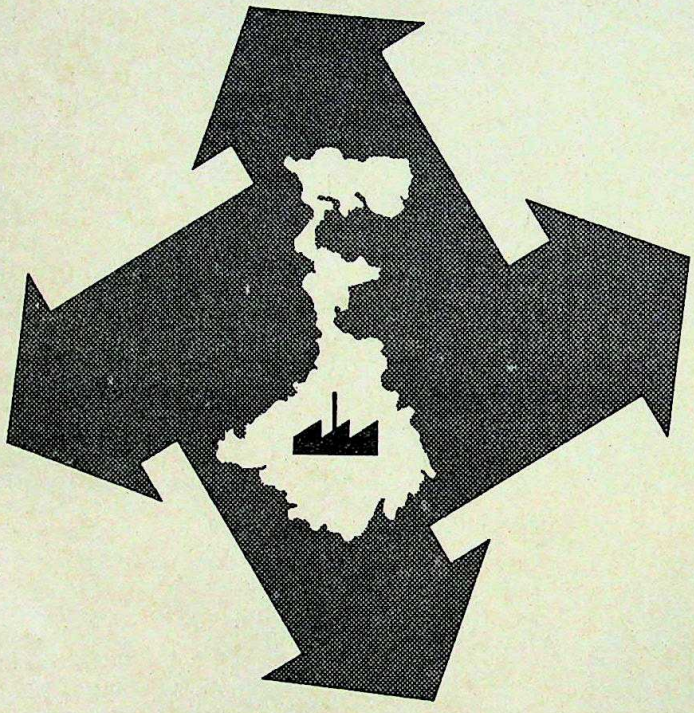
which winds through the Western Ghats, choked daily by some 10,000 vehicles, is often a nightmare for drivers. Frequently, trucks fall on the ghats or sections of the highway are under repair, creating mile-long traffic jams. "In 1972 when I started driving a Bombay-Pune taxi I could cover the distance in two-and-a-half hours," recalls taxi driver R. Ramanna. "Now the jams can get so bad that it has even taken 10 hours or more to reach Pune."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Touching the Himalayas, reaching the Bay

WBIIDC
Opening up new industrial horizons in West Bengal



From districts that nestle at the foot of the great Himalayas to those awake with the roar of the Bay of Bengal, West Bengal Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation has been setting up Growth Centres that provide the main pillars to the rapid industrial progress in West Bengal.

Growth Centres of WBIIDC come to you complete with infrastructural facilities like power, water, housing, surface drainage, internal roads, bank, post office, telephone, shopping centres etc. as and where necessary.

Growth Centres at Haldia, Kalyani and Kharagpur were completed during the sixth plan. Uluberia, Raninagar and Dabgram are ready for allotment. Even Falta has neared completion. Work is in steady progress at Bishnupur (NID), Kalyani Phase-II, Cooch Behar (NID). Both State and Central Government offer financial incentives for setting up industries in these growth centres. For locating industries in 'No Industry Districts' (NID), special capital subsidy is available.

ULUBERIA :
Near Howrah, 56 kms drive from Calcutta on Bombay Highway with rail head.

RANINAGAR : (NID)
Just 8kms away from Jalpaiguri town on Siliguri-Jalpaiguri Road (SH-12A) adjacent to Rly. Stn. offers rail & road transport ease.

DABGRAM :
8 kms. away from Siliguri town by the side of SH-12A & 2 kms away from New Jalpaiguri Station.

ABC/WBIIDC/3/88

WEST BENGAL INDUSTRIAL INFRA-STRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
P-34, C.I.T. Road, Calcutta-700 014, PH: 24-8684/8096/8525.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Have your own income tax advisor at your door step for less than Rs.25/- per month

Subscribe to

CURRENT TAX BULLETIN

ESTD 1963 (A Fortnightly Journal on Tax Awareness & Tax Planning)

Editor : SURESH LAKHOTIA
Associate Editor : A.R. HALDAR, Advocate (Formerly Member of ITAT)

Contributing Editors/Writers :

* N.A. Palkhivala, Adv. Supreme Court (Bombay)
* H.P. Ranina, Adv. Supreme Court (Bombay)
* M.N. Srinivasan, Madras (Asst. commissioner of I.T. Retd.)
* Dr. Debiprosad Pal, Senior Advocate, Ex-Judge, Calcutta High Court
* G.N. Gadgil, Advocate (Pune) Formerly Member of I.T.A.T.
* G. C. Sharma, Sr. Advocate—N. Delhi
* N. M. Ranka, Sr. Advocate—Jaipur.

TOPICS OF SOME OF THE ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE PREVIOUS ISSUES OF CURRENT TAX BULLETIN

1. Income Rs. 2,00.000/- Tax Nil
2. Wealth Rs. 50 lakhs—No wealth tax.
3. Capital gains Rs. 10 lakhs — Income tax nil.
4. Capital Gift Rs. 40 lakhs—No gift Tax.
5. No penalty for late income tax and wealth tax return.
6. Advantage of filling Non-taxable Return.
7. Tackling Income Tax Dept Enquiries and Raid

SPECIAL FEATURES

* Summary of 500 latest High Court and Supreme court Judgment.
* Tax Planning Articles.
* Unreported I.T.A.T. Judgment.
* Practical Tax Problems with Complete Solution.
* Tax Queries & Replies.
* Timely Guidance to Subscribers Re : their Tax obligations
* Annual Subscription Rs.299/- Twenty four issues in one year.
* Send Remittance to the Subscription Dept. (IT) **current tax Bulletin** P-16, C.I.T Road, Calcutta-700 014 PH : 291527/1338

PS : Cheque/draft should be drawn in favour **Current tax Bulletin**

IN THIS AGE OF SPECIALISATION...

We present
a comprehensive volume
on all company matters.....

COMPANY NEWS & REPORTS

A complete monthly quide to the latest on corporate affairs, Company Law & MRTP decisions as well as Statutes, Notifications & Orders.

Other Regular Features :—

* Articles.
* Queries & Replies on various legal problems.
* Company News & Statistics.
* Latest amendments, notifications, press notes & orders, circulars and clarifications on Company Law & MRTP Act.
* Capital Issues.
* Filing obligations.
* Latest decisions of different Indian High Courts & of the Supreme Court regarding Company Law cases accompanied with their respective brief analytical notes and summaries
* MRTP Commission & Company Law Board orders, also bearing critical survey of main law points.

CNR

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION Rs. 432 by Book Post, Rs. 492 by Registered Post. Cheque/Draft should be drawn in favour of "Company News & Reports" to be sent at

COMPANY NEWS & REPORTS
(ESTD 1975)
74, PARK ST. CALCUTTA-17
PH : 43-3583
TELEX 021-5171 ATHC IN.

Standard

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

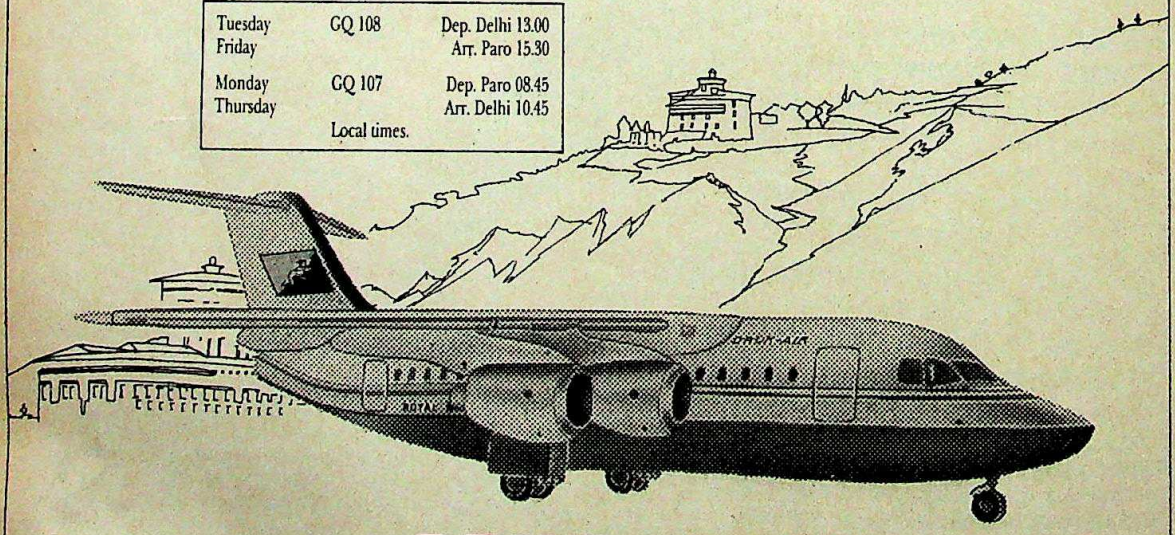
The fabled land of the Peaceful Dragon– now just two hours from Delhi!

BHUTAN.
The land of the Peaceful Dragon. The tiny, picturesque mountain kingdom — a tourist's dream come true. Where Buddhism is more than a religion; it's a way of life. Where the people always wear a smile... and the mountains are everywhere.

Now, with the introduction of two flights a week direct from Delhi to Paro by Druk-Air, Bhutan is just two hours away. On the Royal Bhutan Airline's new 80-seater BAe 146 jet, with a cabin crew trained by Thai Airways, you are assured of a pleasant flight — and an escape to Shangri-La!

So whether it's for business or pleasure that you're travelling to Bhutan, Druk-Air's direct Delhi-Paro flight is the fastest and most pleasant way to get there.

Tuesday Friday	GQ 108	Dep. Delhi 13.00 Arr. Paro 15.30
Monday Thursday	GQ 107	Dep. Paro 08.45 Arr. Delhi 10.45
	Local times.	



DRUK-AIR
(A ROYAL GOVERNMENT OF BHUTAN UNDERTAKING)

For flight reservations, please contact

Malbros Travels Pvt. Ltd.
D-950 New Friends Colony
New Delhi 110065
Phone: 6843771

Druk-Air
51 Tivoli Court
1A Ballygunge Circular Road
Calcutta 700019
Phones: 444903, 447718

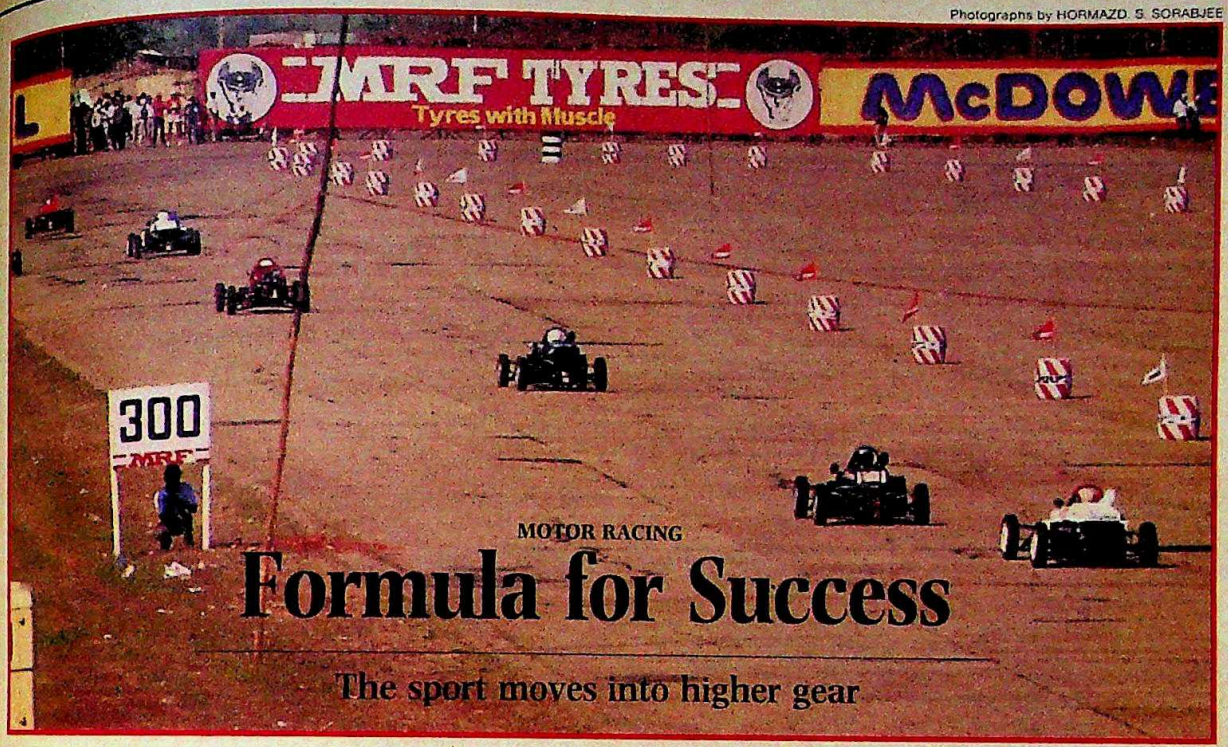
Druk-Air
c/o Royal Bhutanese Embassy
Dhan Mandi Road
Dhaka, Bangladesh

FEN/XIII 390

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by HORMAZD S. SORABJEE



MOTOR RACING

Formula for Success

The sport moves into higher gear

FOR most of the year the desolate, disused World War II airstrip in Sholavaram, 25 km from Madras, is the test track for the Vijayanta tanks and heavy trucks from the Heavy Vehicles Factory at the nearby township of Avadi. But in February every year it becomes the scene for the only motor racing contest in the country—the All-India Motor Race meet.

This year there were signs that motor racing in India has come of age. For the first time, the formula Indian Maruti, the country's first single-seat racing car was on the track, a decade after the first indigenous two-seater racing car, the Formula Fiat, blazed the concrete Sholavaram track. The formula Maruti vroomed comfortably at 150 kmph proving that it can, with finer tuning, surpass the Fiat to attain a speed of 180 kmph—the highest by an Indian racing car—when the next races are held at the glitzy new motor sports track at Sriperambudur, 35 km away from Madras on the highway to Bangalore.

The formula Indian Maruti was designed and developed by ace drivers, Adi Malgham, Karivardan and Vicky Chandok. The modified Maruti weighs 325 kg with 10 litres of fuel and water. Said the modest Karivardan: "The car costing around Rs 75,000 on the track is in demand and there were at least 20

(Top) Formula Marutis at Sholavaram; and Karivardan in his Formula Atlantic

enquiries by the end of the races." Even if there is an order for 15 of them, the Formula Indian Maruti will come to stay as a popular single-seater racing car and thus give a tremendous boost to auto-racing in the country.

The Sholavaram meet has indeed come a long way. Cars that raced in the first event organised by the Madras Motor Sports Club (MMSC) at Sholavaram in October 1953 were saloons or other four-wheelers modified to give them a little more power. Reminisces veteran Indu Chandok: "We took to it for an outing and some fun. Almost all vehicles were foreign and the interest of a handful of drivers helped the sport."

Indian motor racing got going only with the introduction of the Standard Herald engines and with it dawned the era of the Indian Formula. The low slung engine and floor-shift gear box inspired a new generation of enthusiasts to enter the sport.

Soon it became serious business for the drivers and the advent of the Fiat engine for Indian formula cars gave yet another impetus to motor racing.

These developments and the arrival of the Formula Indian Maruti, however, have not deterred drivers from competing in more efficient and faster cars. Karivardan himself, in customary style, ran out a convincing winner of the McDowell Grand Prix for open class cars. He won both rounds of the 15-lap race on the 3.2 km track. Though his Formula Atlantic racing car developed some crankshaft problems, the experienced Karivardan won the prestigious race.

In the 15-lap mini-Grand Prix for the formula Indian single-seater Maruti, Ganesh Devraj who was blackflagged off the track in the first round because of a front wheel showing signs of shearing, bounced back luckily in the second and final round to win the race. His lone challenger Kamlesh Patel spun out of the track in the sixth lap but clambered his way to the second position.

In the grand prix for motorcycles, in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ganesh Devraj: lucky winner

which only eight Britishers participated. Graeme Mitchell beat back the challenge of Ian Dugdale in the 25 lapper. Mitchell— who had served as a mechanic to his elder brother Kevin, a regular competitor at Sholavaram till a few years back— seemed to be nowhere in the running when the first round began. Riding a Yamaha at a frenetic pace, Mitchell shot into the lead in the third lap and by the end of the 10th lap itself established a clear lead of half a lap over Jeremy Paul Thrush who was fighting for the second place with Dugdale. Thrush was lucky in the first round but in the final round Dugdale edged past Thrush.

But the most exciting race was the Rolon mini grand prix for motorcycles up to 100 cc. M.R. Rajkumar on a Yamaha caught up with the veteran of mobikes Gurminder Singh in the fifth lap, passed him in the seventh and then took on the challenge of Subash Chandra Bose. While it was easier to get past Singh's TVS Suzuki, Rajkumar discovered Bose's Yamaha Rx100 was a match for his own. Revving his Yamaha to the limit, he chased Bose wheel to wheel and won by the radius of the front wheel.

There was a fascinating range of two-wheelers on show. Among the 244 motorcycles there were 14 different makes—including 100 Yamaha Rx100s and 45 Rajdoots. While the British riders sped away with the prizes for both rounds of the Grand Prix some of the better known Indian riders like Gurminder Singh, M.R. Rajkumar, his twin brother M.R. Rajendra and Aspi Bhathena grabbed the prizes in the sprints and shorter races between four and 10 laps. As Sherif Dayan, a former winner of the two-wheeler categories, put it: "The competition is getting tougher but few Indian riders are pushing hard to higher speeds."

Indian racers are in fact starved of competitive experience. Said Dr Saboo, a regular at Sholavaram for the past 14 years in the two-seater and single-seater contests: "There is no alternative to frequent races." This might become a possibility after the plush autodrome is ready.

The Madras Club, hosts of the Sholavaram races, has floated the Madras Motor Sports Trust to raise Rs 6 crore for the Sriperambudur autodrome. The 3.7-km long and 11-metre wide bituminous track to be built according to the specifications of the Federation Internationale Du Sport Automobile, the international body governing motor sports, will be ready by August this year. And the entire 256-acre complex with a club house, a golf course and a dirt track for motocross contests is expected to be ready by 1991. Said S. Muthykrishnan, president of the MMSC: "The presence of a scientifically laid track instead of the makeshift one we have at Sholavaram will change the complexion of racing."

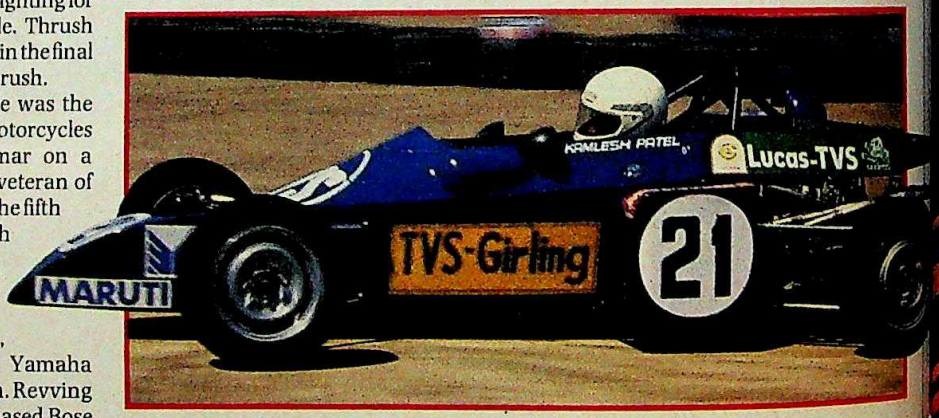
Motor racing is a luxury sport and calls for immense financial backing. The Madras Club depends on sponsors like McDowell, Madras Rubber Factory, Carburettors Limited, and Union Motors to conduct the Sholavaram races. It has tapped them and others like the TVS group of industries to pitch in for the Sriperambudur complex.

Sponsors can hope to get considerable mileage out of motor racing. Market research commissioned by oil companies has shown that a motor racing image helps promote sales. Quipped well known driver Harish Samtani: "Racing is an excellent promotional vehicle. We offer 100 kmph plus mobile hoardings." Added M.R. Rajendra: "There are marketing spin offs for sponsors." A dealer of automobile spare parts, Rajendra, is asking the Escorts group to explore the prospects of providing a new class of racing motorcycles, like the way Maruti Udyog has done with the one-seater racing car.

Yet drivers like the bald-pated Dr Saboo warns there is no use involving sponsors and building a track without a parallel attempt to involve more youth in racing. "Fresh faces on the track are as important as anything else for the sport to grow," said Saboo. Though the number of users of two-wheelers and cars has gone up phenomenally, motor racing is unable to attract enthusiasts. There is fear that the sport is unsafe and involves a high risk factor. Asserts Saboo: "There is a wrong impression that we indulge in dare-devilry. All that we are doing is highly scientific driving at higher speeds." If the sports clubs around the country buy the formula cars and some racing motorcycles and make these available to their members for use at the new Sriperambudur facility, more enthusiasts will take to racing, according to the older contestants and regulars at Sholavaram.

With a new autodrome and an Indian version of racing cars, it seems that the expensive and esoteric event is finally getting into top gear and whizzing into the realm of popular sport.

—AMARNATH K. MENON



Kamlesh Patel: tough rider

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GALAXY

JETGLAS RADIAL TYRE

THE FOREMOST IN FIBREGLASS RADIALS

The super-tough radial engineered for extraordinary performance.

Extraordinary road grip.
The radial construction and unique tread design gives excellent road grip. Holding firm even on wet roads!

Extraordinary mileage.
Fibreglass belts eliminate tread shuffle, reduces heat build-up and tread wear.

Extraordinary comfort.
Fibreglass belts absorb shocks on bumpy roads. Keeping the suspension shock-free and the going smooth. Always.

From the country's first in radials – JK Tyre.
With 12 years experience and the highest test-standards for quality. X-ray screening each Galaxy Jetglas Radial for thorough performance. Before it reaches you.

JK TYRE

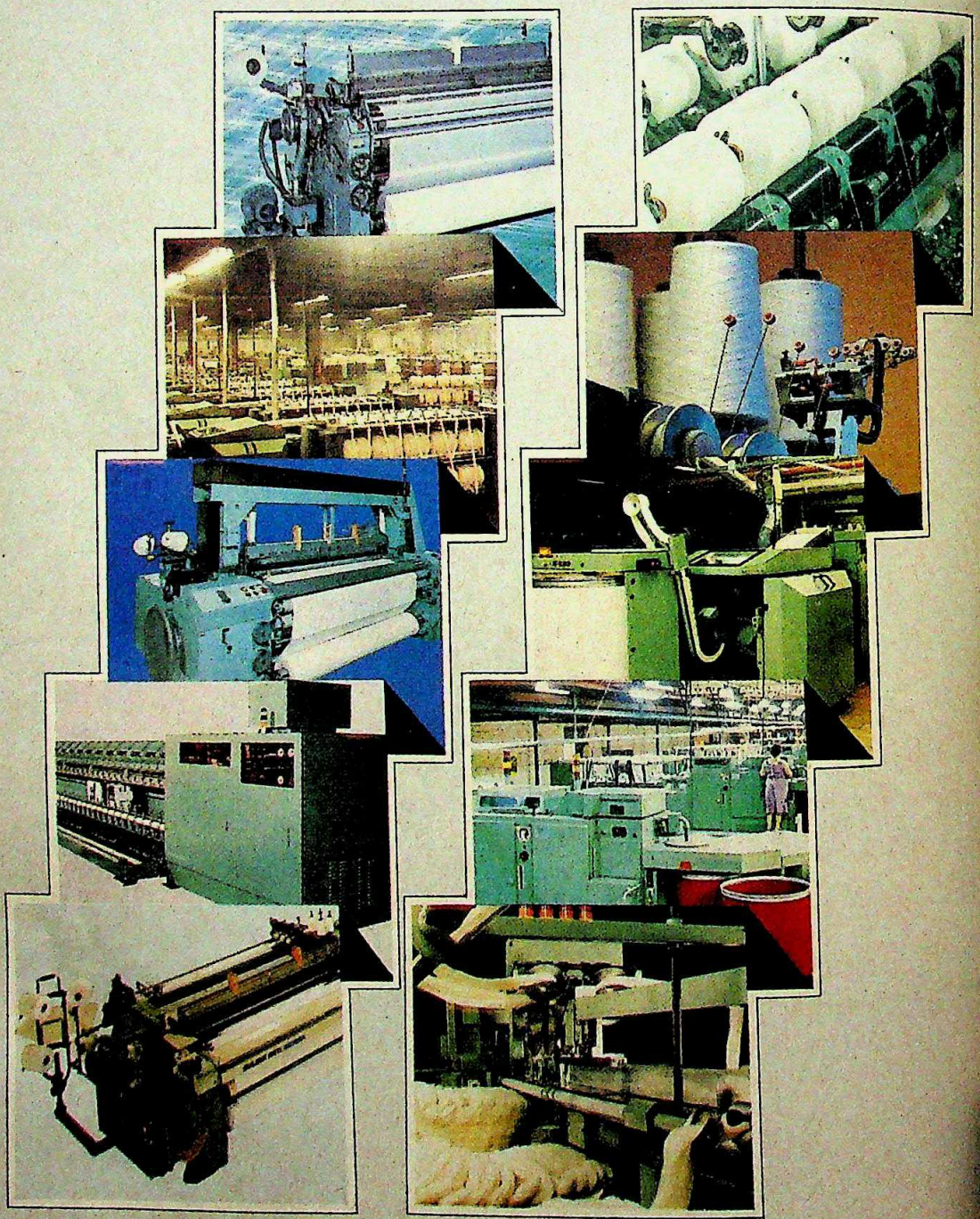
THE TRACKS OF THE FUTURE.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

everest/d89/JKI/27

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ARIHANT
FABRICS LTD.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HIGHLIGHTS

- **Rapidly growing company** — with an excellent track record.
- An opportunity to invest in a **25% dividend** paying company.
- **Popular range of fabrics —"OSWAL"** Suitings, Shirtings and Dress Materials.
- An **integrated, modern synthetic textiles complex:** Worsted Spinning, Polyester Filament Texturising & Twisting, Shuttleless & Waterjet Weaving and Processing.
- Now implementing a **major expansion/modernisation** programme with the world's best equipment.
- Dynamic management, highly competent Board.
- Equity Shares of the Company consistently being quoted at a **high premium** since the last five years.
- **Easy liquidity** — listing at Ahmedabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and Ludhiana Stock Exchanges.

OSWAL®
Premium
Suitings, Shirtings & Dress Material

Lead Managers to the Issue

SBI Capital Markets Limited
SBI CAPITAL MARKETS LTD.
202 Maker Towers 'E'
20th Floor, Cuffe Parade
Bombay-400 005

Managers to the Issue

Industrial Finance Corporation of India
Merchant Banking Division
New Delhi-110 001

ALLAHABAD BANK
Merchant Banking Division
New Delhi-110 001

STATE BANK OF PATIALA
Merchant Banking Division
New Delhi-110 001

PNB CAPITAL SERVICES LIMITED
(A wholly owned subsidiary of PNB)
New Delhi-110 001

Advisors to the Issue

BOB FISCAL SERVICES LIMITED
(A wholly owned subsidiary of Bank of Baroda)
New Delhi-110 001

Public Issue of 10,20,600 Equity Shares of Rs. 10/- each for cash at a premium of Rs. 5/- per Equity Share

ARIHANT FABRICS LTD.

Regd. Office : B-35, Phase V, Focal Point, Ludhiana-141 010

Sobhagya/98/89

ISSUE OPENS
Non Resident Indians 6 TH MARCH, 1989
Indian Public 13TH MARCH, 1989

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT

APOLLO TYRES LTD

MR. RAUNAQ SINGH

The following is the statement given by Mr. Raunaq Singh, Chairman & Managing Director at the 16th Annual General Meeting.

HIGHLIGHTS

- ★ DIVIDEND OF 25%
- ★ EARNING PER SHARE ONE OF THE HIGHEST FOR THE SECOND YEAR RUNNING
- ★ FREE RESERVES GONE UP TO RS. 13 CRORES
- ★ MODERNIZATION AND EXPANSION OF COCHIN PLANT COMPLETED
- ★ TEMPO OF PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT MAINTAINED
- ★ POISED FOR A QUANTUM JUMP IN SALES AND PROFITS
- ★ BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT OFFERING BRIGHT PROSPECTS FOR GROWTH AND DIVERSIFICATION
- ★ DIVERSIFYING IN TO NEW FIELDS
- ★ SECOND TYRE PLANT COMING UP IN GUJARAT

Dear Friends,

I have great pleasure in extending to you a hearty and cordial welcome to the 16th Annual General Meeting of your Company. The Annual Report and Audited Accounts for the year ended 31st October, 1988 have already been circulated. With your permission, I will take them as read and welcome any comments and suggestions.

A Year of Consolidation

The year under review was a satisfying one in many respects, with increase in sales turnover, profit, reserves and consumer preference for our established as well as new products. If 1985-86 and 1986-87 were years of revival and reconstruction, 1987-88 was certainly a year of consolidation for your Company. Emphasis continues to be on quality, efficiency and excellence. Your Company is now poised for a quantum leap in sales turnover and profit in the coming years, since investments in men, machines, technology and quality have started paying dividends.

Financial Highlights

Sales and other income for the year totalling Rs. 155.57 Crores, and gross profit of Rs. 18.92 Crores were higher than previous year, despite increase in raw material and operational costs. Profitability was maintained through efficient utilization of materials and close monitoring of product-mix. Earning per share continued to be one of the highest in the Tyre Industry for the second year in succession. This is a commendable performance. With free reserves of Rs. 13 Crores, your Company is in a strong financial position for further growth and diversification.

Dividend

The Directors have recommended a final dividend of Rs. 1.25 per share (12.5%) making a total of Rs. 2.50 per share (25%). This will absorb Rs. 2.10 Crores besides payment of 11% dividend to preference shareholders.

Exports

In 1987-88, your Company exported Rs. 3.73 Crores worth Tyres & Tubes to such diverse markets as UK, Australia, Egypt, Afghanistan, UAE, Qatar and Bangladesh. In the pursuit of our drive to increase exports from availability of additional production capacity a major thrust has been planned to enlarge international market base. The products of the company are well received in the international markets and have established brand superiority by virtue of quality, prompt delivery and after sales service.

Your Company has been awarded a Certificate of Export Recognition for its export achievement in 1987-88, for the third year in succession.

Your Company is committed to the national objective of reducing trade gap and considers its duty to contribute to the endeavour for maximising exports. Sustained efforts would be made to explore new markets, upgrade quality, and maintain a high level of service to satisfy the customers abroad.

Modernisation, Expansion & Diversification

The Scheme of Modernisation and Expansion of the plant at Cochin has been completed and trial runs have started. During the current financial year partial benefit of the additional production capacity would be available. Equally important would be the accrual of immediate benefits by way of quality upgradation, process control and cost savings. With higher production at the existing location, your Company will be in a position to service all segments of the market judiciously and in the process increase its market share.

To encash the growing goodwill and brand preference for its products, your Company has decided to set up a plant in the State of Gujarat to manufacture Automobile Tyres and Tubes.

Your Company has already diversified in the field of lease finance through the wholly owned subsidiary — Raunaq Finance Ltd., during the current year and has further active plans to diversify into new fields like Pipe laying, Drilling and Coating contracts and other design engineering, consultancy and management services, in joint participation with reputed foreign companies. We have also plans to diversify by promoting a Company in joint participation with the object of rendering onshore and offshore drilling services.

Product Development

Product excellence and quality leadership have been the creed of your Company. During the year a new Drive Wheel Truck Tyre "XT-9" was developed with the specific objective of bringing down operating cost per kilometre. This tyre has been successfully test marketed and is being nationally launched. Radial tyres for light commercial vehicles have been successfully developed after painstaking laboratory and field research. Yet another breakthrough is the development of Radial Tyres for Passenger Buses and Oil Tankers. These are ideally tailor-made for Indian Roads. There are many more products in the pipeline which are in different stages of development. As I mentioned last year, your Company would like to retain its leadership not merely through "Quantity" but through "Quality" and is fortunate to have access to the latest technology of General Tire International Corporation USA and through them of Continental Gummi Werke GmbH, West Germany. Other established brands of your Company viz. Hercules, Amar, Krishak etc. continue to fare well and gain increasing market acceptance. Our constant endeavour is to upgrade these brands too and give better value for money to the customer.

Raw Materials

Domestic production of some of the critical raw materials like Nylon Tyre Cord, Polybutadiene Rubber (PBR) and Carbon Black did not keep pace with the rising demand, resulting in disruption of production of some of the units.

Tyre Industry has repeatedly appealed to the Government to permit import of critical Raw Materials at reduced import duty, till such time as the domestic manufacturers are able to meet the rising demand. With the revival of economy in general and Automobile industry in particular, the Tyre Industry is on the verge of a spurt in production. Any further delay in taking decision by the Government will result in a missed opportunity and crippling shortages.

Yet another area of concern is availability and price of Natural Rubber. With the spurt in international prices and incidence of high import duty, the release price of STC is being successively hiked. The Tyre industry is not in a position to bear the extra burden. Therefore, I appeal to the Government to reduce import duty on Natural Rubber to enable STC offer the material at a fair price of Rs. 17,000 per tonne which had been earlier agreed.

Import of Tyres

As I mentioned last year, the decision to permit import of Bus and Truck Tyres under OGL with a concessional rate of duty of 105% will neither promote import substitution nor accelerate industrial production. Instead, it will only dampen the export promotion effort. So far, no major imports have taken place and the industry is able to cater to all segments of demand comfortably and at a fair price, despite steep increases in raw material costs. I once again appeal to the Government to permit import of critical raw materials with import duty not exceeding 65% instead of importing finished products, for which there is abundant production capacity in the country.

Corporate Philosophy

Starting on a modest scale not long ago, Apollo has taken giant strides. I attribute this to the underlying human spirit which is difficult to quantify. What has spurred us to greater heights are our commitment to self reliance, unshaken faith in quality and sincere endeavour based on honest principles to rise above the mundane and the ordinary. We have set ourselves the following corporate objectives:-

- Build a solid foundation in terms of achievements, aspirations, assets and people.
- Cater to every segment of the Tyre market by broad basing the Company's product range.
- Continuous stress on quality to maintain leadership.
- Optimum blending of resources like men, money and machines to achieve quality and total customer satisfaction.
- Be an efficient Company with steady growth in earning in the interest of our investors.

We are in the midst of very exciting and rewarding times with new insights into what customers expect today and plans are afoot to ensure that we live up to these expectations.

Business Environment

Thanks to the efficient management of the economy and liberalization measures initiated under the guidance and dynamic leadership of our Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian economy is in a strong position and has withstood the onslaught of three consecutive years of drought. Fortunately, we were blessed with a bountiful monsoon this year. A record food grain production of 166 million tonnes has been forecast for 1988-89. Industrial growth continues to be buoyant at 9.10%. Overall growth of economy has been estimated at 9% bringing the average for four years of 7th Five Year Plan to 5%. This is certainly an impressive growth rate compared to the historical trend of 3.5% p.a. and it appears the economy has entered a new growth phase.

The investment climate has brightened considerably judging by the buoyancy in the stock market. Foreign investments are also on the rise. With bumper agricultural crop, the demand for industrial products and consumer goods is expanding.

On the international front, political and economic environments have both brightened up. Thanks to the diplomatic initiatives taken by our Prime Minister, new opportunities are opening up for bilateral trade relations, joint ventures and technical cooperation in neighbouring and other countries. This is the right time for Industry and Government to work hand-in-hand, to make the Indian economy strong, vibrant and growth-oriented. The Central Budget for 1988-89 will be presented to the Parliament on 28th February, 1989. I have a few suggestions for consideration of the Government

(a) To augment tax revenues through better compliance, I would suggest a maximum tax rate of 40% for both Corporate and individual incomes.

(b) With bountiful monsoon in 1988-89, the 5% drought surcharge has lost its relevance and needs to be withdrawn.

(c) Intercorporate investment is an effective instrument for expansion and diversification of corporate activities. Exemption of inter-corporate dividend from tax will go a long way in accelerating Industrial growth.

(d) Customs duty on project imports needs to be reduced drastically, if projects have to be viable with depreciation of Rupee against major international currencies.

(e) In the Eighth Five Year Plan, private sector has to play a major role in mobilization of resources for investment. Therefore, parity needs to be established between private sector and public sector bonds with regard to tax concessions.

(f) A system of graded excise/customs duty needs to be introduced with incidence being minimum for raw materials.

A heartening change in recent years has been the frequent dialogue between Government and Industry in various forums, which has brought about a feeling of participation in the nation building effort. A total shift to a policy of trust and fiscal control "from suspicion and physical control" is in evidence. This augurs well for the future when we have to face stiffer challenges in the 21st century.

A Special Message

It is a matter of pride for all of us that your Company got due recognition at the various Stock Exchanges and with your support, I feel the Company would continue to enjoy the patronage of all concerned. On behalf of the management I would like to assure you that all possible efforts would be made to live up to the faith and confidence reposed by you. I look forward to your continued support in all future ventures of your Company to mutual benefit.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Central Government, Government of Kerala, Financial Institutions, our Bankers and General Tire International Corporation, USA for their continued co-operation and assistance to the Company. I would also like to offer my grateful thanks to our shareholders, customers and suppliers for their unflinching faith in the Company. Finally, I would like to record my deep appreciation for the dedicated teamwork of workers, staff and management.

Thank you.

Cochin
14th Feb 1989

RAUNAQ SINGH

Note: This does not purport to be a record of the proceedings of the Annual General Meeting.

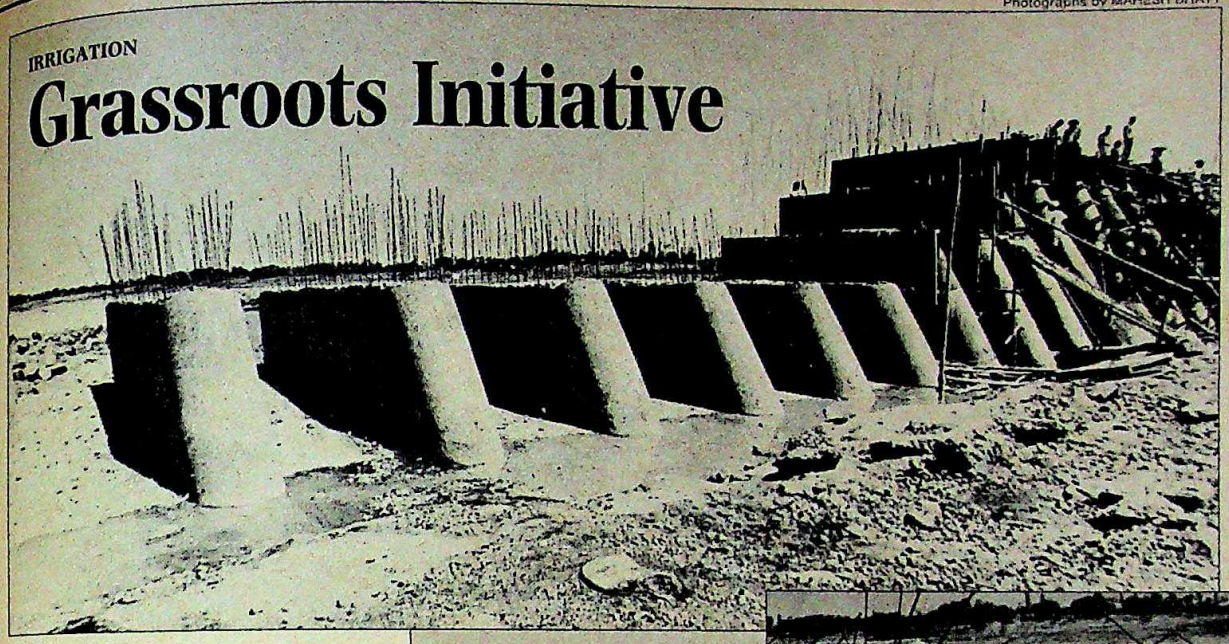
HEADSTART/ATV/8000

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by MAHESH BHATT

IRRIGATION

Grassroots Initiative



With enterprise the farmers have raised Rs 50 lakh to complete a project that the Government was reluctant to take up.

BASAPPA Devaravar's sweat-streaked face breaks into a smile just thinking of the days to come. Shovelling sludge with an almost manic frenzy, the frail, 52-year-old farmer breaks into a song that proclaims the arrival of good times. Nor is he alone in his joy. Around him, scores of other farmers engaged in construction work rejoice with him.

The reason looms large near them: an 8-metre-high, 480-metre-wide dam that they and farmers from 27 villages in Jamkhandi taluka of Karnataka have fashioned with their own hands.

By refusing to wait endlessly for the Government to build irrigation projects, the farmers have shown the way to the rest of the agricultural community. With zeal and entrepreneurship, they have raised a whopping Rs 50-lakh to complete, on their own steam, a project that the Government was reluctant to take up.

When it is finished this June, the Chikkapadasalagi Barrage (named after the nearest village) will irrigate 26,000 acres of land in the area, besides providing drinking water to the town of Jamkhandi (population: 3 lakh).

The idea of building a barrage across the Krishna river had been on their minds for many years. Farmers used to build temporary barrages with sandbags. But the sandbag structures, each costing between Rs 50,000 and Rs 80,000, helped only till January every year, after which the river ran dry. In the months of March, April and May, the crops wilted.

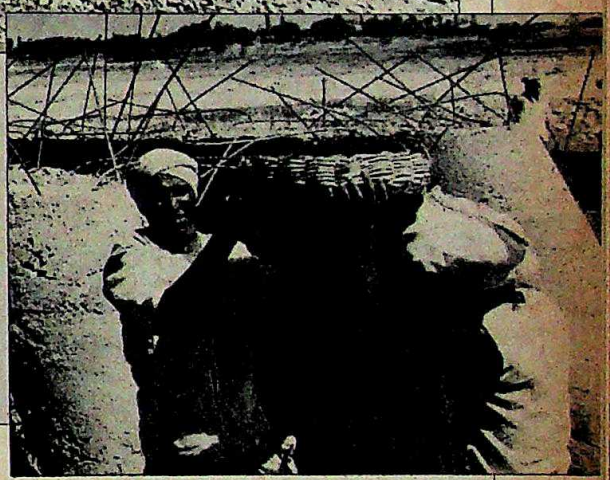
Says farmer Jinappa Jakanur: "It was frustrating to think of the water that flowed waste and how we could have harnessed it with a dam." And this frustration continued to grow for the Government did not come to the rescue of the hapless farmers as it was conserving its resources for the massive Upper Krishna irrigation project further north.

Consequently, by 1985, the farmers decided to push forward a proposal to build their own dam. Ashok Thuhgal, a local engineer, quit a lucrative job to initiate the project.

The project report that was prepared showed that an 8-metre-high dam could store 2.8 thousand million cubic feet of water in the dry months—enough to irrigate 26,000 acres of land alongside a 42-km stretch of the river.

The report envisaged that if every beneficiary invested Rs 500 per acre per horsepower of pumping capacity he owned, they could raise Rs 1.3 crore for the project. (Small and marginal farmers would contribute to the project in the form of *shramdaan*).

Says Thuhgal: "This was peanuts for farmers who lost thousands each year for want of irrigation. Also with this water their income would almost double." According to a rough estimate, the project would raise their income by as much as Rs 2 crore annually. So the project would pay for itself in just one year.



The dam financed and built by farmers (top); farmers working at the site

Despite the obvious benefits, the Government hesitated in clearing the project. For one, private parties had never been accorded permission to build a dam. Moreover, at the turn of the century, the proposed barrage would be submerged by an artificial lake created by the Upper Krishna project.

The farmers' plea that the loss would be compensated by the benefits during the intervening decade fell on deaf ears.

Instead, the Government tried to appease the farmers by proposing two small barrages at Chikkapadasalagi and at nearby Sanal. The estimated cost of the two projects: Rs 3 crore. The sched-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

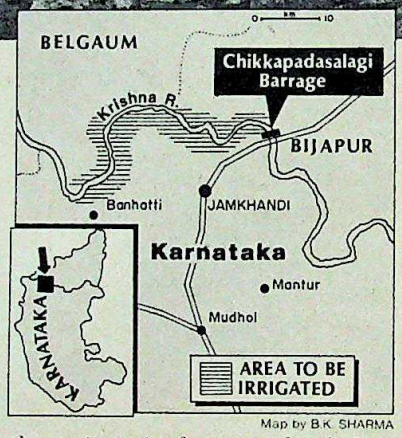
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sandbag barrage: expensive

uled period of completion: five years. And for starters, the Government allotted a measly Rs 50,000 for each project in the annual budget.

Enraged by this, the farmers kept up the clamour for building their own dam and formed an organisation called the Krishna Theera Raitha Sangha. The Sangha, headed by local MLA Baburedy Tungal, renewed the pressure on the Government. When the then chief minister Ramakrishna Hegde visited Jamkhandi in 1985, the farmers cornered him. Hegde asked the farmers to first raise Rs 15 lakh if they wanted clearance for the project. Just a week later, representatives of the farmers went to Hegde's house and presented him with a cheque book and a pass book showing Rs 5 lakh as balance. The remaining Rs 10 lakh, they said, would be handed over the day the clearance was given. Says Sidhu Nyam Gouda, a leading farmer: "That was the turning point. We had convinced them that it was no empty boast."

BUT the Government reacted with typical bureaucratic stodginess. First came a host of conditions—the entire project cost should be borne by the beneficiaries; after completion the barrage should be handed over to the Government for maintenance; and the farmers should bear the maintenance cost. To each condition the farmers agreed. But when it was suggested that the money collected be handed over to the Government so that the state Public Works Department, known for its inefficiency and corruption, could undertake



Map by B.K. SHARMA

the project, the farmers refused. Says Nyam Gouda: "Why should we agree to that when our project for a single barrage will accomplish at one-third the cost what two government barrages would. And how can we trust a government that has never completed a project on time.?"

Finally in mid-'87, the Government relented and early in 1988, the Sangha formally began work, having collected about Rs 20 lakh. But more than the money, it was the sheer enthusiasm of the people that provided the impetus. Besides the beneficiary farmers, several organisations, and scores of bank employees, lawyers, school and college teachers, students and auto drivers lent a helping hand. Even the Government agreed to provide construction machinery at a subsidised fee.

As the Sangha got ready to start work this year, it had an unexpected stroke of luck. The Government of India-sponsored voluntary agency, CAPART (Council for Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology), offered it a Rs 60-lakh loan. The farmers instead sought and secured a Rs 28-lakh grant. And by last month, they had completed nearly half of the barrage and were working feverishly to finish it before the onset of the monsoon.

The dam will benefit 6,400 farmers. And for 4,500 of them—the small and marginal farmers, owning five acres of land or less—it will mean the difference between starvation and survival. Says 42-year-old Shankarappa, who grows groundnut in a tiny 1-acre plot: "Come water, and I will grow sugarcane." With groundnut, Shankarappa scrapes together Rs 2,000 every year. With permanent irrigation, he can switch to sugarcane, and even from his single acre he can earn Rs 6,000 annually.

For Basappa Devaravar, who owns 10 acres of land, the project would mean an investment of Rs 5,000. At present Basappa grows between 30 and 40 tonnes of sugarcane per acre which fetches him Rs 1 lakh annually. After deducting a 60-per cent input cost, Basappa's income works out to about Rs 40,000, just enough to feed and clothe his 10-member family.

With permanent irrigation from the barrage, he says his yield will go up to around 80 tonnes, nearly doubling his income. Small wonder then that he was one of the first to plump for the project. Small wonder too that against the background of the rumbles of the stone crusher and the cement mixer Basappa's song is getting louder and more cheerful.

—CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

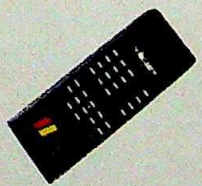
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar
Insight-SI-879

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Solidaire goes to Yugoslavia

Solidaire CAT 1000 DX has bagged the prestigious export order from Yugoslavia. It's only the beginning, many more export orders will follow. Solidaire is really proud to herald a new era for Indian Consumer Electronics.

Solidaire CAT 1000 DX. The most sought-after Deluxe Colour TV with far superior features. Yes, especially the Remote Handset with Digital Synthesizer Tuning and 39 Programme Memory. It has Microprocessor Control to provide you complete functions like Programme, Band and Channel Selection besides Volume, Colour, Contrast, Brightness, Mute and Stand-by for absolute operating ease.



Solidaire

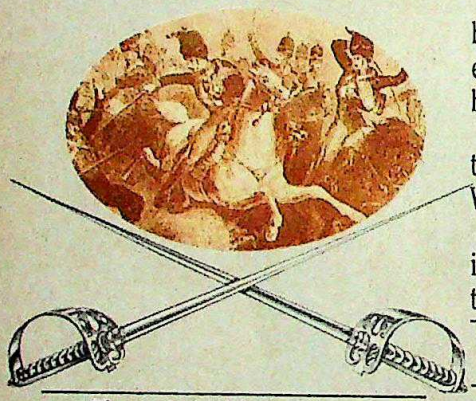
Product of Solidaire India Limited

Insight-SI-879

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

WILTECH

Presenting the anatomy of one of th



The unbeatable Wilkinson edge

It goes back to 1772.

When the House of Wilkinson of England started making swords of exceptional quality.

Swords keen on every count.

Unbending strength.

Absolutely true sharpness. And a reputation for the finest craftsmanship.

Generations later, Wilkinson brought this unbeatable cutting edge from the battlefield to the bathroom.

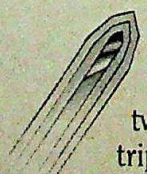
With razor blades that lived up to the reputation of the fabled Wilkinson swords.

It's this technology, honed into perfection over the centuries, that Wiltech brought into India.

Wilman II Premium. The legend lives on.

With every stroke of Wilman II Premium, you'll feel Wilkinson technology at work.

The finest steel imported from speciality steel makers. A manufacturing process that leaves nothing to chance. And an extremely rigorous quality control programme at every stage of manufacture.



Every Wilman II Premium is triple-coated.

Wilman II Premium twin-blades are specially triple-coated with chromium, ceramic and teflon to preserve their sharpness shave after shave. For a shaving experience par excellence.

Why two blades are better than one

Around the world, the concept of twin-blades has been accepted as far superior to conventional razor blades.

This is how Wilman II Premium works. The cartridge of Wilman II Premium holds two blades at a carefully calculated, scientific angle.

What one blade misses, the other one gets.

The first blade lifts the hair and cuts most of it. Almost simultaneously, before the hair can spring back, the second blade cuts it closest to its root.

Result: extremely close and smooth shaves like never before. No nicks, no cuts.

HTA 8757

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and

of the world's best-engineered shaving systems.

Designed better – to last longer

Wilman II Premium twin-blades have another unique advantage: the 'Gothic arch' edge.

The unique 'Gothic Arch' edge.

Unlike the conventional inverted 'V' shape of the cutting edge, the Gothic arch gently tapers off at the edge.

This unique design results in greater strength, preventing the chipping and cracking of the cutting edge. And increasing its

The magnificent obsession: quality

The Wilkinson ideal of perfection. At Wiltech, achieving it is the fanatical concern of every worker.

Quality assurance starts right at the selection of raw material: the finest imported steel.

Specially trained personnel, working on highly sophisticated machines at Wiltech, build in the highest standard of quality – Premium quality– at every stage.

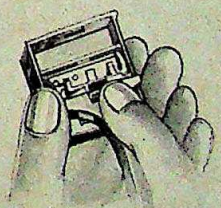
A guarantee of excellent quality.

Without exception, every Wilman II Premium is subjected to a battery of stringent tests.

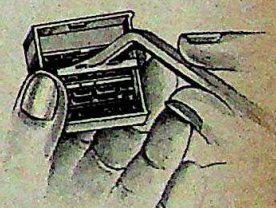
Then, and only then, does Wilman II Premium reach you.

Fits all razors

Wilman II Premium cartridges fit all Indian and International razors like Wilkinson Profile, Gillette Contour and others.



Fits swivel...



...and fixed razors.

Wilman II Premium is available at leading outlets all over the country.

However, you can write to us for five Wilman II Premium refill packs of 5 twin-blades each. We'll arrange to deliver them through a special messenger at your door!

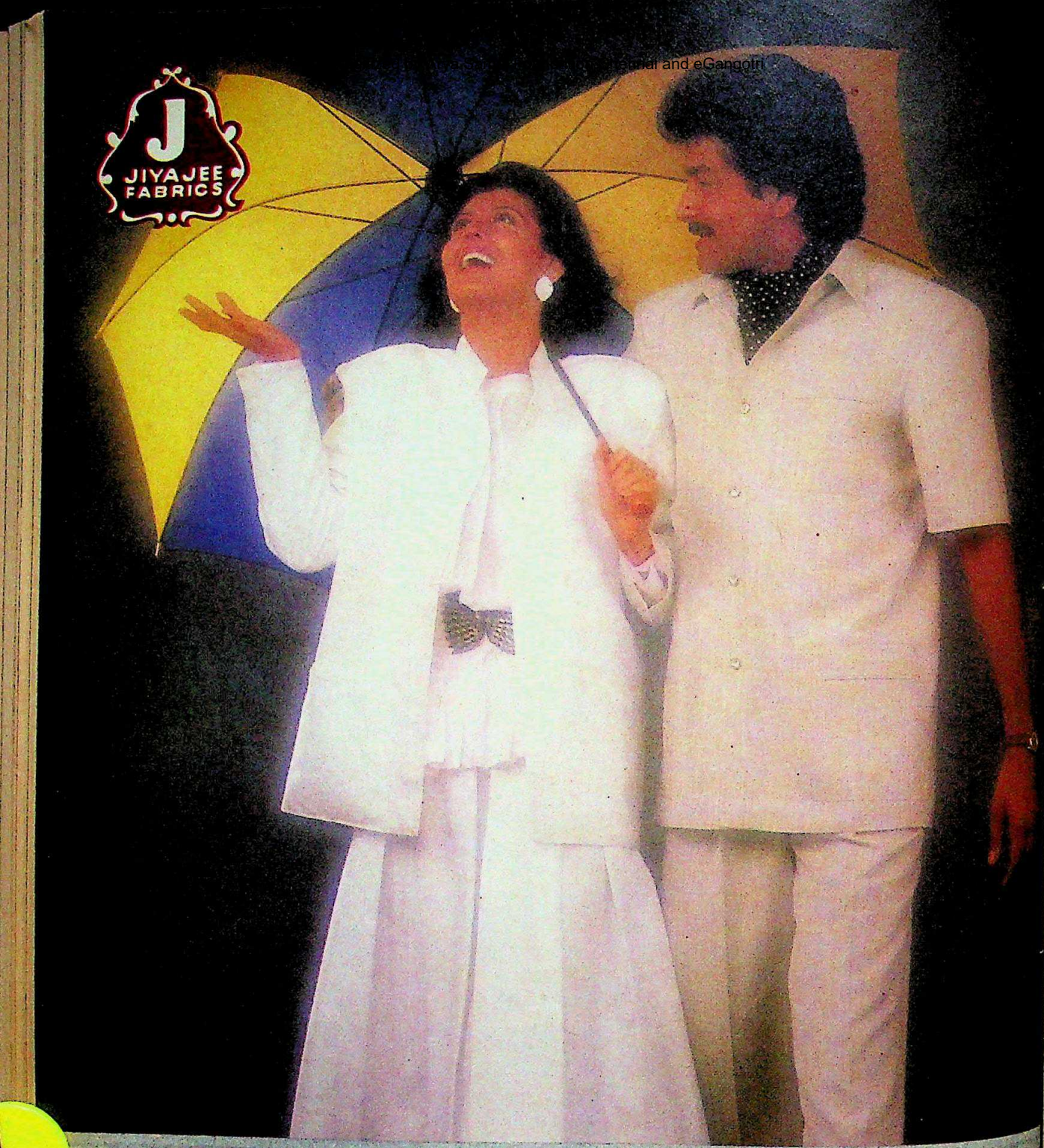
Composite pack of a razor and 3 twin-blades: Rs.19.00 only.
Refill pack of 5 twin-blades: Rs. 18.00 only.
Prices are inclusive of all taxes.

Write to Wiltech India Ltd., M G Road, Bangalore 560 001 for a free booklet on shaving tips.

Wilman II Premium. Anything else would be a compromise.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



SYMBOL OF QUALITY & STYLE

JIYAJEE

SUITING-SHIRTING

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Available at Mill's SUMANGAL showrooms and other leading stores

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AMRITRAJ BROTHERS

Doubles Trouble

Controversy erupts as new pair replaces veterans

IF 1987 was a glorious year for Indian tennis as India reached the Davis Cup final, before losing to fancied Sweden in Gothenburg, 1989 might just be the end of the road for the man who brought in the glory. And ironically the man who spent nearly two remarkable decades in the pressure-cooker world of professional tennis without generating one controversy may end up hanging his racket on a note of bitterness.

Last fortnight Vijay Amritraj, the 36-year-old ace was humbled—though off-court and by officials. For the forthcoming Davis Cup he was saddled with a team not to his liking—with the departure of his old friend P.L. Reddy, the national tennis association was suddenly no more his handmaiden—and his brother Anand, 38, was left out of the team. Chosen along with Ramesh Krishnan and S. Vasudevan was 19-year-old Zeeshan Ali.

Complained Vijay: "The Indian team has been selected and the venue decided but I was not consulted in these decisions." Anand was more emphatic: "The selection committee has goofed up big-time." Terming his ouster unfair, he pointed out his doubles record: 42 Grand Prix and ATP (Association of Tennis Professionals) finals, 23 of them won; Wimbledon semi-finals in 1976, quarter-finals in 1981, and US Open quarter-finals twice. He added: "There is no strategy in the selection. Soon the whole can of worms will come out."

The tennis authorities too were in a belligerent mood, arguing that Vijay could no longer act like a prima donna. R.K. Khanna, who replaced Reddy as the secretary of the All India Lawn Tennis Association, claimed Vijay had asked for too much: the inclusion of Anand, a two-year contract to represent India, and 20 per cent of all prize money. Also, the brothers wanted nearly Rs 14 lakh that they said the association owed them.

The stage seemed set for a bitter tie-breaker and the selectors even nominated Mark Ferreira, 21, as a standby in case Vijay said no. And though Vijay dropped a disarming volley saying nothing got higher priority than representing India, the very fact that he wanted time before declaring his fitness showed he was keeping his options open.

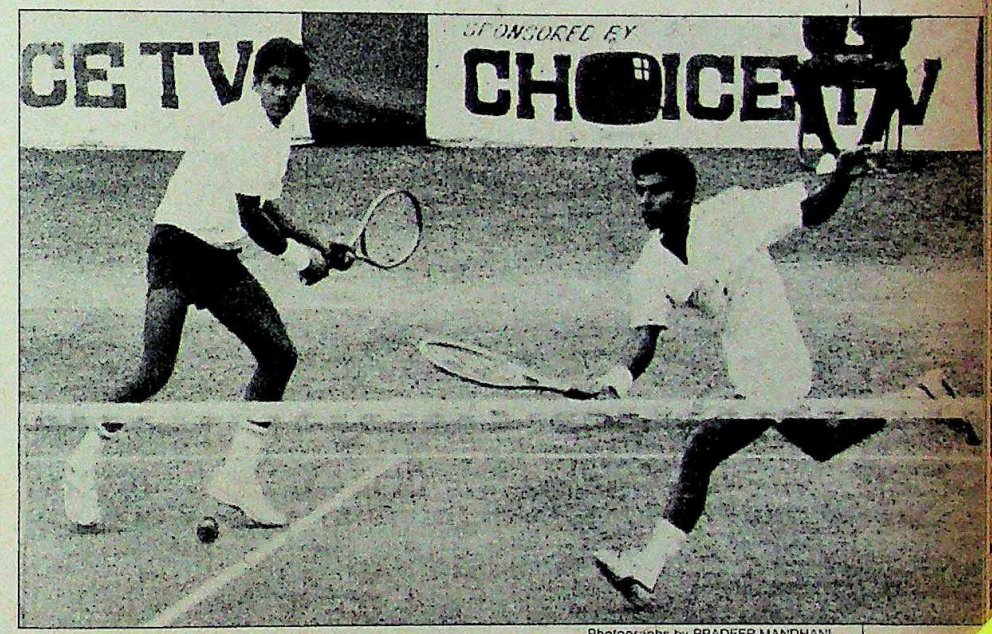
So is the tennis establishment. Officials argue the record of Zeeshan and Ferreira may not match the Amritraj brothers' but they are an investment. And if ATP rankings are to be the criterion, Vijay himself could be driven over the baseline. The giant-killer, ranked 16th in the world in 1980, hasn't played competitive tennis since the Seoul Olympiad last year, and his ranking has slipped to 193. Zeeshan, ranked 146, and Ramesh ranked 40, should then be the logical choice for singles.

A kind of truce was reached last fortnight as the tennis federation extended its deadline from February 20 to April 1 for Vijay to declare his fitness. But while Vijay, recovering from an operation for removal of planter's wart in his foot, went through physiotherapy he also had to look over the sidelines. For, besides his sullen brother, his close friend Reddy was in trouble, being investigated for alleged financial fiddles.

All this could only pain the millions of tennis fans who admire Vijay. Observers feel it would be ridiculous for Indian tennis to lose Vijay's services: even if he retired he could make an excellent non-playing captain, or represent India at the International Tennis Federation with more weight than any one else. Said Vijay: "I am always ready to present the Indian viewpoint internationally, particularly in the US, where I happen to know high-level politicians."

Vijay's has been a long and illustrious career in which he made the Wimbledon and US Open quarter-finals twice, and won dozens of Grand Prix titles, besides steering India to two Davis Cup finals, in 1974 and 1987. Anand, as his doubles partner, part-time manager and sporting alter-ego, has been part of his success story. All along tenacity and fighting spirit have marked the brothers. It is unlikely now that they will walk into the California sunset without waging yet another last-ditch battle.

—SALIL TRIPATHI

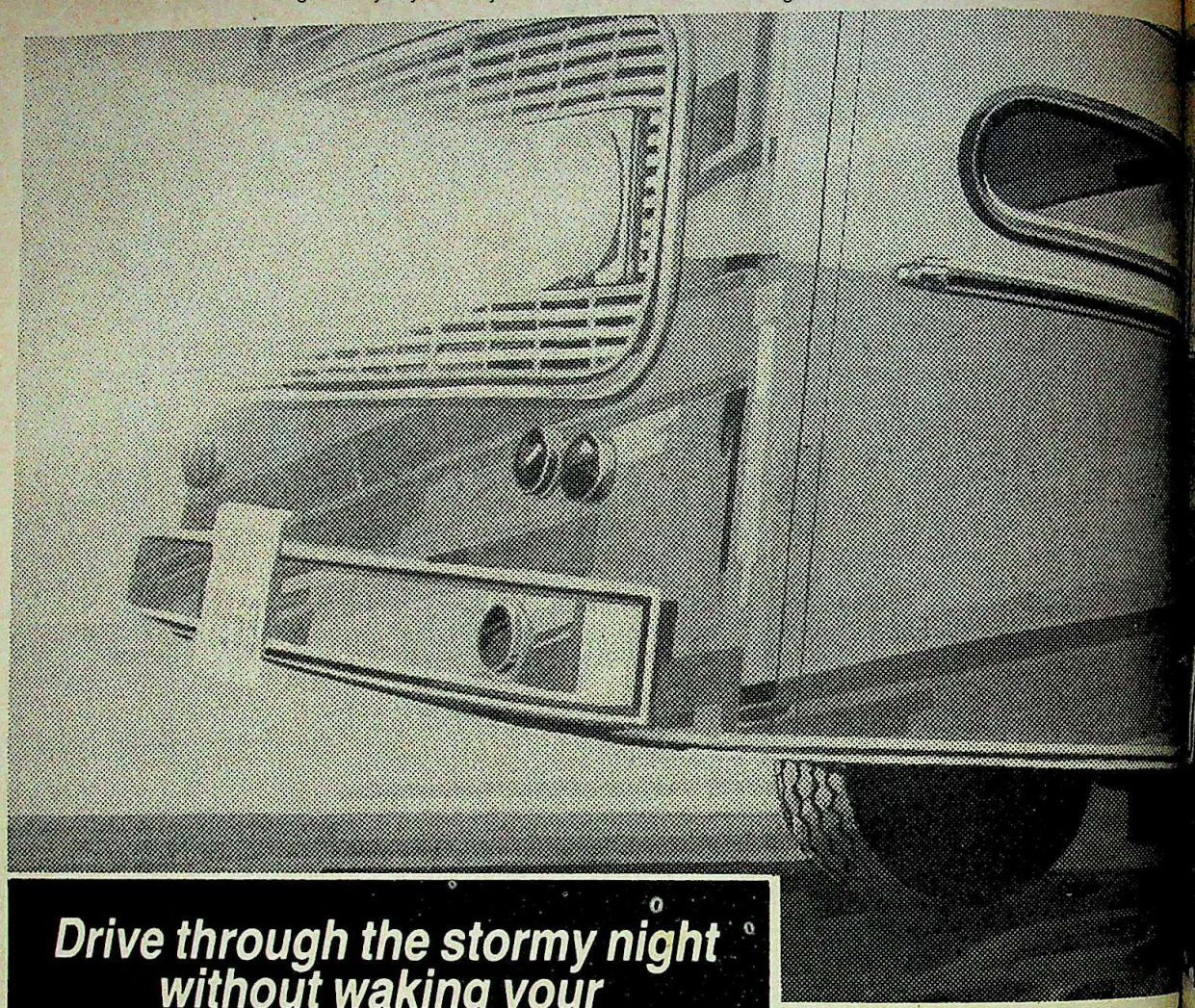


Photographs by PRADEEP MANDHANI

Zeeshan (left) and Mark; (top) Anand (left) with Vijay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Drive through the stormy night without waking your sleeping passengers.

VIKRANT

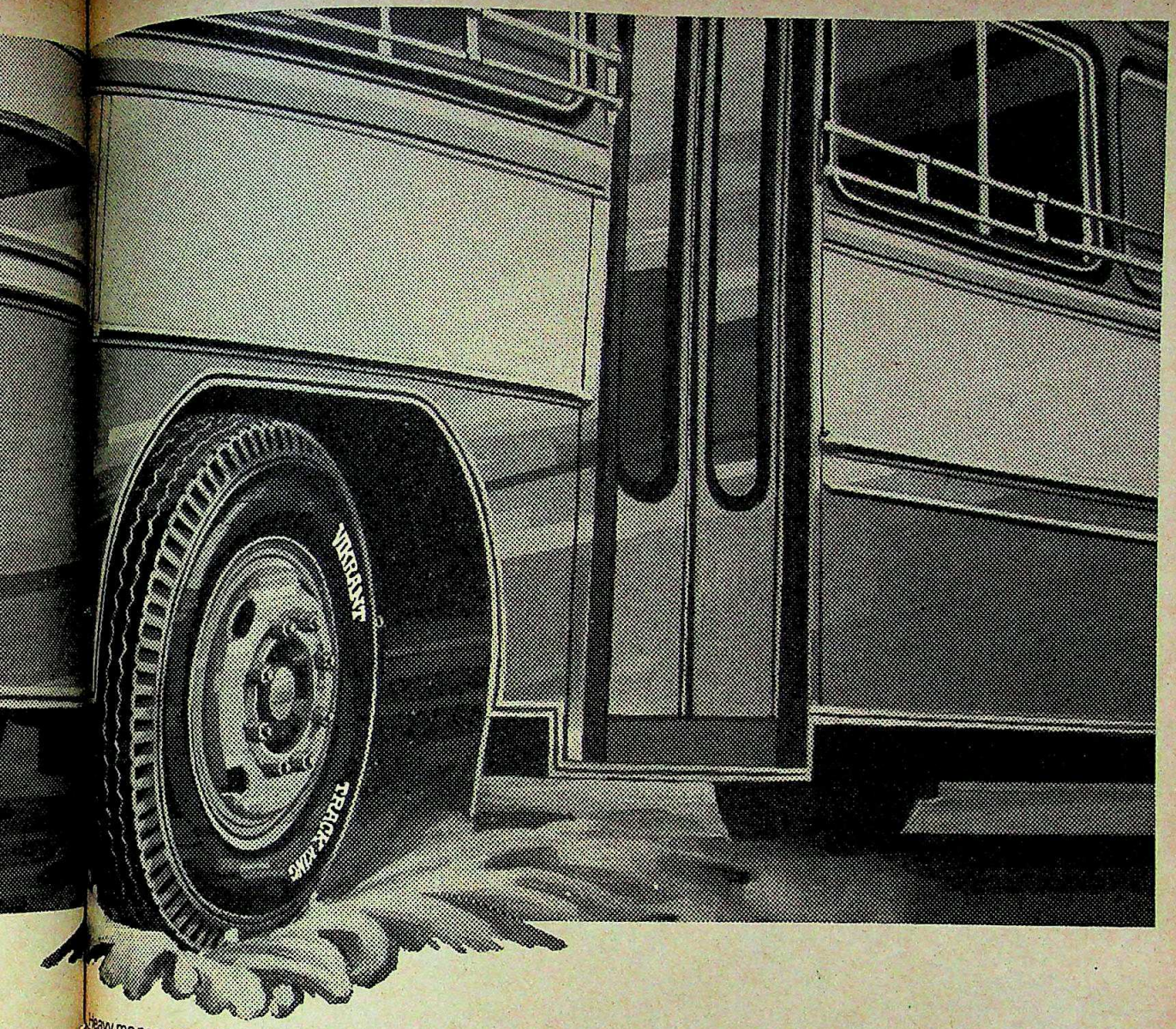
the reliable tyre

With technology that built India's first truck radials.

MAA COMMUNICATIONS VTL 588C

CC-0. In Public Domain. Sarukkai Kanga...

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Heavy monsoons, lightning floods
eeping over the roads, landslides,
s of pot holes; on an Indian road you
expect the unexpected. One tyre is
cially designed to meet the challenge
e unexpected. Through thousands of
metres of safety for each of your
engers. Vikrant — the reliable tyre,
advanced technology tempered to
ian road conditions.

e world's No.1 racing tyre technology

Behind every Vikrant tyre is the
chnological superiority of Avon of UK:
e of the major suppliers of Rolls Royce
the epitome of perfection in
tomobiles. And the world's No. 1 name
racing tyres. Vikrant R&D harnesses
d improves upon Avon technology to
it Indian road conditions.

Technology that built India's first truck radials

When Vikrant R&D focussed its attention on truck radials the result was a tyre so tough it was quickly picked up by the British market. Making Vikrant the first Indian company to produce and export truck radials to the UK.

Vikrant — the original equipment

Vikrant's performance has proven reliable all over the transport industry. It features as original equipment in the vehicles of premier companies like Telco and Ashok Leyland. And carries thousands of people every day on the buses of major State Transport Undertakings all over the country.

So if you want a tyre that has proven itself, that is built with advanced technology and that you can rely upon when the unexpected turns up, you know which tyre to choose.....

VIKRANT

The reliable tyre.
The responsible company.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TABLE TENNIS

Bouncing Back with Verve

New champions revive hopes

Photographs by SNAPS INDIA

Manmeet Singh (left) and Rinku Gupta: superb display

IT was not just the vicious topspin and looping serves that left spectators agape at the Golden Jubilee National Table Tennis Championship in Hyderabad last month. Table tennis fans, resigned to the sight of champions reigning for years on end, were delighted to see a couple of new champions. Kamlesh Mehta of Maharashtra, hoping to win the men's title for the fifth time in a row, was smashed out in the quarter finals by S. Raman. And the women's title was clinched by Rinku Gupta of Madhya Pradesh—at 17 years, the youngest winner ever.

The Hyderabad championship results proved the Sports Ministry wrong. Arguing that the quality of table tennis had stagnated and that India stood no chance of coming anywhere near the top since the game was dominated by Asian giants, the ministry had dropped table tennis from the list of priority sports for the Beijing Asiad. Worse, it had not sent a team for the January Asian championships in Manila.

The ministry's actions may have been based on the observation that the old stars showed no signs of fading away and the younger players did not appear to be really challenging them. Kamlesh Mehta, for instance, had figured in every final since 1981. But if this year's championship saw the eclipse of Mehta, for Manmeet Singh of Delhi, men's singles title meant the end of a long dry spell. Five times since 1981, he has reached the semi-finals, losing on four occasions to the eventual champion. This time, his high toss serves and swinging forehand helped him get the better of S. Sriram and ensured him the Maharajah of Pithapuram trophy.

The women's champion—Rinku Gupta—did not have to wait so long. She claimed the Travancore Cup by ousting Varsha Chulani of Maharashtra, who at the age of 18 last year, had been the youngest winner. For Rinku, the juniors trophy was just the icing on the cake.

There were other promising youngsters too—Arunjyoti Barua, Ganesh Kundu, S. Raman, S. Ramaswamy, Sunil Babras and Nupur Santra. But if that talent is to blossom, much needs to be done. Says former national champion V. Chandrasekhar: "Players can improve only by participating in tournaments abroad." Kamlesh Mehta concurs: "We have to clash with giants like China, Japan, South Korea, Sweden and the new powers like Hong Kong and Taiwan."

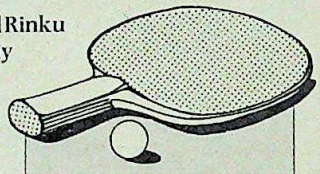


Table tennis fans used to seeing players reigning for years on end were delighted to have new stars this year.

And for the players who cannot go abroad, Manjit Dua, former national champion, emphasises good coaching at an early age. The importance of modern coaching techniques is best shown by this year's women's champion Rinku Gupta. After her triumph, she exulted: "I would not have won both the junior and women's trophies had it not been for the Japanese service machine my father bought me." The gadget costs Rs 10,000 and provides a variety of serves for practice. As a result, says her coach Snigdha Khazgiwala: "There is greater topspin in her return and her smashes are more effective and controlled."

Unfortunately, the Sports Ministry is still not impressed. In fact, more than the Government's actions, it is the response of the private sector that is encouraging. The Singhanias, of the JK group of industries, have agreed to pick up the bill for the national junior championships to be held in New Delhi for four years. And the Golden Jubilee championship itself was sponsored by Alwyn.

The Table Tennis Federation had a golden jubilee surprise for the players. It set up a benevolent fund for them. Each of the state associations will contribute Rs 1,000 to it, and each of the 27,000 registered players in the country Re 1.

So, the players, disheartened by the Sports Ministry's decision not to allow them to participate in the Manila championship in January, have perked up now. The best from the Hyderabad championship have been chosen to undergo training at coaching camps in New Delhi and Indore in preparation for the Commonwealth Championship at Cardiff, Wales, to be held from March 19-26. Immediately thereafter, they face a far stiffer test—the World Championship at Dortmund, West Germany, from March 29 to April 9.

At the 1985 World Championship in Gothenburg, Sweden, the men's team finished twelfth and the women's team twenty-sixth. This time, they have got to do much better. If not, the bureaucrats in the Government will be able to gleefully justify their earlier action in relegating table tennis to an inferior position. An improved performance will do a lot to silence those officials who are just waiting to say, "We told you so".

—AMARNATH K. MENON

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When it's 100% Cottons, think only of Century Textiles

India's largest Cotton textile exporter, Century Textiles, is today synonymous with the highest in quality and dependability in the international market.

Fashion designers the world over pay rich tributes to its feel, finish and infinite variety –shirtings and cambrics, voiles and mulls, dress materials, furnishings and bed-sheets. In the great fashion frontiers of the West, they believe the best things that have happened to cottons have happened at Century Textiles.

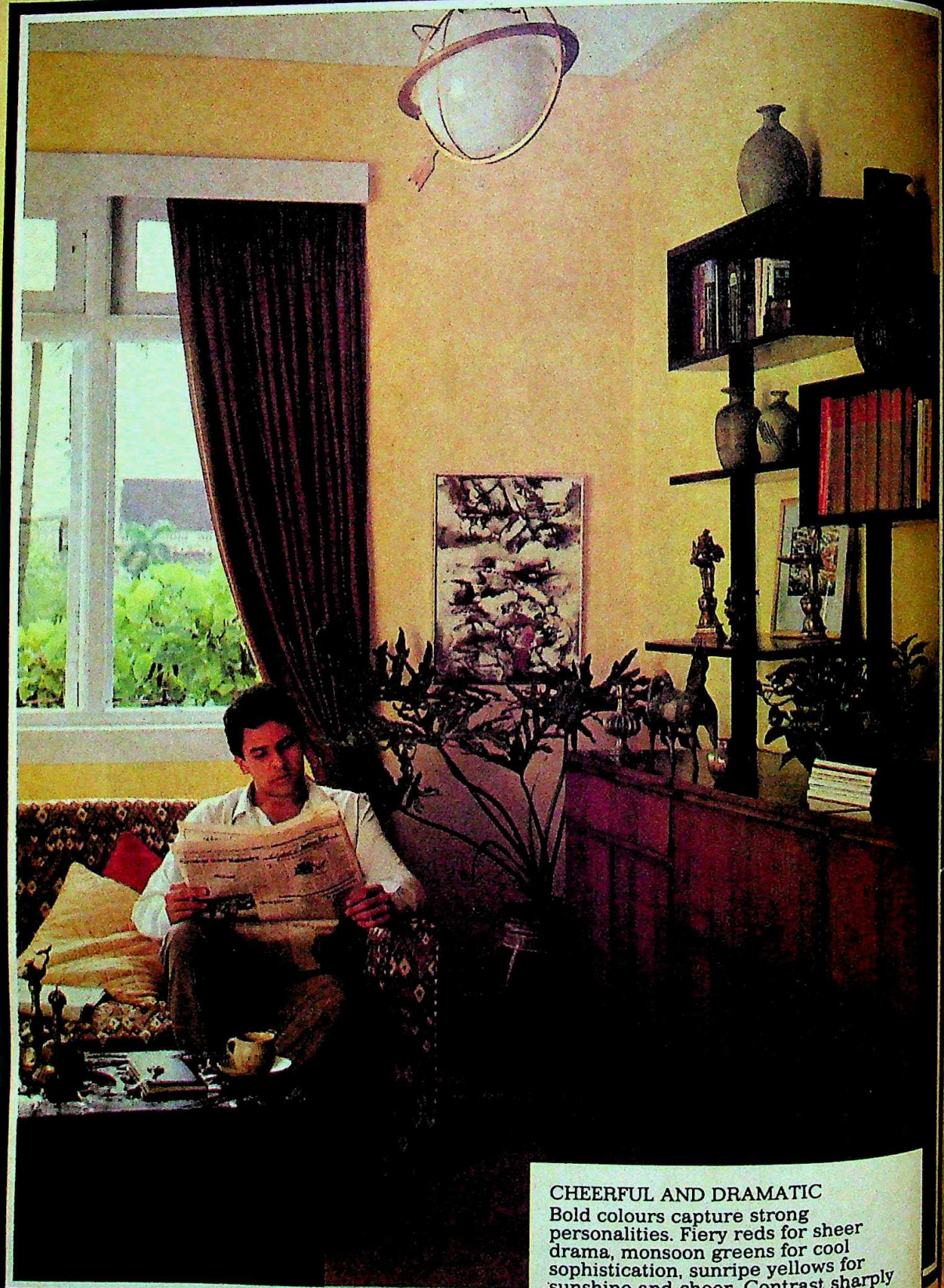
Century Textiles and Industries Limited

Century Bhavan
Worli, Bombay 400 025.
Telephone: 4300351
Telex: 011-71027
Telefax: 4309491

Now available for Select Garment Exporters

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CHEERFUL AND DRAMATIC
Bold colours capture strong personalities. Fiery reds for sheer drama, monsoon greens for cool sophistication, sunripe yellows for sunshine and cheer. Contrast sharply to dramatise.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

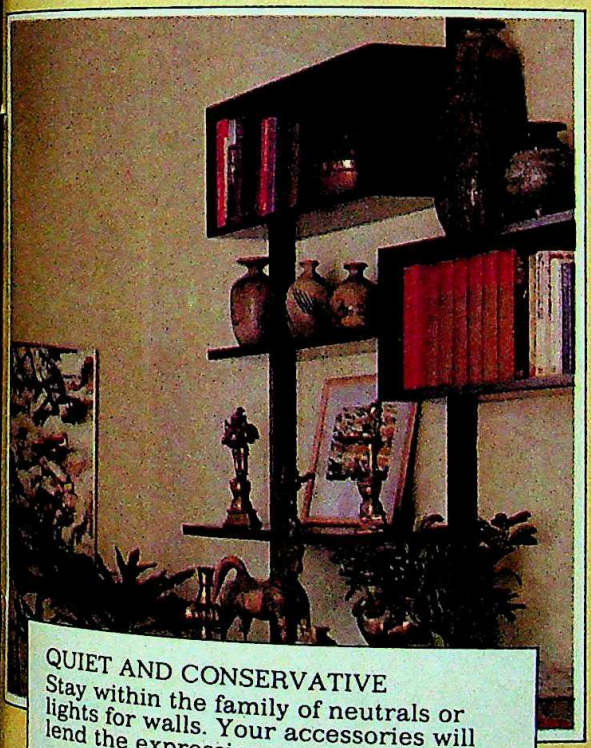
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HOW TO MAKE FIXED ASSETS ACCOMMODATE CHANGING MOODS

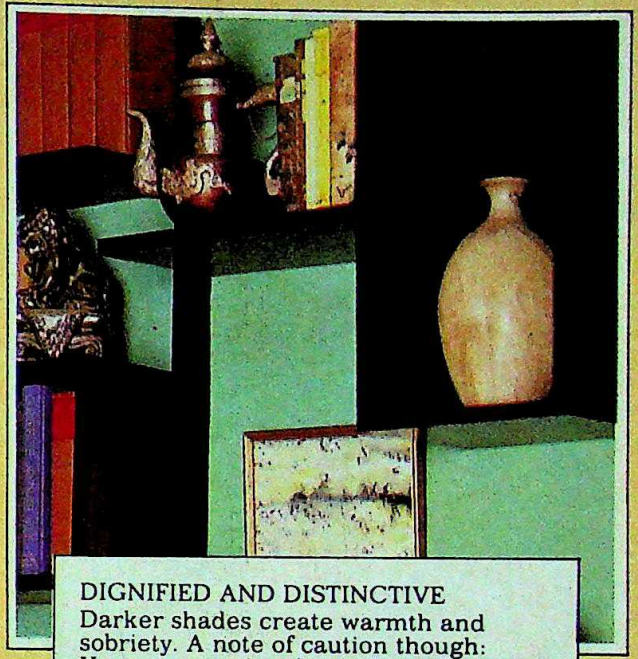
Before choosing a colour scheme for your walls, take into account your fixed assets. Your upholstery, curtains, carpets, wall hangings are unlikely to change to suit wall colours.

Nerolac tells you how to create dramatic, and subtle personalities with your present furniture.

List the colours of your major accessories. The shades of wood, drapes, upholstery, etc. Group them into colour families. Then decide the effect you want.



QUIET AND CONSERVATIVE
Stay within the family of neutrals or lights for walls. Your accessories will lend the expression.



DIGNIFIED AND DISTINCTIVE
Darker shades create warmth and sobriety. A note of caution though: Your accessories should be in firm shades, or the dominant walls will efface their charm.

Nerolac Paints.
Nerolac offers you a complete range of durable colours in Distemper, Acrylic Emulsion and Synthetic Enamel. Plus Hi-Power Universal Stainers to give you exclusive designer shades.

Write in for your free colour booklet enclosing a 50 paise stamp to Nerolac Better Homes Guide, P.O. Box No. 9954, Bombay 400 021.

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____ Pin Code: _____

Language: ☐ English ☐ Hindi

For more information contact your nearest Nerolac dealer.

NEROLAC PAINTS
ALWAYS – A SHADE BETTER

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ULKA-GNP-4-88

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fibre Foam Private Limited: Factories: Baliapatam, **Cannanore** 670 010, Kerala. Phone: 78330 78408 **Nasik:** 61963

Sole Selling Agents: Intercontinental Marketing Corporation: C-2 Community Centre, Safdarjung Development Area, **New Delhi:** 110 016 Phone: 651268 653908 **Ahmedabad:** 77742 76442 **Bangalore:** 364042 363706 **Calicut:** 62715 **Cochin:** 352855 364119 **Madras:** 20837 25578 **Secunderabad:** 77035 823532 **Trivandrum:** 65437 **Visakhapatnam:** 53468

HTA 8943

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

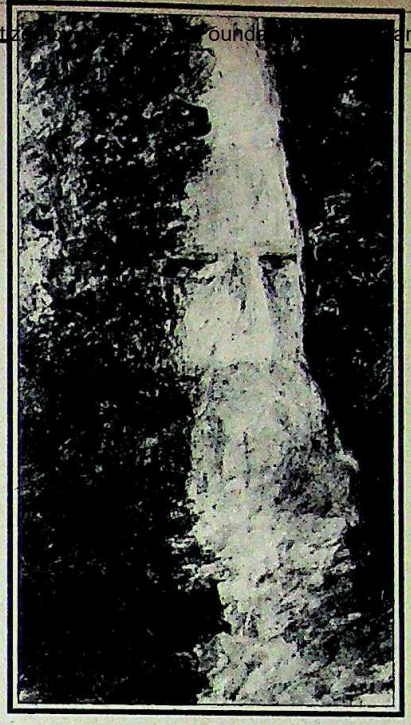
A Bard's Brush

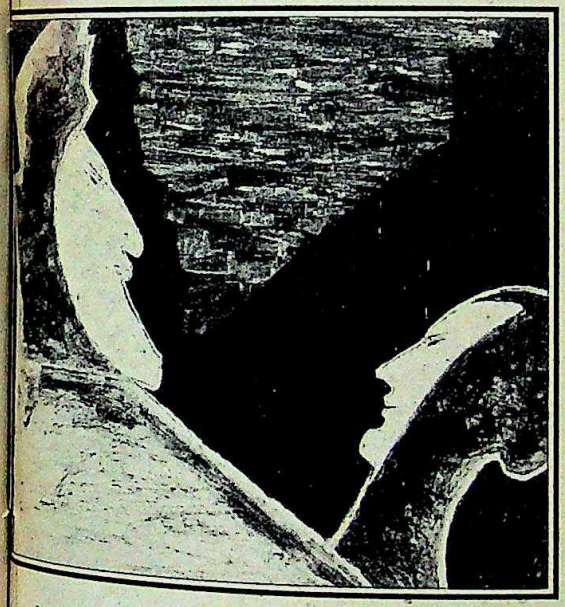
A lavish tribute to Tagore

THE ART OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE
by ANDREW ROBINSON
Rupa and Co.
Price: Rs 750; Pages: 221

IN these days of instant coffee-table books, this quickie on the paintings of Rabindranath Tagore comes as no surprise. The poet-as-painter has been revalued over the past few years. Earlier, some critics, bewildered by his "ambiguous sardonic imps" and "nameless archaistic beastliness", had dismissed his canvases as nothing more than the doodles of an old man. Today, these paintings are being regarded as the precursors of modern abstract Indian art. Artists in India are now saying that the Nobel laureate was an even greater painter than he was a literary figure.

So, it's all the more disappointing that such a beautifully produced book, with 175 plates of fascinating drawings and paintings, should say so little. Author Andrew Robinson fails to trace the evolution of the painter's *oeuvre*. Nor does he discuss the individual works. In his short chapter on eastern and western responses to Tagore's art he has merely strung together bits of criticism without coming to any conclusion about where this poet, who came late by the paint and brush, stands in the history of the Indian art movement. Or, indeed, where he would be placed in the European context.





Rabindranath Tagore's classics: poet as painter

Over six decades after Tagore first looked into the "picture-chamber" that was his life and painted the landscape of his mind the old question of what slot he can be fitted into remains unanswered. Perhaps, as Satyajit Ray writes in his brief but succinct foreword to the book: "Tagore stands alone, he was uninfluenced by any painter, eastern or western. His work does not stem from any tradition but is truly original."

The absence of influence apart, Tagore was *sui generis* in another way too: nobody after him painted quite like him. His imaginary menagerie of man, woman and animal which emerge partially from dark, half-worlds and his haunting studies of "woman's mood-images" are really unique. Robinson could have tried to examine the paintings in the context of Tagore's poetry. After all, his drawings initially sprang from the pages of his manuscript, where his corrections grew into squiggles and forms.

Where the book does score is in the biographical sketch. It succeeds in giving an essence of India's truly renaissance man. Robinson culls some interesting details, such as the poet's mild altercations with Mahatma Gandhi, his whirlwind grand tour through Europe and the US in 1930 with his paintings, his friends who helped in this avtar (Argentine poetess Victoria Ocampo), the reactions of his European critics and interesting excerpts about his paintings from his correspondence with people like Jamini Roy, biologist J.C. Bose and William Rothenstein, principal of the Royal College of Art.

Robinson does not give much cre-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dence to the theory—espoused among others by art historian W.G. Archer—that Tagore's works were the outpourings of the unconscious. But the poet himself obviously seemed to think so. Even in his verse accompanying the drawings in the *Chitralipi* volume, he writes: "I have searched out the cave of the primitive in my mind with its etchings of animals." Again, there is this letter thanking his friend Leonard Elmhirst for a pen which helped him with his "cult of frenzied drawing... which comes from an excess of dream energy."

Had Robinson searched the 2,000 works of Tagore for a correlation between his verse and paintings, had he delved into their essentially mystic qualities, it would have been a better book. The volume is still a treasure because of the almost phantasmagoric plates. However, the Lalit Kala Akademi's Tagore birth centenary publication in 1961 was far more elegantly produced. That superb out-of-print edition deserves to be resurrected.

—MADHU JAIN

Dismal Tale

A report on working women

SHRAMSHAKTI: Report of the National Commission on Self-Employed Women and Women in the Informal Sector.
Pages: 370; Price: not stated.

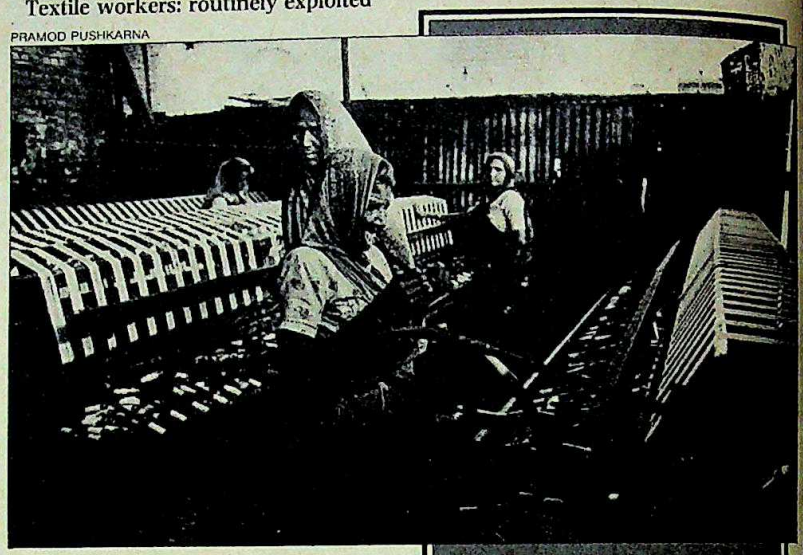
YOU see her everywhere. The basket-weaver on the footpath, oblivious of the big city bustle around her. The tea garden worker, quietly plucking leaves even as a leech clings to her calf. And the ubiquitous maid without whom work in millions of urban households would come to a standstill.

Women who are self-employed and the ones working in the so-called "informal" sectors (read: unorganised, where no laws apply), form an overwhelming majority of women at work: 85 per cent. Yet, they're underpaid and exploited.

In January 1987, the Government set up a commission headed by Magsaysay Award winner and Rajya Sabha member Ela Bhatt to look into their plight. The five-member commission's report (which has a note of dissent appended to it by a member, Jaya Arunachalam, who Bhatt says hardly found time for their meetings or tours) describes these women eloquently, pointing out glaring instances of official insensitivity, inadequate infrastructure and the innate resilience of these women.

Textile workers: routinely exploited

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



The commission's scope was enormous and the report offers much for planners and women activists. In fact, it should also be compulsory reading for the bureaucracy, particularly as the commission repeatedly found that bureaucrats, while feigning interest, were unaware that such problems even existed in their areas.

So the fisherfolk, weavers, pavement entrepreneurs, lottery ticket sellers, construction workers, rag-pickers and tea garden workers get routinely short-changed as the development caravan marches on. The commission also discovered women involved in traditionally male activities like transplanting, harvesting and threshing paddy, treading pulses and breaking stones. The census, however, recognises them only as housewives.

The percentage of women in the total work force rose from 17.35 in 1971 to 28.6 in 1981, while their proportion in the agricultural sector remained the same: four-fifth. The high-profile industrial and services areas had barely 2.7 and 3.3 per cent of women.

Nor is the problem only one of numbers. The commission found that almost 60 per cent of the women interviewed were the sole bread-earners in their families, yet they continued to earn less than half of what a man earned. In East Godavari region of Andhra Pradesh, the women got 20 paise a day for a 12-hour work-day.

Such blatant exploitation, coupled with law enforcement failure, completes the dismal picture. The commission makes several suggestions, including shifting the burden of proof on the alleged exploiter, but it also seeks to create a favourable combination of forces. It suggests that village-level mahila mandals be formed for the implementation of anti-poverty and environmental protection programmes. With fuel and fodder getting scarcer and the water table falling rapidly, women, who are most affected by the degraded environment (they have to walk miles to fetch firewood or water), will find it in their own interest to protect the environment.

> The report found 60 per cent of the women interviewed were their families' sole bread-earners.

The idea of involving them worked successfully in Bangladesh, where gramin banks have low default rates because loans are given only to women—who have been found to use the money more productively. This may be one lesson India can learn from an even poorer country.

—SALIL TRIPATHI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

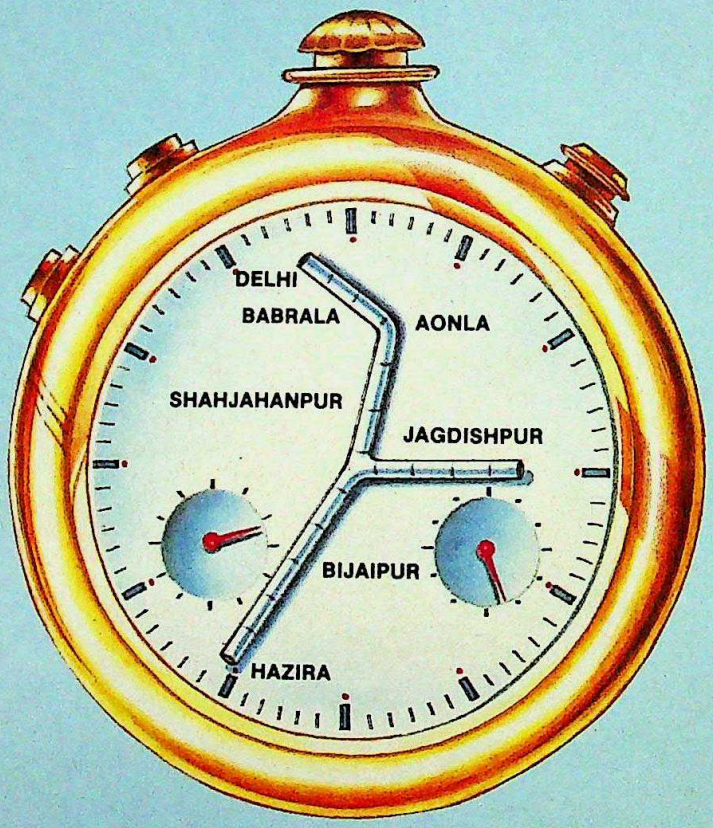
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Promises We've Kept.

Hazira. Bijaipur. Aonla. Jagdishpur. Shahjahanpur. Babrala. And Very Soon at Delhi.



(Over 1,700 kms. of Gas Pipeline Completed in 19 Months)

GAIL has done it again! It took just 19 months for GAIL to complete the gigantic task of laying over 1,700 kms. of pipeline across difficult terrain.

The task was challenging indeed! The job called for patience, endurance and team-work of the highest order. And, true to its spirit, the determined GAIL task-force surged across all obstacles with such dedication that the work on some sectors was completed without stopping pipe-laying for even a single day.

Nearly 4,000 men, including 350 foreign experts, worked round the clock laying over 4,50,000 tonnes of pipe, hauling materials from the Port of Kandla to the hinterland, and deploying over 800 pieces of heavy construction equipment.

GAIL's pipeline is moving on — conquering hostile terrain, capturing new areas and markets — achievements that are yet another outstanding example of excellence in project management.

Setting energy into motion — ensuring a host of benefits to the nation.

Gas Authority of India Ltd.
(A Government of India Undertaking)
New Delhi-110 021.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

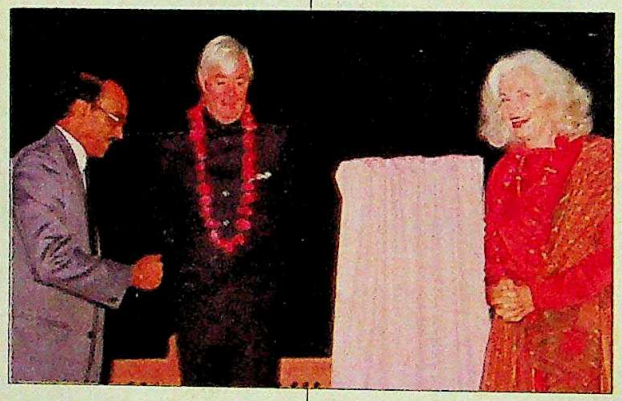
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chatterjee: Paris-bound

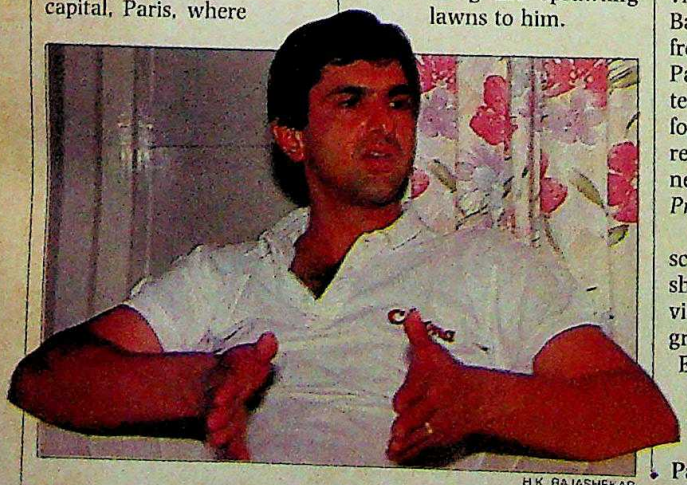
◆ Pierre Cardin's Indian-inspired creations could include the shapely form of Bombay model **Noyanika Chatterjee**. The czar of chic who was "unusually impressed by the quality of modelling" in India, has invited Chatterjee to the world's fashion capital, Paris, where she will be groomed for higher things and perhaps modelling stardom. The 20-year-old psychology student was ecstatic. "I just can't believe my luck," said she. Salaam Bombay.

◆ **Daniel Moynihan** may no longer be the US ambassador to India but he keeps coming back. So when he came visiting recently, it should have been business as usual. But a newspaper suggested he was on a secret visit to meet Indian opposition leaders. Said the indignant senator: "We are on holiday. My wife has just made a packet designing a Mughal garden. So we'll blow it." His wife **Elizabeth**, as smitten with India as him, has recreated Babur's Dholpur Lo-



The Moynihans: Jaipur jaunt

tus Garden—first discovered by her—at the Jai Mahal Palace Hotel, Jaipur. "It's shaped up fantastically," she said at the 505th birthday party she hosted for Babur, before dedicating the sprawling lawns to him.



H.K. RAJASHEKAR

◆ It's a shuttle that's getting somewhat overcrowded these days. After Sunil Gavaskar, 'Tiger' Pataudi et al, it's now the turn of 33-year-old **Prakash Padukone** to service the demands of television. Barely a month after quitting from top-flight competition, Padukone—who's dominated India's badminton scene for nearly two decades—will return to centre court, in a new serial, *Shuttle Time with Prakash Padukone*.

The 13-part serial which is scheduled to go on the air shortly, has Padukone interviewing all-time badminton greats like Rudy Hartono and Erland Kops on the finer points of the game. The Sunday morning serial will also

Padukone: smashing return

Dimple: refreshing role

◆ It's an epic romance, a story about the tempestuous love life of a beautiful woman and her stormy relationship with her husband. Art now seems to be imitating life with **Dimple Kapadia** all set to play the lead in Kumar Shahani's television adaptation of Leo Tolstoy's epic masterpiece, *Anna Karenina*.

It might seem like the re-opening of old wounds for the *zakhmi aurat* whose riotous marriage with Rajesh Khanna is now part of Indian film lore. But the gutsy young lady appears to be quite capable of taking such things in her long-legged stride. What remains to be seen is whether Ms Glamour can scintillate on the small screen as well.

have action excerpts from the best matches of contemporary masters like Liem Swie King, Han Jian, Morten Frost-Hansen and Yang Yang. And what was it like making the serial? "Tense, but good fun," says Padukone. Just like most of his matches.

◆ Till recently he was making films with an overdose of oomph and dialogues bordering on the lewd. Now, Tamil actor-director-scriptwriter, K. **Bhagyaraj**, 37, has decided to write the script for his political future—and act it out himself.

SUBHA NEWS PHOTO

Bhagyaraj: new script

Last fortnight—just after playing Mr India in *En Rathathin Rathame*, the Tamil remake of the Hindi hit-film—Bhagyaraj unfurled the flag of his own party: MGR Makkal Munnetra Kazhagam (MGR People's Progressive Party). Bhagyaraj had reason to use the name of his mentor. "I inherited not only MGR's legacy in filmdom but also his urge to serve the people," he declared. Ho Hum.

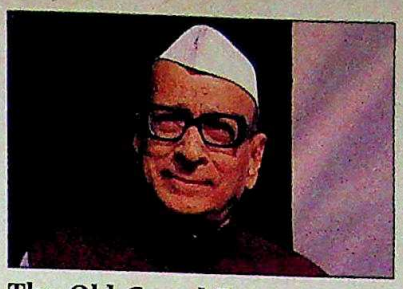
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mid-Life Blues

The mid-life crisis was till recently unique to the West, but now the malaise has spread to India too. The Indian male today has to weather the watershed years between 40 and 50—a time of transition and of intense questioning, when fantasy begins to collide with reality to precipitate a crisis.

COVER STORY 162



The Old Guard Returns

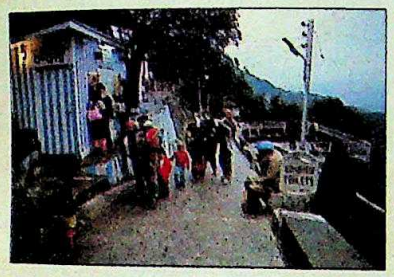
In the race for the chief ministership of Bihar, Satyendra Narain Sinha has turned out to be the dark horse, pipping other aspirants to make it to the winning post. Last fortnight, the chief minister took over the reins, determined to carry all sections of the party with him.

SPECIAL REPORTS 34

Lone Ranger

Celebrity lawyer and opposition MP Ram Jethmalani loves to be at the centre of a raging controversy, taking on the highest and mightiest in the land. Last fortnight, he was again locking horns with his favourite enemy—Rajiv Gandhi, who has accused him of supporting Khalistan.

SPECIAL REPORTS 46



Pilgrimage's Progress

The Vaishno Devi *yatra* had become a national symbol of the way in which the faithful were exploited, both materially and spiritually. But in 1986, a statutory board took over the shrine. And two years later, the improvements have exceeded the wildest expectations of the people.

SPECIAL FEATURES 88

The Bottle Bomb

Chief Minister Karunanidhi has zeroed in on the lucrative liquor business in Tamil Nadu to kill two birds with one stone: to attract additional revenue for the state and to tarnish the image of the ruling DMK's main political rival, the AIADMK. The dual strategy has brewed a potent political mixture.

INVESTIGATION 110

Joker in the Pack

There is another Kapoor straddling Indian cinema today. On screen he transmits an appealing warmth and displays an astonishing versatility. His name is Anil Kapoor and he is providing his directors the scoring hand. Like the joker in the pack, he makes for a winning combination.

CINEMA 202

CONTENTS

COMMENT 11
CAPITALOOK 14
INDIANOTES 19
VOICES 20
THE FORTNIGHT THAT WAS 23
SPECIAL REPORTS
Punjab: Encouraging Signals 28
Bihar: The Old Guard Returns 34
Gujarat:
Hanging in the Balance 38
Ram Jethmalani: Lone Ranger 46
CURRENT EVENTS
Assam: Striking a Separatist Stance 63
Uttar Pradesh: Hi-tech Blitz 59
Uttar Pradesh: Criminal Move 60
Bihar: Fiery Trap 66
Andhra Pradesh: Dissent Drama 71
Gujarat: Fatal Festivities 74
Tamil Nadu: Missed Mission 78
Madhya Pradesh: Settling In 80
Karnataka: Master Stroke 80
Bottomline: Running Riot 82
STATENOTES 86
SPECIAL FEATURES
Vaishno Devi:
Pilgrimage's Progress 88
Bhopal: A Long Haul Ahead 96
MEDIAWATCH 107
INVESTIGATION
Tamil Nadu: The Bottle Bomb 110
TRADE WINDS 119
BUSINESS
Budget: The Balancing Act 122
STC-MMTC: Facing Heavy Weather 129
Property Tax: Hits the Roof 134
The Yen: Paying the Price 139
Ophthalmic Industry:
A Change in Vision 140
The Markets: Budget Blues 146
THE ECONOMY MONITOR 151
NEIGHBOURS
Afghanistan: Stage of Siege 154
Pakistan: Religious Row 159
Pakistan: Miffed Minorities 160
COVER STORY
The Indian Male: Mid-Life Blues 162
GLOBE-TROTTING
The Satanic Verses: Diplomatic Tangle 173
United Kingdom: Honouring India 175
SPORTS
Horse Racing:
Breaking into a Canter 179
HEALTH
Iodine: Deadly Lack 182
CRIME
Bihar: Employment on Tap 186
THE ARTS
Theatre: Working Out 191
ARCHAEOLOGY
Sculpture: Damage of Diplomacy 192
BOOKS
Secular View 199
Weak Defence 200
CINEMA
Anil Kapoor: Joker in the Pack 202
EYE-CATCHERS 204

Cover illustration by MANJULA PADMANABHAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bold, sporty and fashionable. The statement of rich and refined Vimal suiting

VIMAL'S □ SUMMER □ STA

[A] Hip length jacket with thick zippers. Ribbed collar and ribbed cuffs. 2 cross pockets. Baggy trousers with 7 loops around the waist. Deep pleated front. Cross pockets. [B] Double breasted box shaped coat without slits. Heavily padded shoulders and pleated lapels. Straight flaps over pockets. Baggy turn-up trousers. Double pleated with 7 loops. Waist band of 1¼ inches. [C] The coat is double breasted with wide lapels. Straight flaps over pockets. Slitted back. Baggy trousers with deep pleated front. Seven loops and turn-up bottoms.

In 1839, Louis Daguerre invented the first practical photographic process. Later, photographers specialized in different forms of photography, including fashion. Since 1977, leading photographers like Pablo Bartholomew, Wilas Bhende,

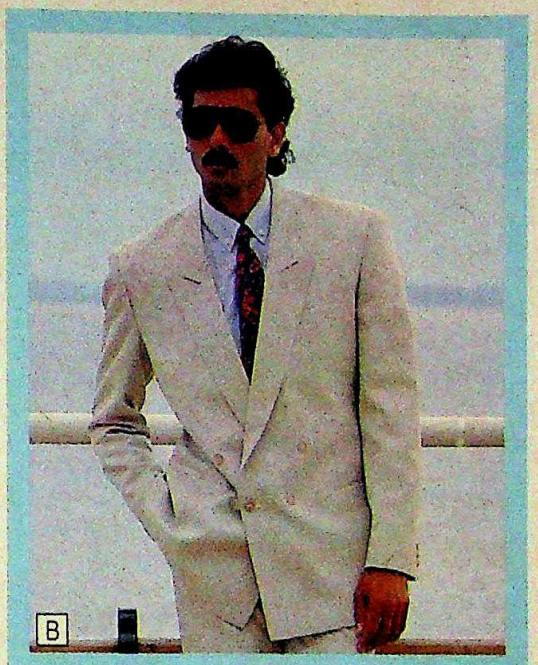
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

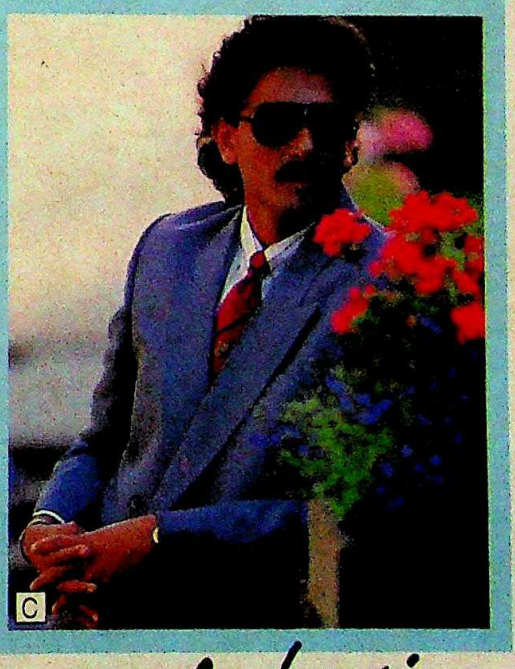
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mal suiting

he statement of Ravi Shastri.

A T E M E N T S





The looks of a winner

VIMAL
A RELIANCE PRODUCT

POLYRICH & WOOLLEN SUITINGS

MudraARIL-4533

in different
s Bhende

Suresh Cordo, Ritu Nanda, D. L. Oberoi, Denzil Sequeira, Suresh Sheth and Shantanu Sheorey have shot beautiful images for Vimal. Which helped create the Vimal image. ■ Vimal celebrates 150 eventful years of photography.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

60TH ANNIVERSARY

AKAI

For Sixty years, Akai has been creative at heart.
Following a culture of mental and emotional commitment to creativity. A commitment that has helped Akai to carve a niche of technological superiority. Helped to enhance the electronic marvels of our time – audio, video and T.V.

1989. And Akai's constant search continues. For ways to enrich the lives of people who put their trust in Akai.

THE WORLD'S LARGEST SELLING VCP

AKAI VS-P8, Mark III slow Motion recording

Sleek and compact. Unique Quick Start function. Slow Motion. Auto operation.

Special Carry-On Board the Aircraft Pack

AKAI VS-R8, Mark III

Also has Recording function

THE NEW GENERATION VIDEO

AKAI VS-27

With features no other VCR offers. Quick Start, Quick Index Search, Quick Intro Scan, Super Clear Slow Motion, Double Speed Playback, Electronic Child Lock System, 62 TV preset stations, Quick timer, Full function wireless remote with tracking control, 8-Programme 1 month Timer, Unique Tape View system, HQ System, Memory Back-up, Full Auto operation with built-in voltage stabilizer.

AKAI VS-53

Extra features include: a DX-4 Head System, 2-Speed 8-Hour recording, Auto Digital Tracking Control and 100 TV preset stations.

If it's Real Hi Fi It's got to be Akai

AKAI System M 552

A classic component unit. Tuner, amplifier, 5-band graphic equalizer and cassette deck. 680 Watts (PMPO). With the latest motorised Volume Control. Surround speakers feature the newly developed 'back load horn' designed for rich, powerful sound with well-defined bass.

P.M.P.O. 680 W

New Space Age Portable Sound

AKAI AJ-W238

Double Cassette Deck. Sequential and continuous play. High speed dubbing. Wrap around 2-way speaker system. 24 Watts (PMPO). 3-band Graphic Equalizer. 3-band Radio.

P.M.P.O. 24W

AKAI AJ-R218

European styling. Auto Reverse. 18 Watts (PMPO). 3-band Radio.

P.M.P.O. 18W

New AKAI DIGITAL TV

28"

DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY

For pure picture and sound quality. The new generation Flat and Square 28" screen. Stereo Sound. Three systems PAL-SECAM-NTSC. Picture-in-picture (Optional) Built-in Teletext decoder with 8-page memory.

Built-in Teletext decoder with 8-page memory

Available in the UAE only

FREE INTERNATIONAL WARRANTY

All Akai equipment carries a FREE Warranty for efficient service and replacement of spare parts at these Akai service centres in India :

BOMBAY - **Paras Electronics** Lamington Chambers, 394, Lamington Road, Opera House, Bombay 400 004. Tel: 386 978
MADRAS - **Paras Akai Service Centre**, 11/1A Leonard Street, Royapettah, Madras 600 014. Tel: 812 495
PUNE - **Paras Akai Service Centre** 890, Ravivar Peth, opp. R.C.M. Gujarati School, Pune 411 002. Tel: 439 084

AKAI

Why settle for the National Favourite when you can get the International Leader

Distributors:
DUBAI:
General Enterprises Co., P.O. Box 563, Dubai. Tel: 224131, 236678
KUWAIT:
Murad Yousuf Behbehani, P.O. Box 146, Safat-13002, Kuwait. Tel: 4844000
PAKISTAN:
Universal Enterprises Co., 31 Hotel Metropole Bldg., Merewether Road, Karachi-17. Tel: 511611
QATAR:
Ahmed Al-Othman & Bros., P.O. Box 218, Doha. Tel: 23507, 23508
SAUDI ARABIA:
Peninsular Distribution Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 7997, Jeddah 21472. Tel: 671-4484
STATE OF BAHRAIN:
Ambassador Store, P.O. Box 237, Manama. Tel: 253513
SULTANATE OF OMAN:
Suhail & Saud Bahwan, P.O. Box 169, Muscat. Tel: 793741, 793760

INCA/AK/267E

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA TODAY
THE COMPLETE NEWSMAGAZINE

VOLUME XIV NUMBER 6
FOR THE FORTNIGHT MARCH 16–31, 1989

EDITOR
AROON PURIE

EXECUTIVE EDITOR — INDERJIT BADHWAR
DEPUTY EDITOR — DILIP BOBB
SENIOR EDITOR — PRABHU CHAWLA
PICTURE EDITOR — RAGHU RAI
FEATURES EDITOR — SHEKHAR GUPTA
ASSOCIATE EDITOR — RAMINDAR SINGH
ASSISTANT EDITOR — P.G. MATHAI

CORRESPONDENTS
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT — RAJ CHENGAPPA
NEW DELHI — MADHU JAIN
PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA
SIMRAN BHARGAVA
DAVID DEVADAS
PANKAJ PACHAURI
SURAJEET DAS GUPTA
AHMEDABAD — UDAY MAHURKAR
BANGALORE — CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA
BHOPAL — N.K. SINGH
BOMBAY — M. RAHMAN
SALIL TRIPATHI
S.N. VASUKI
CALCUTTA — KAMALJEET RATTAN
CHANDIGARH — VIPUL MUDGAL
HYDERABAD — AMARNATH K. MENON
LUCKNOW — DILIP AWASTHI
PATNA — FARZAND AHMED
UTTAM SENGUPTA
SHILLONG — RAMESH MENON
TRIVANDRUM — SREEDHAR PILLAI
NEWS COORDINATOR — SANDHYA MULCHANDANI

ART EDITOR — SHIRLEY JOSHUA

CARTOONIST — AJIT NINAN MATHEW
CARTOGRAPHER — B.K. SHARMA
PRODUCTION IN-CHARGE — ANURADHA KAPOOR
LAYOUT ARTISTS — ANUP GUPTA
PEALI DUTTA GUPTA
PRABAL MANDAL
KAMINI SINGH

ASSISTANT PICTURE EDITOR — BHAWAN SINGH
PHOTOGRAPHERS — PRAMOD PUSHKARNA
PRASHANT PANJIAR
NAMAS BHOJANI
SHYAM TEKWANI

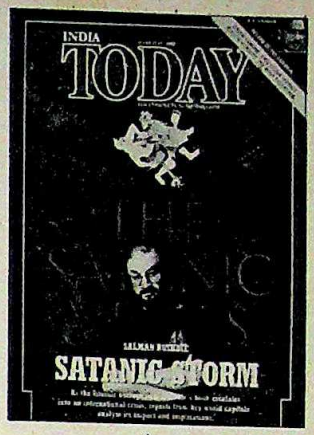
COPY DESK — SABA NAQVI BHAUMIK
NANDITA SARDANA
VIDHU KHANNA

MARKETING DIRECTOR — MOHINI BHULLAR

REGIONAL MANAGERS ADVERTISING
BOMBAY — NEENA MONGIA
NEW DELHI — NAGINDER RISHI
CALCUTTA — MEERA PAUL

ADVERTISING MANAGERS
MADRAS — R. ANAND
BANGALORE — S.J. NAIDU

• EDITORIAL OFFICE LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. F-14/15, CONNAUGHT PLACE NEW DELHI 110001. PHONE: 3315801-4. TELEX: 31-61345 INTO IN CABLE: LIVMEDIA, NEW DELHI • SUBSCRIPTIONS INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT, POST BOX 69, FARIDABAD HARYANA • TRADE CIRCULATION: INDIA TODAY CIRCULATION MANAGER, F-14 CONNAUGHT PLACE, MIDDLE CIRCLE, NEW DELHI. PHONE: 3313076-8. TELEX: 31-62634 INTO IN • ADVERTISING OFFICES: 28 A&B JOLLY MAKER CHAMBER II, NARIMAN POINT, BOMBAY-400021. PHONE: 2026152, 2029326, 2879215. TELEX: 11-5323 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BOMBAY • 67 CONNAUGHT CIRCUS, NEW DELHI-110001. PHONES: 3325378, 3325976, 3321323 AND 3321273. TELEX: 31-62124 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, NEW DELHI • FAGUN CHAMBERS, 26 COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ROAD, MADRAS-600105. PHONE: 477188, 479163. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, MADRAS • 24/1 ST. MARKS ROAD, BANGALORE-560001. PHONE: 568448, 579037, 579089. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BANGALORE • 12 CEVEREST 46C CHOWRINGEE ROAD, CALCUTTA-700016. PHONE: 443393, 447726. CABLE: LIVINMEDIA, CALCUTTA
• COPYRIGHT 1987 LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. REPRODUCTION IN ANY MANNER IS PROHIBITED. PUBLISHED BY AROON PURIE FOR LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. NEW DELHI AND PRINTED AT THOMSON PRESS INDIA LTD. FARIDABAD HARYANA • INDIA TODAY DOES NOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RETURNING UNSOLICITED PUBLICATION MATERIAL •



SENSATIONAL STORM

While condemning Ayatollah Khomeini's fanatic reaction to Salman Rushdie's book, *The Satanic Verses*, ("Satanic Storm", March 15) I cannot but denounce Rushdie's penchant for sensationalism. He is certainly not so naive as to be ignorant of the fierce streak of fanaticism in his own religion.

Meerut — P.N. BANERJI

■ One thing can be said about Khomeini. He needs an enemy. If there is none, he invents one.

Amritsar — KAMAL JIT SINGH AHLUWALIA

■ I agree with the British Government's insistence on freedom of expression and every kind of freedom in democracy. But I want to ask Britons whether they can endure the praise of Christ's executioners and applause of Hitler. If not, then how can Muslims tolerate blasphemy of Prophet Mohammed?

Lucknow — S. HASAN MEHDI

■ I have yet to come across a person who would have run amok after reading a work of literature or a novel. It is people like Syed Shahabuddin who want to gain political mileage and people like Ayatollah Khomeini and Imam Bukhari who claim to be custodians of religion who are responsible for the current state of the Rushdie affair.

New Delhi — ANIL SATWIK

■ The role of Britain in the controversy is, to say the least, deplorable. If British blasphemy laws provide for punishment for offending Christian sensibilities, then Margaret Thatcher's refusal to ban the book is nothing but double talk and hypocrisy.

Raipur — SYED ZAFAR AHMAD

■ Rushdie's seems to be an agonised cry of a genuine intellectual against the oppressive bondage of religious dogmas. In some ways Rushdie's flight bears comparison with Prophet Mohammed's flight from Mecca.

Bangalore — G.I. D'SOUZA

ADVANTAGE CONGRESS(I)

The cover story ("Touch and Go", February 28) clearly shows that the Congress(I) will form the Government at the Centre. It also proves that the Opposition has no credibility.

Bangalore — VIJAYA MOORTHY

■ Since MARG interviewed only registered voters, obviously the 10,929 people who were interviewed must not have included the 18-21 age group. From this group 48 million will be enfranchised by the next elections. The voting pattern will be different and Prannoy Roy's predictions will go astray.

Pune — M.N. BHIDE

■ What a choice between a bunch of sycophants and another bunch of opportunists! After a long spell of centrist liberalism, one is forced, in despair, to choose between the BJP and the CPI(M)—the only parties with some discipline.

Bombay — MICHI SETHI

■ All this talk of comparison—Rajiv vs V.P. Singh—is nonsense. As a scion of the Nehru family, Rajiv has the largest following in India. He has more exposure having been at the helm since 1985.

Bhopal — PARAS BIST

PERSONAL GAIN

Your comment on the role of dissidents ("Dissidence Without Cause", February 28) is true. Politicians are interested not in public service but in private emolument.

Madras — DR K.V. RAJAGOPALAN

■ The difference between the Nehru era, Mrs Gandhi's time and today's dissidence shows that we are devoid of true leaders. It is our bad luck that leaders are becoming *kursi* oriented.

Surat — KANTILAL K. SALI

ENFANT TERRIBLE

Instead of trying to clean the stables ("The Headline Hunter", February 28) Dr Subramaniam Swamy should come out of them and take up some university assignment for which he is more suited.

Bangalore — V. KRISHNAN

■ Is Swamy really a dhoti-clad Quixote? He appears to resemble Don

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Quixote's horse Rosinante more than Quixote. He is winning few friends and gaining little influence—except maybe with the news editors of Doordarshan.
Talegaon, Maharashtra — B. MANOHARAN

SPREADING CHIP VIRUS

We were doing a computer project for our examinations when we found all our floppies relabelled 'C-Brain' ("Sick Machines", February 28). At that time we had no idea this dreaded disease existed. Now it seems to have come here.
Chandigarh — AMIT & SHIVJIT

INEFFICIENT ARMY

"Heading for a Crisis" (February 28) poses some very hard and serious questions. Since the Government is keen on reducing defence expenditure there will be no harm in making the forces pay for themselves. India should, therefore, not hesitate to hawk its wares.
New Delhi — S.V. JASWAL

■ It is heartening to note that the country is at last seriously considering a policy which allows Indians to operate in the big bad world of arms markets.
Delhi — NINAD SHETH

■ Every big plan of the Government proves to be a white elephant. I hope it does not play a merry-go-round with the defence sector. Before asking South Block to tighten its belt, North Block should tighten its tie-knot.
Guwahati — MRINAL TALUKDAR

■ Exporting arms is no solution. If this becomes a policy the image of Nehru, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv as promoters of peace will become tarnished.
Bangalore — HEMACHANDRA BASAPPA

POLES APART

Cheers to Colonel J.K. Bajaj for hoisting the tricolour at the South Pole (Eyecatchers, February 28). But incidentally the latitude of the South Pole is 90° and not 0° as published.
Dehradun — SHAILESH DOBHAL

LEADERSHIP CRISIS

Dilip Bobb is right when he says that our country is passing through a crisis not because of poverty or overpopulation but due to a paucity of leadership (The Fortnight that was, February 15). There is no dynamic leader in the Opposition or in the ruling Congress(I).
Bombay — A.N. VEERARAGHAVAN

HI-TECH HYPE

So many things happened at the inaugural of the French Festival in Bombay ("Finesse and Fantasy", February 28) that it was hard to concentrate on one thing.
Dombivli — SANJAY S. SHANBAG

TASTELESS ACT

I was appalled to read about the forming of the gay activist groups in the US that flaunt their Indian origin ("Out of the Closet", February 28). Making a public spectacle of one's sexual preferences represents barbaric and uncivilised behaviour. It escapes me why homosexuals have to attract attention to their sexual preferences.
Lucknow — RAVI SINGH

UNKIND CUT

By keeping Mohinder Amarnath out of the Indian team ("Blows Before the Battle", February 28), people like Raj Singh Dungarpur have proved that their parochialism, narrow-mindedness and false ego are more important than the national interest. They are responsible for the downfall of Indian sports.
New Delhi — TISH MALHOTRA

DROP IN QUALITY

Though N. Chandra has made three hits in a row ("Mean Street Moghul", February 28) the quality of his films has been deteriorating. He calls Amitabh-starrers unrealistic but his *Tezaab* too is quite unrealistic as the hero bashes up dozens of goons. He should set his own house right before commenting on *Zanjeer* and Manmohan Desai.
New Delhi — SANTANU RAY CHAUDHURI

ACE PLAYER

Zeeshan has emerged as a player of class ("Advantage Zeeshan", February 28) when Indian tennis was crying for fresh talent. As the era of the veterans—Amritraj brothers—is going to end soon, we need a player who can help Ramesh Krishnan.
Ranchi — KAMLESH PRASAD

FOREIGN FRACAS

"A Dream Turned Sour" (February 15) reinforces the fact that our macho men want to have the best of both worlds—the foreign money and an Indian 'Savitri'.
Bombay — REENA AGRAWAL

■ The piece was viewed with interest by Indian graduate students here. It is lack of vision that causes such disasters. Westerners see Indians as deep thinkers, yet when it comes to marriages we reek of shallowness.
Houston, US — CHAITANYA NAGAPPA

MAN-MADE INFERNO

As a man who has lost a daughter in the fire at Premier Studio, Mysore ("A Gory Mishap", February 28) I must say it could have been avoided if precautions were taken. The judicial investigation ordered by the state Government is a welcome step. As a long-term measure, legislation by the Centre is necessary.
Bombay — MUKUND R. BHATT

BIASED VIEW

The special report on politics in Bihar ("Carriers of Discord", February 28) was biased. The backbiting, leg-pulling and horse-trading that Azad has suffered is simply outrageous. His administrative and educational reforms went against the mafia dons and thus he is unacceptable to the legislators.
Tilaiya, Bihar — ASEEM K. JHA

TRAVAILS OF TRIBALS

The demand for a Jharkhand state ("A New Militancy", February 28) is the result of cumulative grievances of the tribals. After 41 years of Independence, tribal areas still stand neglected and tribals have been rendered destitute in their own areas.
Patna — YAMINI SAHAY

GOVERNMENT APATHY

"A Paralysed Administration" (February 28) is a superb study of the inactivity of the J&K administration. Inability to deal with crises is the greatest crime a government can commit.
Ghaziabad — J.M. JAIN

■ Communalism is not sparing any part of India. Whenever the security forces show any weakness, enemies of the country take advantage.
Allahabad — AQUEEL AHMED SIDDIQUE

PIONEERING EFFORTS

Your report on fostering ecological awareness ("Discovering Nature", February 28) is encouraging for advocates of social forestry. Gujarat has indeed been a pioneer in this field.
Bhopal — SHIVENDU K. SHRIVASTAVA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FOR INFORMATION PURPOSES ONLY

Tru-Life Vision
The Ultimate Experience

Multi-System TVs for world-wide enjoyment and superior VCRs with advanced picture and sound quality.

Super Multi-System TVs and VCRs

Sharp's Super Multi-System TVs give you access to a world of viewing options. A Sharp television equipped with Super Multi-System can receive broadcasts from the world's major broadcast systems, including PAL B/G. Super Multi-System TVs have unlimited viewing possibilities when coupled with multi-system VCRs and video disc players.

DV-2650SPN
11-System 66 cms (26") Colour TV

- 66 cms (26") "Linytron Plus" Picture Tube for brighter image without washout.
- 32-Function Infra-red Remote Control
- New On-Screen Digital Display
- Stereo Sound Capability with 10 W of dynamic hi-fi sound
- Audio/Video Input/Output Terminals and RF Games Terminal for wide system expansion.

VC-790E
Double Azimuth – 4-Head Super Multi-System VCR

• PAL-B/G, PAL-I, PAL-D/K, MESECAM, SECAM-B/G, SECAM-D/K, NTSC-4.43, NTSC-3.58 System compatibility (French SECAM playback capability) • APLD (Automatic Programme Locate Device) – Sharp Super Search • Double Azimuth 4-head system for 8-hour recording/playback capability and Special Effect Playback. • Full Auto Playback function. • 365-day/8 Programme Timer. • Auto Voltage.

We've got the edge.

SHARP

SHARP CORPORATION, JAPAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Louis Philippe introduces the signed shirt. The international designer shirt with classic lines. Understated elegance. Computer-controlled cutting. And advanced sewing technology. A shirt that makes a statement as individual as your signature. And is worthy of being signed . Louis Philippe only after fifty intricate operations.

the making of the signed shirt

Experience the comfort of French seaming that prevents chafing underarm. The twin-needled sewing is so neat you can almost wear your shirt inside out. Observe the hidden advantages of the fused two-piece collar, cut to fit the neck perfectly. Comfortably. Mark the cuffs that don't puff in the wash. Check out the disciplined perfection of buttoned-down sleeve guards that prevent the sleeves from gaping open. Admire the double-layered yoke that accents masculine shoulders. Note that every part — collar, yoke, button panel, sleeve guards and pockets is perfectly matched with the design of the fabric. Because nothing should interrupt the flawless line of the perfect shirt.

Louis Philippe
SIGNED DESIGNERWEAR

Signed so only you can tell
Designed so the world can tell...
It's a Louis Philippe

Also from the makers of Louis Philippe
The *Elysée* collection of shirts and trousers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Louis Philippe a designer label of
The British Van Heusen Co. Ltd.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Swissair too is delighted to announce 3 flights a week to Hong Kong.

The glee you see depicted here is hardly a hyperbole. Everything about our weekly Bombay-Hong Kong schedule is worth a smile or two. Such as three conveniently timed departures, two by non-stop 747s. The happy option of choosing our luxurious First, comfortable Business or pleasantly priced Economy Class. And, for shoppers and sightseers, the added benefit of flying on our excursion fare. No matter what you choose, the service you'll enjoy on board is sure to prove a delight in itself.

swissair

For details call your IATA travel agent or the nearest Swissair office.
AHMEDABAD 449149 • BANGALORE 571983 • BOMBAY 2872210 • CALCUTTA 444643 • COCHIN 360380 • DELHI 3325511 • HYDERABAD 224244 • KATHMANDU 222452 • MADRAS 861583

CC-0. Swissair Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

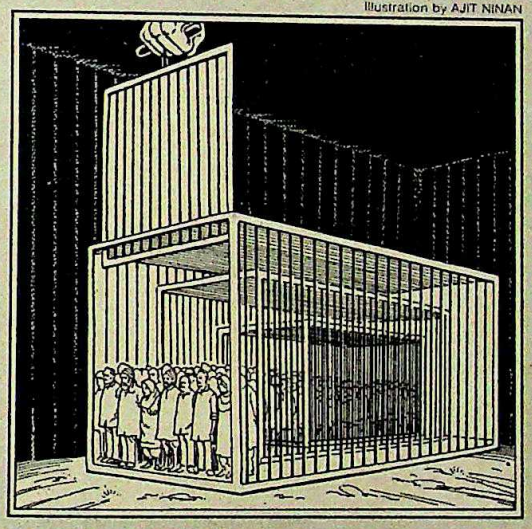
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A Positive Step

THE Punjab package announced by Rajiv Gandhi during his motion of thanks on the President's address in Parliament is still far from resembling a new policy. And several critics of the prime minister have dismissed it as yet another example of old wine in new bottles: first, tough talk including the denunciation of those who differ with the official line in Punjab as unpatriotic; then, the release of some suspects detained under various security laws; promises of measures to boost the state's economy; dangling prospects of the restoration of some kind of democratic functioning. And then, back to the police option and bullet-for-bullet approach.

Moreover all the familiar Punjab initiatives, so far, have smacked of too little, too late. And for this reason they have lacked credibility. The Government had repeatedly stated, for example, that those charged with waging war against the state would never be released. Then Harchand Singh Longowal and Gurcharan Singh Tohra were released and Rajiv signed an accord with Longowal that remains unimplemented. Rajiv's Government had also promised its undying support to Surjit Singh Barnala but he too was discarded quicker than a grape-pit just before the Haryana elections. Then Jasbir Singh Rode, charged with waging war against the state, was released and the Government backed him to the hilt against Darshan Singh Ragi. In the end, nothing, it seemed, came of nothing.

Illustration by AJIT NINAN



So it is not without reason that the sceptics look askance at the latest liberal measures such as the release of the remaining Jodhpur detenus. There is, however, one significant departure. In the past, as one initiative after another came to grief and as the killings mounted—as they continue to do—Punjab's security forces gained powers unparalleled in the country. There was none to question them. The civilian administration stood virtually dismantled. And for the last two years police excesses so vitiated the atmosphere in Punjab that ordinary villagers found themselves at the mercy of terrorists and killers by night and police extortionists during the day. If a policeman didn't like your face, the saying went in Punjab, he could lock you up for two years and throw away the keys.

In this atmosphere, the mass contact programmes aimed at winning over the silent majority, undertaken by the ruling party and later by Governor Siddhartha Shankar Ray were an abysmal failure. Punjab was adrift and its people had lost even rights such as a well-oiled mechanism for the redressal of grievances. Many in the police and administration had developed a vested interest in the terrorist scenario, profiting from extortion or by being in league with killers and smugglers. This was grudgingly recognised not only by Ray and Advisor Julio Francis Ribeiro but also by Rajiv who openly stated that both corruption and killings had gone up.

Though the new package is belated, containing elements of the old and familiar, and is not meant to be a political solution, it is nonetheless a wholly welcome measure designed to develop and restore people's confidence in the civilian and police leadership in the state without abandoning the rule of law and the democratic process. For the first time, for example, the Punjab Government has been asked to withdraw all cases launched for "objectionable speeches and objectionable writings" under whose sweeping authority writers and activists could be thrown into the clink for expressing an opinion disagreeable to any petty official. And restrictions on foreigners visiting Punjab, restrictions that did more damage than good to India's credibility and image, have also mercifully been lifted.

The withdrawal of National Security Act (NSA) cases against the Jodhpur detenus, the virtual withdrawal of the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act and the specially amended NSA—which gave sweeping powers to the police for arrests and detentions—are a recognition of the folly of arming the Government with special additional powers when there are already statutes on the books under which killers and terrorists can be held and tried. In taking these measures—as well as announcing the panchayat elections for June—Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has opposed the advice of his usual advisers and relied, for the first time, on the independent counsel of special teams despatched to the troubled state to sum up the situation.

Among the reports he received was that the bulk of cases being registered as terrorist crimes were ordinary offences or personal feuds. People were being locked up for these without thorough investigations. Normalisation is hardly possible in such an atmosphere. In curbing the sweeping powers which were being misused by the police, the Government has finally resucitated the moribund civil service which will now monitor all cases to ensure that they are followed up and properly registered.

More needs to be done. While the establishment of village defence committees, consisting of former armed forces and security forces men, is a sound idea, prominent citizens should also be involved in government committees at the district and village levels to hear citizens' grievances and act on them. No doubt, Rajiv is testing the waters. If the response is favourable and the panchayat elections are held peacefully, there will be no reason why all political prisoners like Prakash Singh Badal, G.S. Tohra, and Simranjit Singh Mann should not be released and the 59th Amendment, depriving Punjab's people of their fundamental right to life and liberty, rescinded.

For the best way to fight lawlessness—with popular support—is with the law and within the law.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"As a leader in business, I am here to set an example...
I am very careful, very selective... about my official dealings, my reputation.
Even my associates.
Naturally, when it comes to general insurance I prefer the leader as well.
New India, of course."

Leaders have a habit of gravitating towards leaders. That's why New India is the Company of choice for most.

A philosophy of having to meet the customer's need, no matter how small, is what has made New India excel. In every dimension.

With a national and international presence, representating the largest network of over 1000 offices, the Company has a Rs. 575 crore premium base. That's a Rs. 75 crore increase over 1987.

Amongst its Clientele are the largest, most successful business houses... as well as people from all walks of life, every section of society — both urban and rural. Its because New India has innovated many insurance covers, in its quest for providing complete customer service. Whether its insurance against cancer, failed well, a boiler burst... or loss of profits. Over 75 different covers.

What's more, New India takes the greatest pains to train a dedicating team of over 4000 inspectors, marketing staff and 18000 trained employees.

So that they fully understand the Clients' business. And are capable of designing the precise insurance package to cover the risk.

Whether its hydrology or horticulture, a satellite or a sewing machine.

To retain leadership, New India has diversified as has its Clients. With faster, more comprehensive service... a boldness and innovative spirit, truly worth a leader.

You name the risk. We insure it.

NEW INDIA ASSURANCE

A subsidiary of the General Insurance Corpn. of India

The New India range of assurance covers:
Industrial: Business Interruption, Loss of Profit, Third Party Liability, Public Liability, Machinery, Boiler and Pressure Plant, Workmen's Compensation, Contractors' All Risks, Marine-cum-Erection, Money in Transit, Product Liability. **Commercial:** Fidelity Guarantee, Marine, Combined Fire and Theft, Professional Indemnity. **Personal:** Mediclaim, Unborn Child, Personal Accident, Householders' Policy. **Rural:** Livestock, Agricultural Pumpset, Janata Personal Accident, Gramin Personal Accident. And many more...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mollifying Media

● For the last two years, relations between the Government and the independent media have been largely antagonistic. Rajiv Gandhi's aides have tended to take an arrogant, don't-give-a-damn approach that blamed the media for most of the Government's embarrassments and

made the relationship an unpleasant one. Of late, however, there has been a dramatic change. Perhaps with the elections in mind, senior bureaucrats and Rajiv's aides have suddenly become more accessible and open than they have ever been in the past. Key officials have made a deliberate effort to make themselves available to the media on important issues to put across the Government's point of view. The Carbide case, the budget and the Punjab initiatives are prime examples—senior bureaucrats have been briefing selected journalists on the Government's stand, supported by facts and files. The off-the-record briefings are unusually candid and forthright. Though Rajiv himself remains inaccessible, a deliberate attempt is obviously being made to see that the Government gets across its point of view on issues where it is vulnerable, a pleasant change from the days when journalists, in the memorable words of one prime ministerial aide, were disdainfully dismissed as "drain inspectors".

Spirited Envoy

● If our honourable emissaries to foreign lands must drink, then perhaps they ought not drive. In Europe there is an Indian ambassador who has been creating a minor diplomatic crisis by ignoring such aphorisms.

When the country's police first zeroed in on the drunken envoy's big Mercedes, the emissary with diplomatic elan waved his credentials and demanded to know the names of the trespassing officers. But not being cast in the same mould as Indian policemen, the law enforcers stood their ground, and waited for their chief officer to put in an appearance. With diplomatic immunity protecting the offender, all that the chief officer could do was drive the tippled envoy and his family home.

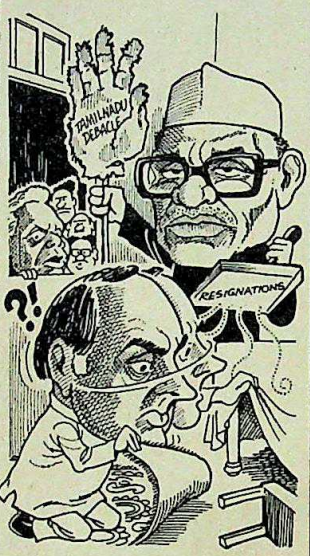
While the Ministry of External Affairs insists the media

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN

reports of these incidents are 'motivated', the police there are ensuring that none of its citizenry suffers under diplomacy's wheels. While the authorities contemplate lodging a complaint against the ambassador, the police are keeping a beady eye on drunken emissaries.

Confusion Reigns

● Even two months after the event, the ruling party can't decide whom it should blame for its humiliating defeat in the Tamil Nadu assembly elections—the local party or the prime minister's fading charisma. At a press conference in Madras the then AICC general secretary Jagannath



Pahadia had announced that all the party's office-bearers had resigned accepting moral responsibility for the defeat.

But the truth is that none of the 20-odd office-bearers ever handed in their resignations. A resolution to that effect was indeed moved by one of the PCC general secretaries, but it was not taken up. Moopanar was determined to accept moral responsibility and resign in order to bail out the prime minister but his close advisers were against the move. For in the absence of a PCC chief friendly to them, they or their nominees would not be able to get parliamentary tickets. Now when the prime minister has decided to revamp the party's organisation in various states, he is unable to accept the non-existent resignations. And in the midst of the confusion, the TNCC office at Mount Road continues to wear a deserted look because none of the anti-Moopanar office-bearers is attending the office.

Jaunt Jealousy

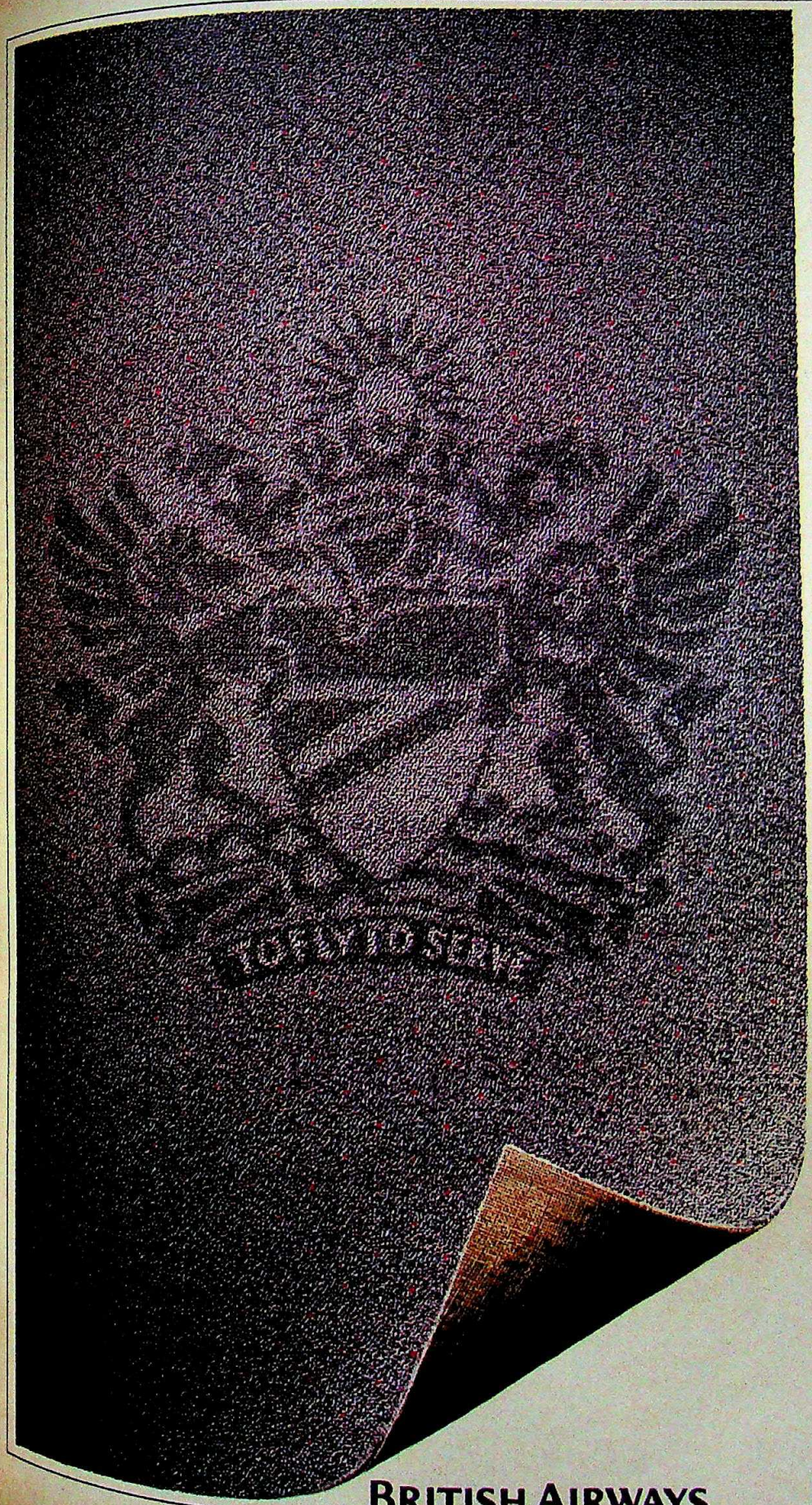
● The post of secretary in the Civil Aviation Ministry is among the more glamorous positions that senior bureaucrats aspire to. The reason: the incumbent gets a chance to make frequent forays abroad. But these trips create jealousies among the not-so-privileged bureaucrats as Civil Aviation and Tourism Secretary S.K. Misra has been discovering. To neutralise criticism about his foreign jaunts, Mishra has taken the unusual step of circulating a note which sets out in detail how the country has benefited from the bilateral aviation agreements he has negotiated with various countries.

The essence of Misra's self-congratulatory note is that he has allowed many foreign airlines to increase the number of their flights to India, but forced them to compensate Air-India for every passenger flown to India. As a result, he claims, KLM will pay Air-India over Rs 30 crore every year, Air Canada Rs 10.7 crore, and

Austrian Airlines Rs 2 crore. Misra has also claimed that because of his efforts Air-India, without really doing anything, will be making substantial earnings by way of royalties, compensation and shares from traffic pooling arrangements. Wonder what Rajan Jetley has to say to that?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



ON MARCH 1, BRITISH AIRWAYS RELAUNCHED FIRST CLASS.

IN 12 WEEKS, WE CHANGE THE CARPET AGAIN.

And we change it again every twelve weeks thereafter.

Not that it isn't superb wool carpet. It's simply that we understand and respect the needs and expectations of you, our First Class passenger.

So we have designed our new service totally around your comforts, in every detail, in every area, on the ground as well as in the air.

Now, wouldn't it be a shame to spoil all that with a carpet that's thirteen weeks old?

FIRST *class*

BRITISH AIRWAYS
The worlds favourite airline.

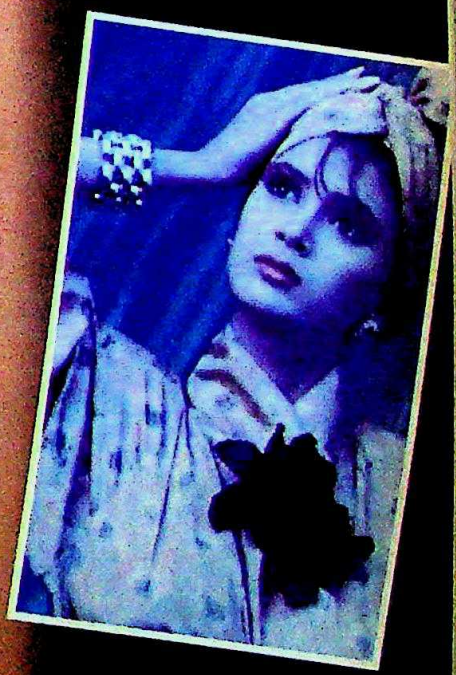
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In 1839, Louis Daguerre invented the first practical photographic process. Later, photographers specialized in different forms of photography, including fashion. ■ Since 1977, leading photographers like Pablo Bartholomew, Wilas Bhende,

CC-0. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection, Haridwar.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The Superlatives

VIMAL
A RELIANCE PRODUCT

Dress Material

Suresh Cordo, Ritu Nanda, D. L. Oberoi, Denzil Sequeira, Suresh Sheth and Shantanu Sheorey have shot beautiful images for Vimal. Which helped create the Vimal image.

Vimal celebrates 150 eventful years of photography.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Orange ☐ Pineapple ☐ Lime ☐ Shahi Gulab ☐ Kala Khatta ☐ Kool Khus ☐ Kesar Elaichi ☐ Masala Soda (Jal Jeera) ☐ Tooti Fruiti ☐ Mango Ripe ☐ Grape Glory

Refreshing Rasna

11 lovable flavours at a lovable price.

Free! Gift inside every pack!
(Puzzles, paper games, stickers, labels, and novelties like erasers, hair clips etc. etc.)

11 delicious flavours

32 delicious glasses from every pack!

New Rasna Spiderman pack!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN

THE MALE FRONT

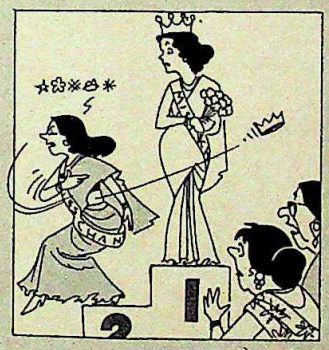
■ One wouldn't expect an assistant commissioner of police to harbour a terrorist in his own house let alone marry one. Alas, that's what R.P. Chugh has had to do for long. But now he has put his foot down—or maybe into his mouth. Fed up of being a harassed, hen-pecked husband, Chugh has decided to liberate himself from the "tyrannies of head-strong, dominating wives". Immediately after retirement, Chugh with a group of like-binded husbands set up a beach-head of Men's Lib called the Maharashtra State Committee of Crime against Men Front. The courageous crusaders intend to take the battle into the enemy camp by formulating a joint strategy to tackle dominating wives. And bring them down a peg or two. The press note issued by the Front says that hundreds of people are joining the movement against the "anti-men, biased, women laws in Maharashtra state". They could start a revolution—if their wives will let them.

GARMENT GAROTTE

■ The capital's university specials, the shuttle bus service from the city to the university campus, are usually crowded with fashionably-dressed females and lecherous-looking eve-teasers. The eve-teasers remain but the females have had a change of sartorial heart. A large number of them now wear the traditional salwar-kameez with demure *chunnis* draped over their shoulders. The reason is not that ethnicity is back in fashion—it's a weapon against eve-teasing. At least part of it. The Crime Against Women Cell of the Delhi Police has hit upon an ingenious idea—teaching college girls how to use the humble *chunni* as a devastating weapon against eve-teasers on crowded buses. With one deft move, a well-trained girl can flip the garment around the necks of roadway Romeos like a garotte. And perhaps casually toss him over her shoulder. The training has already been imparted to girls of one college in Delhi. It could catch on.

CROWNING SHAME

■ It was a story of Beauty and the Beastly. A Chandigarh women's organisation called Memsahib, set up to teach Emily Post to local debutantes lacking in proper etiquette, decided to organise a Miss Chandigarh contest. Some of the loveliest lasses in the city showed up to grace the occasion and indulge in some healthy competition for the crown. Everything went swimmingly and a general good time was had by all. Until, that is, the judges announced the winner. One competitor, who obviously had not attended the Memsahib classes on etiquette, was clearly not the type to play second fiddle. With a haughty look at the judges and the winner, she imperiously tossed off her runner's up crown and stomped off the stage. To the acute embarrassment of the judges—who had to nervously elevate someone in her place—and the organisers, who pride themselves on teaching girls good manners. Well, you can't win them all.



ANIMAL FARM

■ Cabinet ministers, as is to be expected in a democracy, come from varied backgrounds. And, befitting the country's agricultural emphasis, many have rustic roots. Ministerial perks tempt some to adopt urban ways but others cannot forget village life. One such minister has created a farmyard in his house in the capital—with cattle, goats, snakes and crocodiles brought along to sample city life.

But city life has its drawbacks—television, for instance. The minister was attracted by the Chawanaprash advertisement on the box. The fall-out: the Health Ministry has been saddled with a request for a large quantity of the stuff for the minister's cows. A kilogram costs nearly Rs 100, but the ministry, not to be cowed down, is "still considering the matter". After all, it wouldn't like to set an unhealthy precedent.

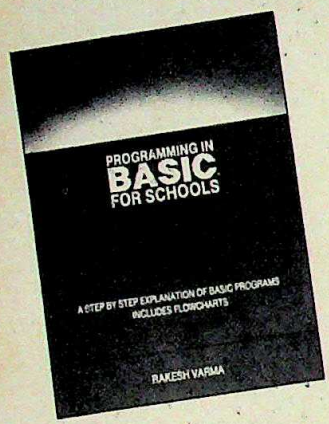
KNOTTY KID

■ A marriage function in a village near Cuttack in Orissa, was the scene of frantic activity. The auspicious time approached but there was no sign of the bride. Just in the nick of time she was ushered in. But the ceremony had barely started when the bride pleaded she be taken away: she complained she was too ill to carry on. She was, however, asked to hold on at least till the knot was tied. No sooner was the marriage solemnised that she started screaming in pain and relatives and guests were quickly ushered out. The reason became apparent soon enough: the bride had become a mother, and the bridegroom was left holding the baby—minutes after being married. But there was no shock, no cries of treachery. The villagers knew about the couple's intimacy but even they did not imagine that the *mandap* would become a maternity ward.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GIFT COMPUTER LITERACY TO A YOUNGSTER.



Rakesh Varma's 'Programming in BASIC for Schools' is a book that has emerged from years of experience in imparting practical, hands-on BASIC programming skills to children.

Why not gift it to a young friend. And see him or her start the next session, ahead of peers in the all-important discipline of computers.

Please mail a copy of 'Programming in BASIC for Schools' to :
Name _____
Address _____
_____
My name _____
☐ My cheque/D.D for Rs. 35/- in favour of Living Media India Ltd.is enclosed.
☐ I'll pay the postman Rs. 35/- on delivery.
Mail coupon to :

LM BOOKS
Living Media India Ltd.
316, Competent House,
F-14, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001.

The Times of India

● *I would like to reiterate that we (the Government) feel terrorist crimes in Punjab are sensitive matters and we know why the opposition member (Madhu Dandavate) is saying such things. We know who his close friends are. They speak for Khalistan.* ■ RAJIV GANDHI in the Lok Sabha, on February 27

● *In the whole world, there is a process of defreezing taking place...India and Pakistan must observe the trend and decide whether they want to be part of a world-wide trend or whether they want to buck the trend.*
■ BENAZIR BHUTTO in *Sunday*

● *The prime minister now wants the world to believe that it is the new-born National Front which is the root cause of all our troubles.*
■ V.P. SINGH, in *The Times of India.*

● *Bapuji had promised us two square meals a day. I wrote to Indiraji asking if we could at least have one.*
■ LAXMAN GAIKWAD, tribal writer from Maharashtra, honoured by the Sahitya Akademi

● *If we (the MNF) ever take up arms again, it will be for the defence of India.*
■ LALDENGA at a press conference

● *Life is cheap in India. That, at last, was the foundation of Union Carbide's legal strategy.* ■ Comment in *The Washington Post*

● *I always knew loyalty would ultimately pay.*
■ R.K. DHAWAN in *Sunday Mail*

● *(If I am found guilty I am ready for) retirement from public life, in addition to whatever punishment is prescribed under law. And I can even go to the extent of saying that I may be hanged.* ■ RAMAKRISHNA HEGDE in *Newstrack*

● *It is a pity that my career had to end this way.* ■ ANAND AMRITRAJ, after being dropped from the Davis Cup team, in *Sportsworld*

● *I do not know Rushdie or his work but I think I can understand why it should have been considered provocative.* ■ V.S.NAIPAUL in *The Sunday Observer*

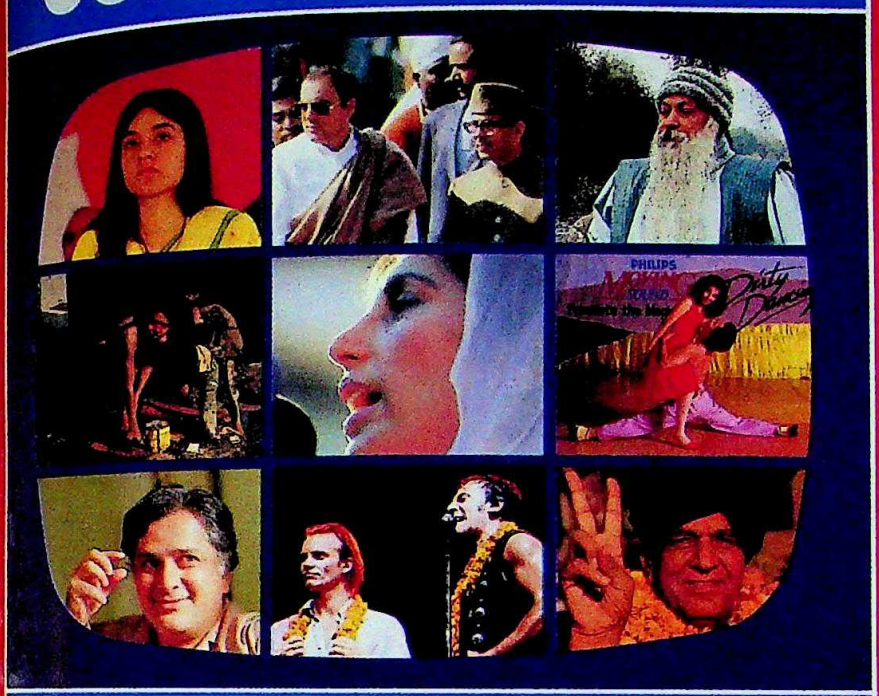
● *I want to be known as Madhuri the first, not Madhubala the second. I hope I'm going to be around for ek, do, teen...gyara saal.*
■ MADHURI DIXIT in *Bombay*

● *When I am at home and not shooting, I shut my bedroom door and dance with my wife.* ■ GOVINDA in the new film magazine *S*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GO NEWSTRACKING



BECAUSE SEEING IS BELIEVING

INDIA TODAY
Presents
NEWSTRACK
The newsmagazine to watch

ng

producing
assive and
twined as
ed to drag

njab. The
of them,
may have
n.
nove. But
that Rajiv
y all these
cepticism,

now must
sh of the
olised his
gets were
g-required
allow it to
est 'Robin
the elec-
surface, a

hen Rajiv
upport on
oblem, he
even more
with Ram
hem anti-
happened
re Opposi-
ech for the
's history.
he Punjab
tive move,
nent is an
adesh, his
eness, the
selected a
sion.
e minister
cism of the
n Express

endemic
aged, the

The very fact that Rajiv Gandhi's Government has displayed the lack of a coherent Punjab policy all these months means that his latest initiative must necessarily be subjected to scepticism.

political process in Punjab has been reborn. But instead of concentrating on unity, the Akali leaders dismiss Barnala's former finance minister, Balwant Singh, from the party, thereby inviting instability in their ranks.

In Tamil Nadu, the newly-formed DMK Government faces its first major embarrassment when one of its MPs, V. Gopalasamy, sneaks into Sri Lanka, unmindful of the fact that he is illegally entering a foreign country. We are also witness to the ridiculous sight of two of the Opposition's most prominent—and intelligent—members locked in incongruous combat. Ramakrishna Hegde may have every justification for suing Subramaniam Swamy in his Rs 2 crore defamation case, but it hardly elicits confidence in the Opposition's ability to stay together.

Hegde may have every justification for suing Subramaniam Swamy in his Rs 2 crore defamation case, but it hardly elicits confidence in the Opposition's ability to stay together.

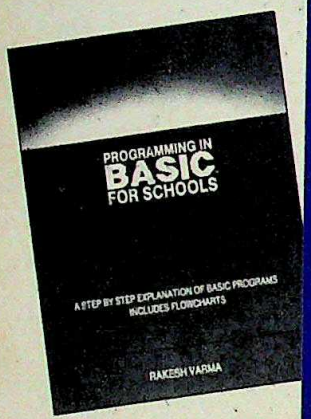
Ultimately, however, Hegde and Swamy are appropriate symbols of the crisis of Indian politics—the Yin and the Yang. The real crisis is that it is becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate between the two.

—DILIP BOBB

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GIFT COMPUTER LITERACY TO A YOUNGSTER



Rakesh Varma's 'Programming in BASIC for Schools' is a book that has emerged from years of experience in imparting practical, hands-on BASIC programming ski to children.

Why not gift it to a young friend. And see him or her start the next session, ahead of peers in the all-important discipline of computer

Please mail a copy of 'Programming in BASIC for Schools' to :

Name _____

Address _____

_____

My name _____

☐ My cheque/D.D for Rs. 35/- in favour of Living Media India Ltd.is enclosed.

☐ I'll pay the postman Rs. 35/- on delivery.

Mail coupon to :

LM BOOKS

Living Media India Ltd.

316, Competent House,
F-14, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001.

INTERFACE 6440

GO NEWSTRACKING THROUGH MARCH

Newstrack the country's first news-magazine on video cassette, spells 90 minutes of excitement from the moment you press the 'play' button

Never before features that cover people, places, events, ideas, issues and trends come alive and reveal details like no other medium has done before. Taking you behind the news and the newsmakers for a fresh insight every month.

No wonder Newstracking is already a popular habit.

Build your own library of *Newstrack* to get a complete picture of the important issues facing the country, any time you want. Your personal library will captivate friends, neighbours and relatives with a video experience-too good for words.

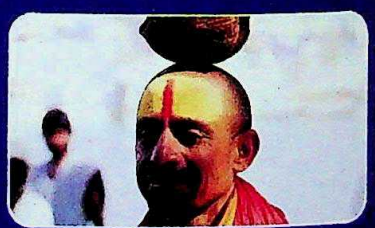
The March cassette is now available. You have to see it, to believe it.

Bihar: The Congress party walks a shaky tightrope as militancy of dissidents increases. Can the High Command end the dissidence?

Swamy: Hegde and other opposition stalwarts retaliate to Swamy's escalating tirade. Who is the winner?

Musicians: A look into the appalling living and working conditions of award winning craftsmen and performing artists. Does anyone care about these "ambassadors of Indian culture"?

Sanjay Khan: A flashfire burns Sanjay Khan's dream project - 'The Sword of Tipu Sultan'. Who was responsible?



Kumbh: The magic of the awesome congregation at the Maha Kumbh. Rare glimpses of Naga Sadhus.

Available on subscription. See attached card for special offers.

- *It is a pity that my career had to end this way.* ■ ANAND AMRITRAJ, after being dropped from the Davis Cup team, in *Sportsworld*

- *I do not know Rushdie or his work but I think I can understand why it should have been considered provocative.* ■ V.S.NAIPAUL in *The Sunday Observer*

- *I want to be known as Madhuri the first, not Madhubala the second. I hope I'm going to be around for ek, do, teen...gyara saal.* ■ MADHURI DIXIT in *Bombay*

- *When I am at home and not shooting, I shut my bedroom door and dance with my wife.* ■ GOVINDA in the new film magazine *B*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Yin and the Yang

AN ancient Chinese aphorism appropriated the fortnight that was, producing images conflicting and contradictory. The Yin and the Yang, the passive and active principles that govern the universe, opposites yet as entwined as Siamese twins. Both elements—the positive and the negative—conspired to drag the events of the fortnight in opposing directions.

Nothing illustrated that more than the Government's initiative on Punjab. The Yang—the release of all 188 of the Jodhpur detenus. The Yin—84 of them, including Gurcharan Singh Tohra, are re-arrested. The Government may have good reasons for the move but the overall signal was one of confusion.

In essence, however, the Punjab package is a welcome if belated move. But once again the negative elements clash with the positive. The very fact that Rajiv Gandhi's Government has displayed the lack of a coherent Punjab policy all these months means that his latest initiative must necessarily be subjected to scepticism, at least in the eyes of the terrorised citizens of the state.

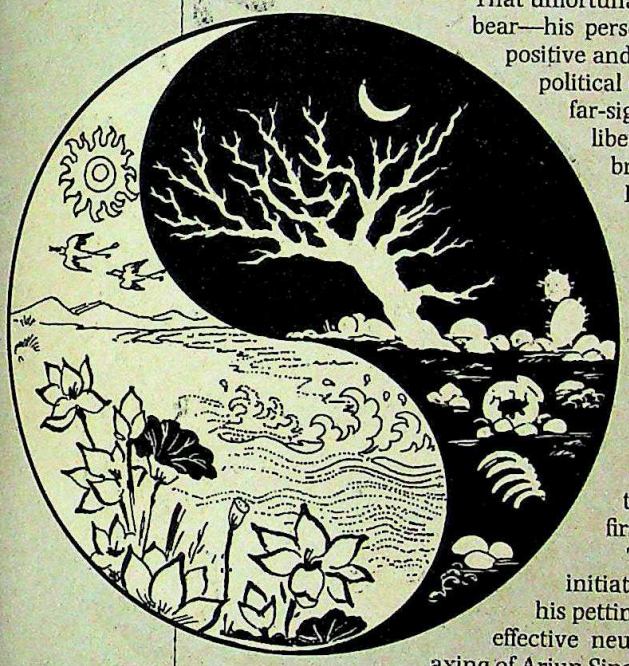


Illustration by PEALI DUTTA GUPTA

That unfortunately, is the cross that Rajiv now must bear—his personal Yin and Yang, the clash of the positive and the negative, that has symbolised his political style so far. His first few budgets were far-sighted and purposeful, the long-required liberalisation of the economy to allow it to break free of its shackles. His latest 'Robin Hood' budget, the last before the elections, is at least on the surface, a reversal of that process.

Likewise, at a time when Rajiv needs the Opposition's support on issues like the Punjab problem, he instead antagonises them even more by clubbing them along with Ram Jethmalani in branding them anti-national. It could have only happened in Rajiv's reign that the entire Opposition boycotted the budget speech for the first time in Independent India's history.

That again, is illustrative. If the Punjab initiative, however late, was a positive move, his pettiness and petulance in Parliament is an effective neutraliser. If, in Madhya Pradesh, his axing of Arjun Singh showed political aggressiveness, the suspended animation in Bihar while it awaited a new chief minister—selected a week after Azad put in his papers—showed indecisiveness and confusion.

There are other similarly opposing indicators. On one level, the prime minister and his aides seem to be more responsive to the media and to general criticism of the Government's actions. On another level, the sudden raids on the *Indian Express* seem to indicate that nothing much has changed.

It is not that Rajiv alone is bedevilled by the Yin/Yang factor—it is now endemic to Indian politics. For the first time since Barnala's government was sabotaged, the political process in Punjab has been reborn. But instead of concentrating on unity, the Akali leaders dismiss Barnala's former finance minister, Balwant Singh, from the party, thereby inviting instability in their ranks.

In Tamil Nadu, the newly-formed DMK Government faces its first major embarrassment when one of its MPs, V. Gopalasamy, sneaks into Sri Lanka, unmindful of the fact that he is illegally entering a foreign country. We are also witness to the ridiculous sight of two of the Opposition's most prominent—and intelligent—members locked in incongruous combat. Ramakrishna Hegde may have every justification for suing Subramaniam Swamy in his Rs 2 crore defamation case, but it hardly elicits confidence in the Opposition's ability to stay together.

Ultimately, however, Hegde and Swamy are appropriate symbols of the crisis of Indian politics—the Yin and the Yang. The real crisis is that it is becoming increasingly difficult to differentiate between the two.

—DILIP BOBB

The very fact that Rajiv Gandhi's Government has displayed the lack of a coherent Punjab policy all these months means that his latest initiative must necessarily be subjected to scepticism.

Hegde may have every justification for suing Subramaniam Swamy in his Rs 2 crore defamation case, but it hardly elicits confidence in the Opposition's ability to stay together.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Adding more cities to our string of Service-Centres.

Shriram arrives at Agra, Baroda, Indore, Jaipur and Kanpur.

More and more transport operators all over India are keen to avail of Shriram's hire-purchase finance schemes.

More and more depositors all over India are keen to welcome Shriram to their places to avail of the excellent service and security that their deposit schemes offer.

With the opening of branches at **Agra, Baroda, Indore, Jaipur and Kanpur,** Shriram is happy to meet this demand and extend its frontiers in Northern and Western cities.

NEW BRANCHES :

- **B-83, Raman Marg, Tilak Nagar, Jaipur 302 004. Ph : 47810 P.P.**
- **Block 32, F/7, Sanjay Place, Agra 282 002.**
- **57, I Floor, Shriram Chambers, Opp. Circuit House, R.C. Dutt Road, Baroda 390 005.**
- **129, Regal Cinema Building, Mall Road, Kanpur 208 004.**
- **307, Chetak Centre, RNT Marg, Indore 452 001.**

SHRIRAM GROUP COMPANIES MADRAS

Shriram Investments Ltd.

Admn. Office : Mookambika Complex, (III Floor), 4, Lady Desikachari Road, (Entrance : C.P. Ramaswamy Road), Mylapore, Madras 4. Ph : 74960/77463/73768.

Shriram : Managed by innovative professionals.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Take the world in your stride.

dinesh

Exclusives ▲ Suitings ▲ Co-ordinates ▲ Safaris

The choice of leading fashion houses, internationally.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

THE PSYCHO-ANALYSIS O
(Shouldn't you know what you Skyb

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

SIS OF A SKYBAGS OWNER...

t you Skybag's been saying about you?)

You believe in subtle yet lasting bonds. Strong, trusted alliances that stand up beautifully to the tests of time. You secretly admire the unyielding stitching of Skybags.

Truly a man of the world, you want the world's best — no matter where in the world it comes from. You fully approve Skybags' specially imported zip.

Man on the move, you hate being made to wait. Most of all for your own luggage. You love the breezy portability of Skybags.

You can't resist picking up something artistic even if it reminds you of the books you haven't yet sat down to write.

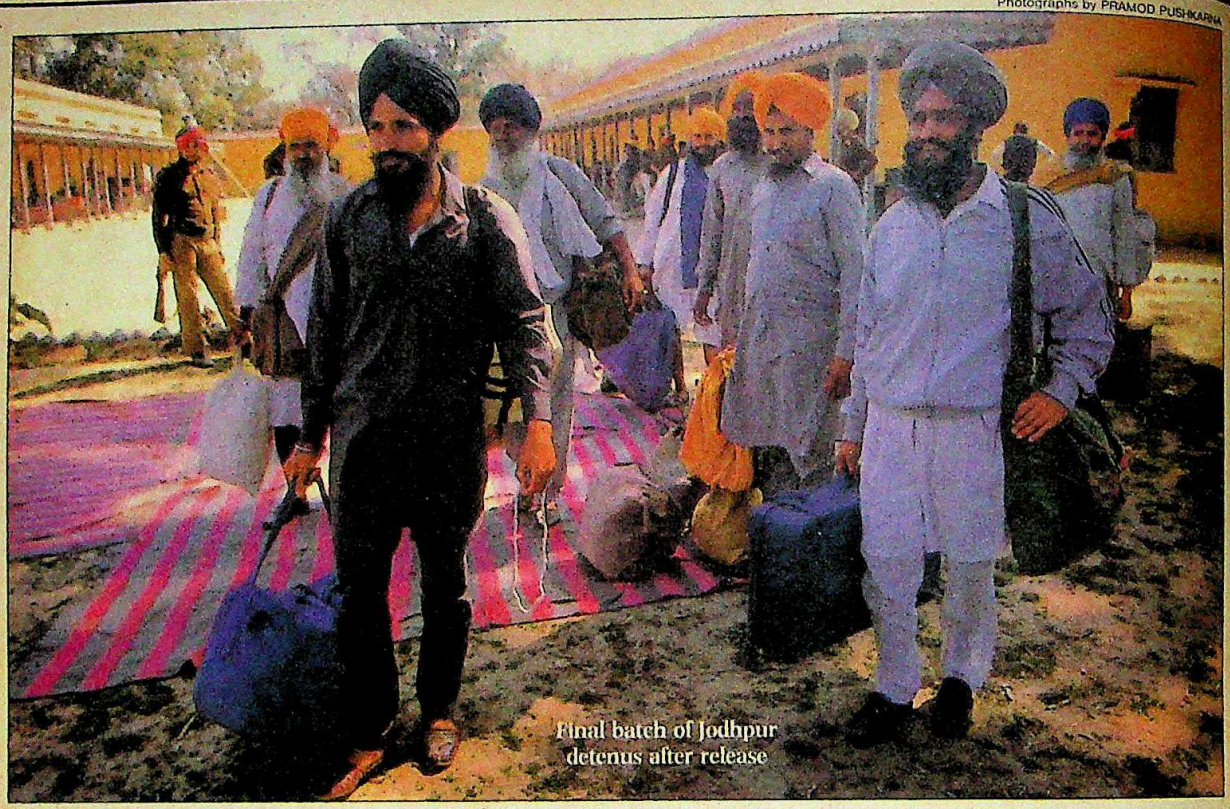
VIP Skybags

Makes perfect business-travel sense.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



Final batch of Jodhpur detenus after release

PUNJAB

Encouraging Signals

With the belated release of the Jodhpur detenus, and the withdrawal of several draconian laws, a step in the right direction appears to have been taken in Punjab. But will this initiative go the way of earlier ones.

HAD the measures been announced even a year ago they would have been greeted with open jubilation in Punjab. But last fortnight, when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi offered the first liberal package for the state since the dismissal of the Barnala government, the reaction was subdued. He did what critics of his Punjab policy had long urged him to do—curb runaway police powers and free prisoners detained without charges under a plethora of national security laws.

That no one was particularly exultant was because the Centre's policies in the state have so far see-sawed illogically and few of Punjab's beleaguered citizens take the Government's promises seriously anymore. Besides, the prime minister's announcement had followed a barrage of sustained criticism from the Opposition as well as senior members from within his own party—including Speaker Balram Jakhar—about a total lack of any new government initiatives in Punjab.

Critics were quick to point out that Rajiv's new package was no more than a public relations attempt to demonstrate that despite dissidence in the ruling party, the prime ministership is far from paralysed and will act boldly on several fronts. But senior government officials were going out of their way to spread the word that this time Rajiv meant business.

Said an aide: "There are obstacles, but the prime minister is serious about restoring normalcy. I think Punjab will return to political life within the next six months." The aim is to remove some of the major irritants that have clogged the path to a political solution in the state. "It is a renewed attempt to woo the silent majority of Sikhs," he said.

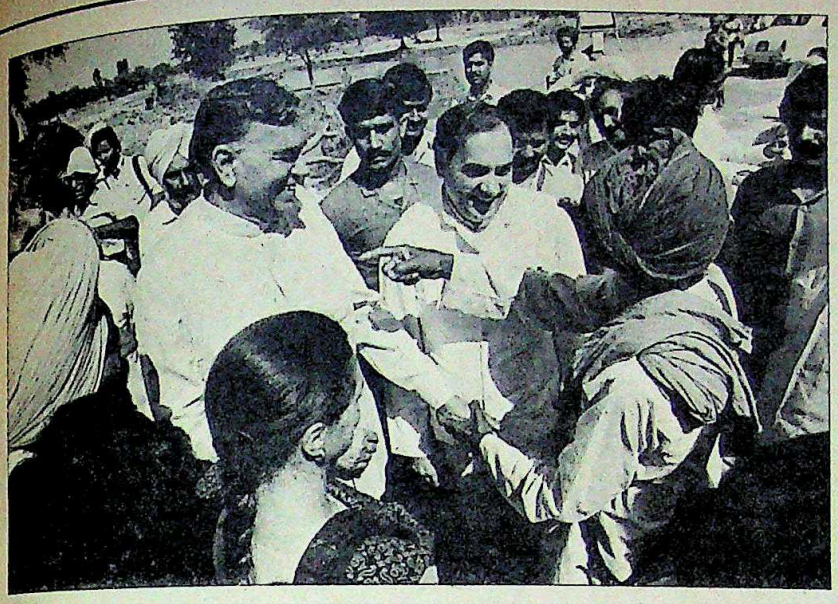
Admitted a senior Punjab government official: "To the ordinary Sikh wanting to lead a normal life the war against terrorists seemed to have been turned into a war against Sikhs. The new measures should come as a psychological uplift." They include:

► Releasing all the Jodhpur detenus locked up under the National Security Act (NSA) and withdrawing against them the charge of "waging war against the state". Of those about 86 have been rearrested on previous charges under the Criminal Procedure Code and can apply for bail. They will be tried not by special courts but under the normal course of the law. According to Home Ministry sources, all those who could face a maximum of four years in prison will be freed and only a handful brought to trial.

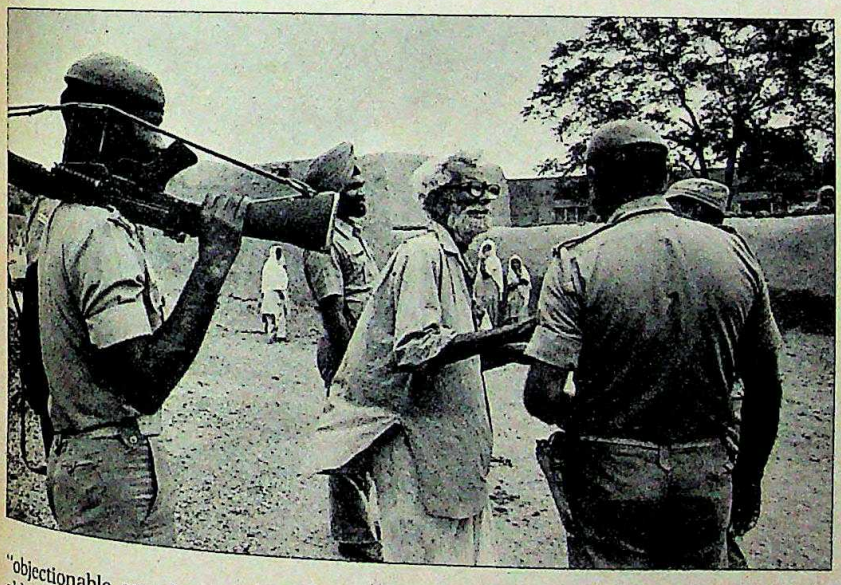
► Withdrawal of all cases launched for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Following his visit to Punjab, Rajiv was convinced that police excesses needed to be curbed.



"objectionable speeches and objectionable writing" under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Prevention Act (TADA). And TADA is to be used in the "rarest" of cases. The Act places the burden of proof on the accused, and makes admissible as evidence any confession recorded by a superintendent of police.

► Withdrawal of the special amendment to the NSA, permitting preventive detention without review for up to two years in Punjab instead of the one year applicable to the rest of the country.

► The restricting of the Punjab Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces Punjab and Chandigarh Special Powers Act to only the seriously disturbed areas. Under these Acts the police had been given powers to seize, search and arrest anyone at will, without framing charges, and without even informing him of what his offense was; also to close off any area required. At least 3,000 people held under these laws will be released gradually.

► Monitoring committees consisting of district magistrates and subdivisional magistrates will now supervise the actions of the police from the thana to the district level and ensure that cases are properly filed, registered and followed up. They will also screen people's grievances against police excesses.

► The holding of panchayati elections all over the state—including the most disturbed border districts—by June and the scheduling, in the future, of joint conferences with opposition parties in Punjab.

The package is mostly the handiwork of the Prime Minister's Office. It was described by knowledgeable circles as a total surprise not because it has any long-term formula for settling the Punjab issue but because, until it was announced in Parliament, its details were withheld not only from the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs, but also the Special Cabinet Committee on Punjab headed by External Affairs Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao.

Also, Punjab Governor Siddhartha Shankar Ray's advice was put on a back burner. In several meetings he had in Delhi with the prime minister, starting January, Ray had opposed liberalisation. The President's budget address to Parliament had contained a reference to holding panchayati elections in Punjab, but it was deleted because of opposition from Ray, who insisted the move was premature. But it found its way into Rajiv's speech in Parliament, when he announced the Punjab package.

According to sources close to Rajiv, he acted this time, not on the advice of the regular Punjab experts and advisers, but on the strength of representations made to him by independent survey teams commissioned for the purpose. Their findings revealed, among other things, that 46 per cent of the state's police stations had not reported any terrorist crimes for the last several months, and that many killings reported as terrorist violence were the result of local feuds and the depredations of gun-runners and smuggling gangs. Also, that Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's policy of discouraging terrorist sanctuaries in Pakistan has resulted in fewer terrorists hopping the border.

But perhaps the most important factor that prompted the new package were confirmed reports that since Operation Black Thunder 2, most gurdwaras—especially the Golden Temple—had ceased to be terrorist sanctuaries.

Of course, the Punjab killings have neither stopped nor has the law and order situation improved dramatically. An average of 11 people are still being gunned down every day. The change in the Government's thinking is best summed up in Rajiv's own words: "The terrorists, barring one group and some individuals, have no more links with fundamentalism or religion. They are today pure and simple criminals involved in drug-trafficking, smuggling, looting." This was a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LIC's unique Group Gratuity Scheme benefits employer and employee

"..because I know it gives me **full life cover.** So my family gets gratuity based on my **full employment term...** even if something happens to me before that term is up.
And because I can count on **ready payment** whenever my gratuity should fall due.
And because I feel secure, knowing my gratuity is in **LIC's professional hands.**"

"..because it saves me a lot of financial and managerial problems. **No clerical and accounting bother.**
And because it offers better benefits under the recent **Cash Accumulation Plan.** And because my premiums are **allowed as expenses in IT assessment.**
And because I can rely on **speedy settlement** of gratuities due... which is good for employee morale. And because it more than offsets my liabilities with an **accumulating asset.**"

LIC's Group Gratuity Scheme.
The easy, economical, efficient way to handle employee gratuities.

योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम्

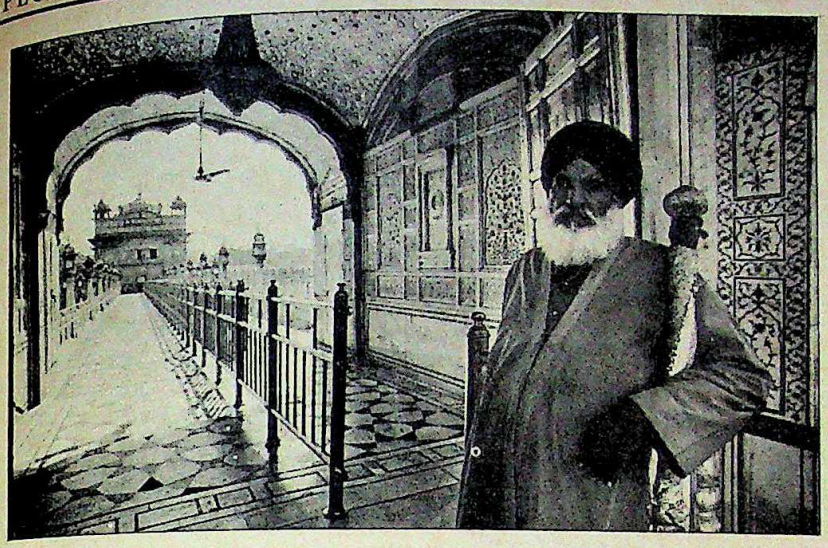
Life Insurance Corporation of India

For details, contact the nearest LIC office

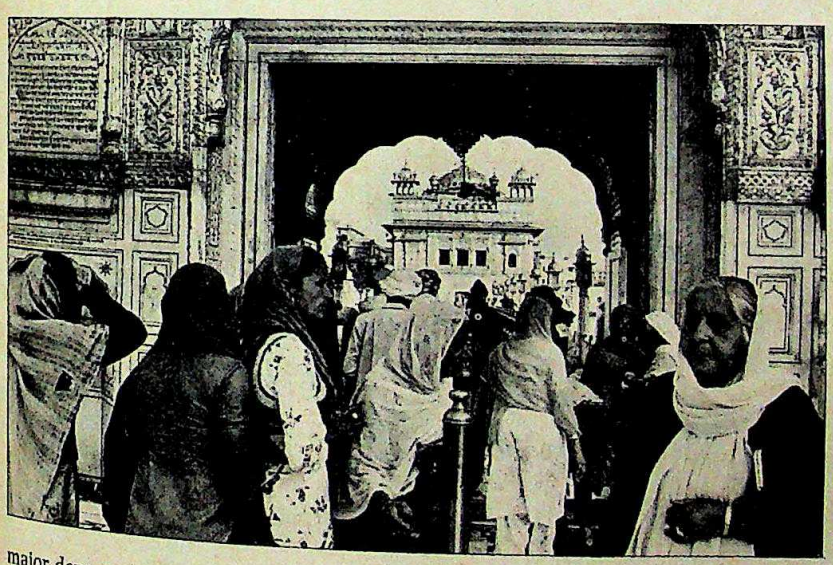
daCunha/LIC/179/86

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The Golden Temple, which wore a deserted look last year, is returning to normal.



major departure—for the first time the Government desisted from branding all violence in Punjab as 'terrorist'.

Another significant departure—also aimed at creating a psychological atmosphere congenial to a political settlement—was Rajiv's assertion that those involved in the anti-Sikh riots of 1984 would be punished, ("...we will see that everybody is brought to book through the legal system"). He also made the startling revelation that of the 2,329 people charged in connection with the Delhi riots, six so far have received life imprisonment. According to the Home Ministry, cases are still pending against 1,950 people.

This of course, comes as small comfort to those who lost their families in the riots, and who remember the one-sided proceedings of the Ranganatha Mishra Commission. But it was not lost on the Sikhs that his parliamentary statement was in sharp contrast to an earlier utterance on the subject in 1984: "When a big tree falls the earth must tremble."

SENSING this change, most Sikh leaders cautiously welcomed the new initiatives. "Better late than never," said Akali Dal(L) chief Surjit Singh Barnala, adding that the steps would create a better climate. Jathedar Rachhpal Singh, president, Akali Dal (Tara Singh) called it a "positive step", while Akal Takht chief Darshan Singh Ragi called it "a step in the right direction". Unified Akali Dal chief Jagdev Singh Talwandi described it as a "good gesture".

While the communist parties and the BJP called the release of the detenus a belated move, human rights organisations of Punjab such as the Sikh Forum headed by Lt-General Jagjit Singh Aurora, continued to raise the issue of police excesses. Declaring that the measures lacked real political substance, they charged that the move smacked of election tactics.

But even as a belated first step, the package acted as an immediate catalyst for the revival of a semblance of the political process in the state. The endlessly-splitting Akalis moved into convulsive fast forward. Amid loud demands for the release of jailed Akalis like Prakash Singh Badal, Simranjit Singh Mann and Gurcharan Singh Tohra (who was released from NSA detention and then rearrested on sedition charges), the three main factions of the party began again groping towards unity. Barnala and Talwandi began feverish talks, and are expected to finalise a unity blueprint in Amritsar next fortnight. Senior Akali sources said efforts are being made in the anticipation that the jailed leaders will soon be freed.

Akali circles admit this factor was foremost in Barnala's mind when he sacked his former deputy chief minister Balwant Singh from the party's primary membership, only two days after the announcement of the package. This was done to make his party acceptable to the rival UAD's incarcerated leader, Badal, who is Balwant Singh's archfoe. The party's official reason for the sack was that Balwant Singh, in a letter written to Mrs Gandhi in 1984, supported Operation Bluestar. Balwant Singh asserts the letter is a forgery.

Predictably, the man on the street and on the village chawpal has been slow in reacting to New Delhi's package. Now he wants to see results—an end to killings by terrorists, an end to the harassment and extortion of innocents by the police, an end to the exploitation of Punjab by the ruling party and the opportunistic Akalis. If the new package succeeds in palpably ameliorating even one of these conditions, it will be judged in the future as an important landmark in the restoration of normalcy. If it does not, it will become yet another hammer-blow on Rajiv's already damaged credibility in Punjab. And since the measures are his own this time, he will have no buffers to shoulder the repercussions.

—INDERJIT BADHWAR with VIPUL MUDGAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PERIWAL GROUP

How the country's premier cable company earned international recognition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To bring you world-standard quality.

Premier Cables: measuring up to world standards

Through a very rigorous and thorough quality assurance programme, Premier Cables manufactures a variety of cables that meet stringent world standards.

Like British Standards, IEC, NEMA (US), SS (Swedish), VDE (German) and Indian Standard Specifications.

It's this kind of consistently high product quality that has won Premier Cables a long list of customers – here and abroad.

Premier Cables: leaders in XLPE cables

The Cross Linked Polyethylene (XLPE) cables at Premier Cables are manufactured through the Completely Dry Curing and Cooling process. Developed by Nokia of Finland, it uses nitrogen gas as the curing and cooling medium – and not steam.

The advantages are several.

Homogenous insulation totally free from microvoids and water trees. Higher AC breakdown and impulse breakdown strength. Smooth insulation. Longer cable life. Low transmission losses. And virtually maintenance-free service.

From EHV downward, total capability in cables

For EHV applications, Premier Cables manufactures XLPE cables up to 132 KV.

Other cables include PVC, Power, Control and Signalling cables. AAC/ACSR and Aluminium alloy overhead conductors. Cotton and paper-covered wires and strips.

Fire Resistant Low Smoke (FRLS) cables have special compounds and smoke suppressants – so that the outer jacket resists even intense heat and helps contain the fire from spreading.

The latest additions to the range of Premier Cables are the Remote Temperature Detection (RTD) cables and Aerial Bunched Cables (ABC).

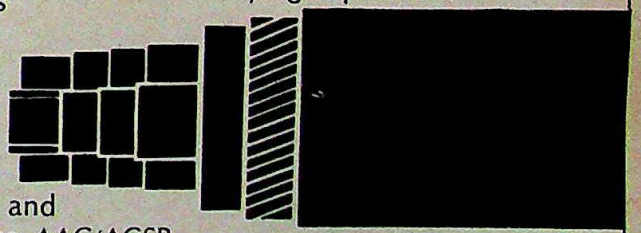
RTD cables measure temperature remotely through resistance comparison bridge, enhancing safety.

ABC cables, for rural electrification projects in India, offer several advantages like higher reliability, lower transmission losses and lower installation costs.

And now, turnkey projects

Premier Cables now offers you its cable-laying expertise through its Contracts Division. The services include pre-installation advice to selection of switchgear and transformers, on-site cable laying and jointing.

Making Premier Cables not only your prime source for cables but also for cable-laying expertise.



THE PREMIER CABLE COMPANY LTD.

(A member of the Periwal Group)
Premier Cable House
M G Road Ernakulam
Cochin 682 016

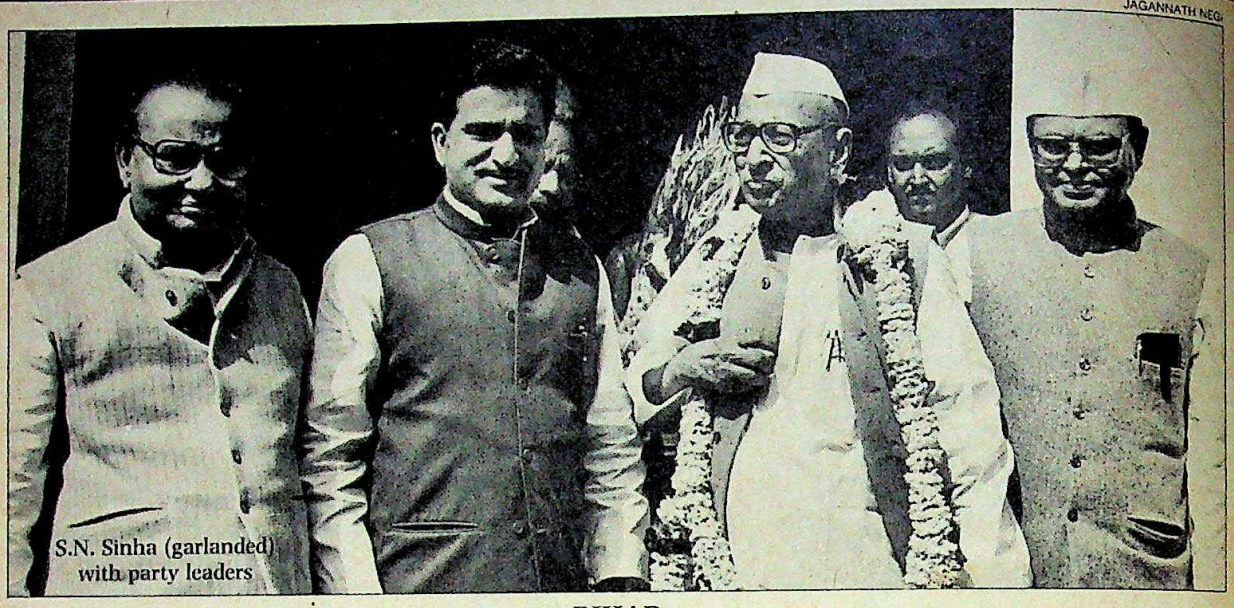
Cables that make all the difference.

HTA 8918

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JAGANNATH NEGI



S.N. Sinha (garlanded) with party leaders

BIHAR

The Old Guard Returns

Two months ago, Congress(I) dissidents in Bihar made it clear they wanted no more of chief minister Bhagwat Jha Azad. Last fortnight the party high command acceded to their demand, and in the bargain sprung a surprise.

AFTER a month pregnant with suspense, Rajiv Gandhi, like a conjuror, finally lifted his hat. And it revealed, first, Jagannath Pahadia as the Governor of Bihar. Soon after, former chief minister Dr Jagannath Mishra came tumbling out as the new president of the Bihar Pradesh Congress(I) Committee (BPCC-I). And finally Rajiv sprung the biggest surprise of all—the choice of Satyendra Narain Sinha as the state's 23rd chief minister.

Earlier, the decks had been cleared for a complete change in the Congress(I) leadership in Bihar. Chief minister Bhagwat Jha Azad, outgoing PCC(I) chief Tariq Anwar, all the seven ministers from the state in the Union Government, AICC(I) treasurer Sitaram Kesari—also from Bihar—and two other party functionaries were asked to resign en masse.

SATYENDRA NARAIN SINHA

"Congress can reverse the tide"

BIHAR's new Chief Minister, Satyendra Narain Sinha, 69, popularly known as Chhote Saheb, has a reputation for being a strict disciplinarian and tough taskmaster. His additional assets include an independent power-base—he served as a cabinet minister in Bihar in the '60s—and an identification with the old guard of the Congress whom Rajiv Gandhi is trying to cultivate. Considered to be one of the country's most influential regional Rajput leaders, Sinha spoke to Senior Editor PRABHU CHAWLA *just before taking off for Patna for his swearing-in ceremony.*

Q. Do you think you will be able to reverse the anti-Congress tide blowing all over the state?

A. One can only try. I have been in politics for over 50 years and am known to most of the people throughout the state. If we're able to activate the workers, I have no doubt the Congress can reverse the tide, if at all there is any. Rajiv Gandhi's popularity is growing as is reflected in the opinion polls. That means it's the party which must cash in on his personal popularity.

Q. Will your upper caste background hamper your ability to run a caste-ridden state?

A. I'm not a casteist. I'm convinced and hopeful that everyone will work unitedly for the party.

Q. How are you going to cope with the MLAs who don't seem satisfied with any chief minister?

A. They will not try to dictate terms to me. They know me well. I believe in participative democracy and not dictatorial attitudes. If one takes everybody in the party into confidence, then all the problems are sorted out.

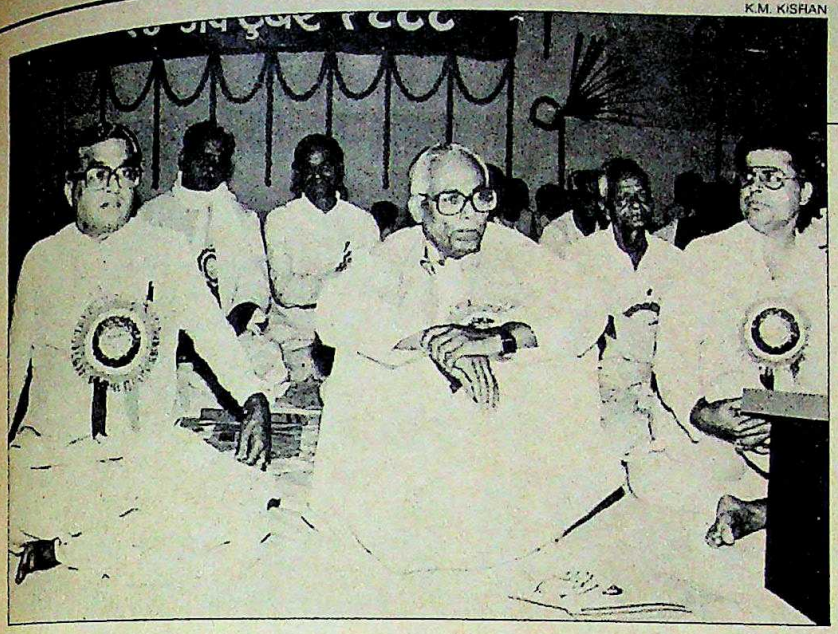
Q. Some chief ministers have survived simply by buying off MLAs with favours. Will you do the same?

A. That's not an article of my faith. I'm opposed to money politics.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

K.M. KISHAN



(From left) Jagannath Mishra, Bhagwat Jha Azad and Tariq Anwar: new power equations

FOR JAGANNATH MISHRA, A LONG STRETCH IN THE POLITICAL WILDERNESS HAS ENDED. HE HAS SUCCEEDED IN HIS PRINCIPAL AIM OF GETTING AZAD OUSTED AND HAS HIMSELF BECOME THE STATE PARTY CHIEF IN PLACE OF TARIQ ANWAR.

Equally suddenly, little-known A.R. Mallu was elevated to the rank of Congress(I) general secretary and given charge of Bihar affairs. But all these only set the stage for the big change. The next time the hat was lifted, hey presto, the state had a new chief minister too.

Though the 68-year-old Sinha was elected "unanimously" by the legislators, reservations over his choice surfaced even before he could be sworn in. The outspoken former chief minister Abdul Ghafoor—also in the running for the chief ministership—declared that the choice could not have been worse for the state and the party. Some other legislators too privately echoed this sentiment though publicly they endorsed the high command's choice.

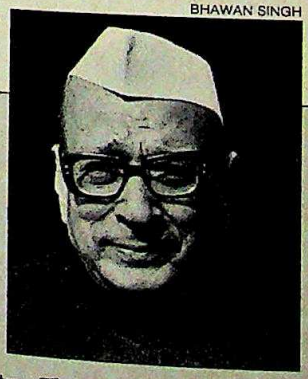
Ironically, all through the crisis of confidence in Azad's leadership, Sinha had remained by the chief minister's side. He had even gone on record to say that it would be disastrous for the party if Azad was replaced. It remains to be seen whether his own statement proves prophetic. But there is no doubt that he has been asked to lead the state at a critical juncture.

Some Congressmen have expressed apprehension that the new chief minister's image as a Rajput leader will encourage the caste to let loose a reign of terror in the countryside. But Sinha is clearly not a casteist. A member of Parliament before he was elevated to the chief ministership, during the last few months, he has been travelling extensively in blood-stained central Bihar, asking the upper caste landlords in the area to treat the Harijans and other have-nots as social equals. His campaign, however, has not been as powerful—or been given as much publicity—as Jagannath Mishra's Jana Jagran Abhiyan.

But in the race for the chief ministership, Sinha turned out to be the dark horse who suddenly zoomed past the clear favourite, Jagannath Mishra. Still, Mishra too did not do so badly for himself. After a futile attempt to keep him in the political wilderness for five-and-a-half years, Rajiv was forced to resurrect him as BPCC(I) chief. As dissidence in the state reached dangerous proportions, it became clear that Mishra was the only man who could stem the tide.

Though given plum posts, neither of the Jagannaths was exactly ecstatic over the high command's decision. While Pahadia would have preferred to stay in active politics, instead of occupying a

BHAWAN SINGH



"IF ONE TAKES EVERYBODY IN THE PARTY INTO CONFIDENCE, ALL PROBLEMS ARE SORTED OUT."

Q. How will you handle corruption in Bihar? Your state seems to have the reputation of being the most corrupt in the country.

A. This is unfair. Corruption in Bihar is as much as or less than anywhere else in the country. The only difference is it has been over-advertised in Bihar's case.

Q. But there is no rule of law in the state. Criminals run major parts of the state like Dhanbad.

A. We have problems in some pockets. But during the last few months these elements have been contained and the situation is under control.

Q. How do you propose to handle the growing influence of extremists and the Jharkhand agitation in the state?

A. By dialogue and participation.

Q. But will you keep running to New Delhi for consultations on every minor issue?

A. There is nothing wrong if a chief minister consults the high command on major policy. Otherwise I don't think anybody in Delhi likes to be bothered on minor issues. If you know the party's priorities and the mind of the high command, the need for rushing to Delhi should not arise.

Q. Since you are an MP now, won't you have to establish your leadership by seeking a mandate from the people by contesting the assembly polls?

A. I am not afraid of facing the electorate. I have been fighting elections since 1952. But there is no vacancy at the moment. Someone will have to vacate a seat for me. I leave it to the prime minister to decide about this.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

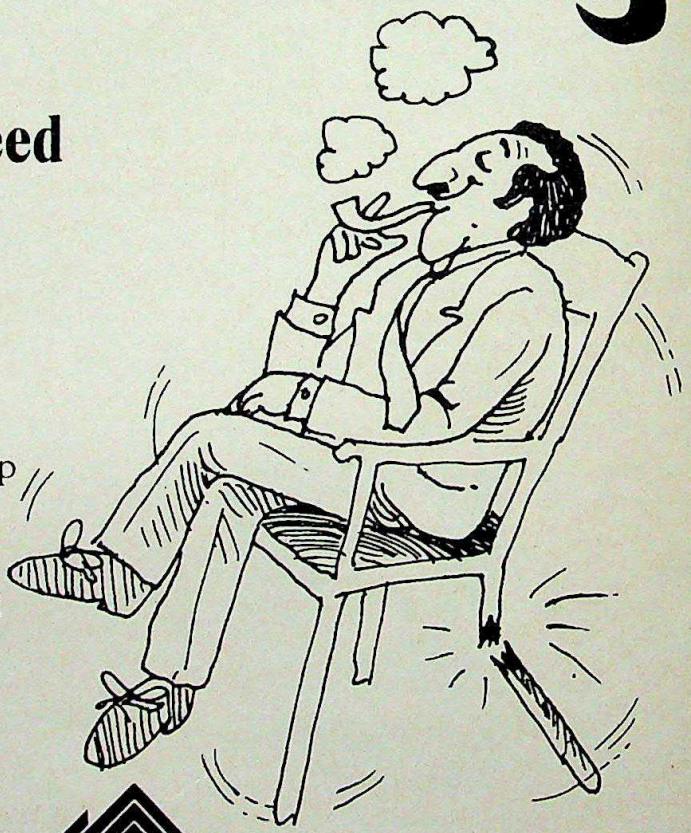
Exporting on Credit can be just as Risky

That's why you need cover from ECGC

For a very marginal extra cost you can cover your credit risks and stop worrying about whether your overseas buyers will pay.

ECGC policies are meant to help exporters like you. ECGC premiums are still among the lowest in the world and even a small exporter can afford ECGC cover.

There's a friendly ECGC service centre only a phone call away. Call, visit or write to any of the addresses given below.



जवाहरलाल नेहरू शताब्दी
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU CENTENARY
1889 1989

ईसीजीसी
ecgc

RISK-FREE WITH ECGC

Regd. Office: Express Towers, 10th floor, P.O. Box 373, Nariman Point, Bombay-400 021.
Tel.: 2023023/3046/3196/3267/3321. Telex: 011-3231 ECGC IN. Cable: INDERIC
Regional and Branch offices: Bombay, Calcutta, New Delhi, Madras, Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Bhubaneswar, Cochin, Hyderabad, Jaipur, Kanpur, Ludhiana, Moradabad, Pune, Srinagar, Varanasi.

Multimedia Aquarius/ECGC/2/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gubernatorial post. Mishra clearly expected to get back the chief ministership. Especially as one of his staunchest supporters, R.K. Dhawan, was back in favour with Rajiv. Nevertheless, both men dutifully expressed unwavering faith in the leader.

Sinha was, in fact, Rajiv's personal choice. The decision to send him as chief minister to Bihar was taken as early as Febuary 22, when both Mishra and Sinha were summoned by the prime minister. The formal announcement was, however, delayed due to the open revolt by the dissidents.

The appointment was possibly motivated by Rajiv's wanting a duo of Rajput (Sinha) and Brahmin (Mishra) to run the state and the party. This could, however, prove to be a recipe for trouble. As both men are fiercely independent and have not always seen eye to eye in the past, neither will be able to dictate terms to the other. This will lead either to an open confrontation or to the lack of cohesiveness that is so badly needed in the state. And if the wily Mishra were to go on the warpath, Sinha—like other chief ministers before him—might find it difficult to survive in office.

The new chief minister does, however, have certain points in his favour. He not only knows the state well but along with Mishra is perhaps the only Congress(I) leader who is personally acquainted with party workers at the grassroots level. And thanks to a brief stint in the Janata Party, he is also close to several opposition leaders.

This is possibly why Rajiv decided to throw his weight behind Sinha though the powerful Sitaram Kesari, and later even Mishra, were lobbying for either a Muslim or a backward class leader as the chief minister. Sinha too was not exactly short of supporters. Pitching for him was the outgoing chief minister Bhagwat Jha Azad and three Central ministers led by the irrepressible K.K. Tewary, minister of state for external affairs. Says Tewary: "Unfortunately Bihar politics had been dominated by dwarfs and pygmies who have been able to project an unreal king-size image. Sinha is an ideal choice and marks the return of the giant politician to the state." Added Rafiq Alam, another Union minister from Bihar: "Sinha cuts across caste lines. He represents the real Congress culture. His return to the state at the helm of affairs will definitely serve the party's short-term electoral interests."

K.M. KISHAN

Congress(I) dissidents welcome Azad's resignation

Still, Sinha had stiff competition from powerful contenders. And the Congress(I) high command had an unenviable task of selecting a minister from among a galaxy of leaders. That Bindeshwari Dubey, union minister for labour—who had preceded Azad as Bihar chief minister—wanted to return to his home state is well known. As are the chief ministerial ambitions of L.P. Sahi, minister of state for human resource development. Less known is the fact that even others like K.K. Tewary, Sitaram Kesari, Tariq Anwar, Krishna Sahi, minister of state for water resources, and the Kerala Governor Ram Dulari Sinha, had at some time or the other aspired to the chief ministership.

Meanwhile, yet another group was pushing for a chief minister from the backward castes. Prevailing conditions, they argued, demanded such a choice. Even Lattan Choudhary, a senior minister in the Azad cabinet, was mentioned as a consensus candidate.

The front runner, however, was the Assam Governor Bhishma Narayan Singh. He was not only acceptable to all the groups but his amicable nature was thought to be an asset, particularly in contrast to the acerbic ways of Azad. It was at this point that Sinha's name was suggested. Some partymen convincingly argued that if a Rajput was to be made the chief minister, then Sinha had better credentials for the post than the Governor in Guwahati.

With virtually all the Central ministers from Bihar staking their claims to the chief minister's chair, the party bosses had a difficult task. Moreover, with elections round the corner, the party could ill-afford another bout of infighting among Congressmen in a state that elects 54 members of Parliament. The chief minister, therefore, had to be someone who was acceptable to all factions.

WHILE AZAD ANTAGONISED NEARLY ALL FACTIONS OF THE STATE PARTY, THE NEW CHIEF MINISTER IS GOING ALL OUT TO CARRY ALL SECTIONS OF THE PARTY WITH HIM.

Whether Sinha fits the bill will only become clear after a few months. What became evident on the day of his swearing-in itself is that he will be going all out to compromise and carry all sections of the party with him. His first 12-member cabinet included four members of the Azad ministry and five new faces, while three former ministers were recalled. Though Tariq Anwar's name was also included, the former BPCC(I) chief turned down the offer. More crucially, the cabinet comprised four ministers belonging to the backward classes, two Harijans, two tribals, two Muslims and one each from the Bhumihar, Brahmin and Rajput communities.

For once even Rajiv Gandhi has got his caste arithmetic straight. He has now installed a Harijan in the Raj Bhavan, a Brahmin at the Sadaquat Ashram, headquarters of the BPCC(I), and a Rajput in the chief minister's chair. But whether or not this proves to be a winning combination depends largely on the prime minister's own image—which has taken considerable drubbing in recent months.

—FARZAND AHMED and UTTAM SEN GUPTA

Multimedia Aquarius/ECGC/2/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GUJARAT

Hanging in the Balance

After sustained campaign for the removal of Amarsinh Chaudhary, Congress(I) dissidents finally seemed to be closing in for the kill. The beleagured chief minister is now showing signs of panic.

CHIEF Minister Amarsinh Chaudhary must be realising what it feels like to be a drowning man. In his case, unfortunately, there now seem to be very few straws left for him to clutch at. By last fortnight, the effect of the prolonged attack on him by dissidents in the party was visibly in evidence as his political fate hung in delicate balance.

After weeks of concerted effort and tortuous political negotiations the dissidents—led by the troika of Jitendra Shah, Narendra Raval and Digant Oza and backed by state party patriarchs Jhinabhai Darji and Madhavsinh Solanki—were poised to move in for the kill.

The signal came in time-honoured tradition; the dissidents got an appointment with the prime minister. Later, they elatedly claimed they had the signatures of 82 out of the 145 Congress(I) legislators demanding the removal of the chief

BHAWAN SINGH

AMARSINH CHAUDHARY

"Rajiv Gandhi has full trust in me"

PINT-sized Amarsinh Chaudhary, 45, was never known as a consummate player of the political game till he became chief minister of Gujarat by a quirk of fate in 1985—the first tribal to do so in the plains. After taking over, Chaudhary set about dispelling the impression that he was a pygmy amongst giants like Madhavsinh Solanki, Jhinabhai Darji and Prabodh Raval. But the traits that have seen him through three-and-a-half years are now beginning to look inadequate, as dissidence continues to burgeon. Chaudhary, however, tried to put up a brave face when he spoke to INDIA TODAY. *Excerpts:*

Q. How many MLAs are against you?

A. Not more than 40. The number of hardcore dissidents is only 14.

Q. Why have the dissidents stepped up their campaign for your removal?

A. They realise this is the last chance to oust me and that if I continue many of their political careers will be cut short.

Q. Don't you feel isolated, with both the legislators and senior leaders who matter gunning for you?

A. Why should I? Leaders like former chief minister Hitendra Desai and former ministers Sanat Mehta, Yogendra Makwana, Manoharsinhji Jadeja and Narsinh Makwana are backing me. Amongst the rebels, only Madhavsinh Solanki and Jhinabhai Darji are state-level leaders. And history will testify that Darji hasn't got along with any chief minister. Plus, my greatest asset is that my leader, Rajiv Gandhi, trusts me.

Q. Then why doesn't the party high command discipline the rebels?

A. I won't comment on that.

Q. You're accused of breaking the political base of partymen like Solanki, Darji and Ahmed Patel.

A. I disagree. But, yes, I've tried to build my own base.

Q. Many Congressmen feel you're incapable of leading the party to victory in the polls.

A. It was under my leadership that the party got a thumping victory in the 1987 panchayat polls, and in the panchayat by-elections held last month. No other leader in Gujarat except me now enjoys a rapport with all the classes and castes. Anyway, till one Indira Gandhi or Rajiv Gandhi is there, Amarsinh Chaudhary or any other leader doesn't matter much.

Q. A frequent charge is that your grip over the administration is poor.

A. My management of the three-year drought has been praised by the Centre and by foreign diplomats.

Q. What about corruption charges?

A. My relatives live like they did 20 years ago. I've never hesitated to institute an inquiry into charges against me.

Q. Have you been enlisting the support of opposition leaders like Chimanbhai Patel against the rebels?

A. This is a wild charge.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Madhavsinh Solanki

> Senior leaders Solanki and Darji have sunk their differences to work unitedly for the ouster of their common enemy, Chaudhary.

Jinabhai Darji

minister. Their confidence was overwhelming enough for Chaudhary to stop his bluster and adopt a conciliatory pose, pleading for support.

That is hardly likely to be forthcoming now considering the power of the forces ranged against him. Apart from Solanki and Darji, the anti-Chaudhary camp also includes former state party chief Ahmed Patel. The present PCC (I) president Prabodh Raval's neutral posture is a thin disguise. Prabodh Raval, who is close to Rajiv's aide Sheila Dixit, is himself an aspirant for chief ministership.

More daunting is the Shah-Raval-Oza triumvirate. Powerful men in their own right, the trio functions as per carefully charted strategy. While Raval and Oza handle public relations—also liaising and press briefings—Shah does the tougher job of wooing fence-sitters.

Shah who has distanced himself from his political mentor, Prabodh Raval, was the first to spread the seeds of revolt against Chaudhary. It is believed that he was peeved when his rival and state Youth Congress(I) president Surendra Rajpur was being propped up by Chaudhary.

Whatever the truth, once the revolt started, it quickly snowballed. Though every one of the dissidents has his own axe to grind, Chaudhary really dug his own grave.

His handling of the administration was inept, even immature. His rude behaviour with his own partymen made him no friends. And when he started a systematic hounding of political opponents within the party, the die was cast.

SAYS Rauf Valiullah, a Rajya Sabha member: "Gujarat has never seen such a weak chief minister." Adds Gita Daxini, a former health minister: "We have to literally move along with the files if we are keen to get work done."

Chaudhary's arrogance has sent even loyalists scurrying to the dissident camp. Barjul Patel, a tribal and former minister in the Solanki ministry has not been able to talk to the chief minister for more than five minutes despite making several efforts. Patel says: "I tried to know the reason for his annoyance with me but without any success." He has now become a dissident.

Another legislator Naresh Raval was kept waiting by the chief minister for two hours when he went to meet him. When he protested, Chaudhary replied: "If I can hang around for three or four days to meet the prime minister in Delhi, can't you wait here for two hours?" Raval joined the rebels.

Mohan Talavia is another legislator who switched over to the rebel camp in protest against Chaudhary's pettiness. The crunch came when Chaudhary began pressing Talavia to leave Darji's camp. "When I refused saying it wasn't possible for me to ditch somebody who has propped me up, Chaudhary instructed district officials to cut me to size. How can we support him?" Talavia asks plaintively.

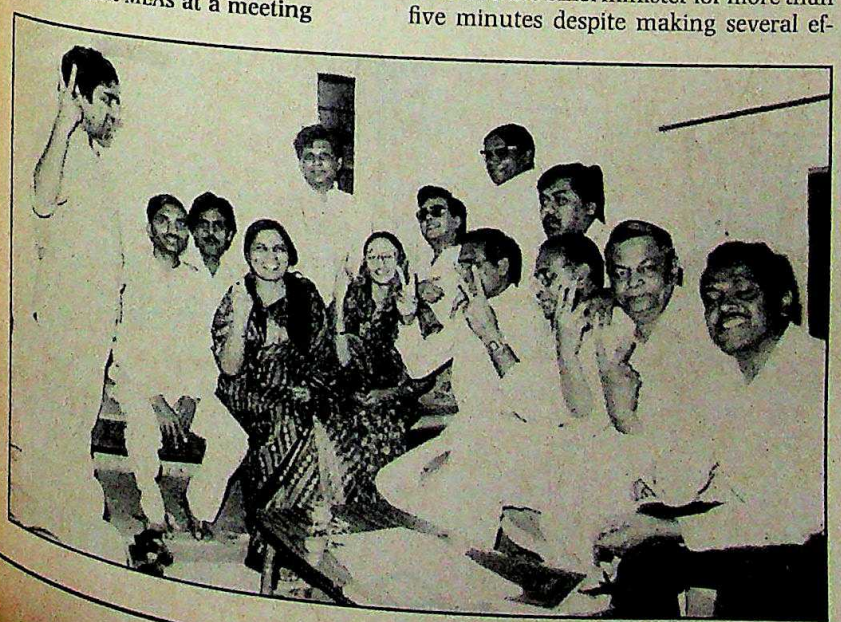
Complaints about Chaudhary's slack and inept handling of the administration abound. The most widespread grouse is that the state's bureaucrats and other officials pay scant regard to MPs and MLAs. This complaint has persisted for several years now.

In fact, two years ago Chaudhary was forced to issue an order directing officials to religiously implement the instructions of ministers. And now recently, he was once again compelled to issue an order asking officials to reply to the letters of MPs, MLAs and district panchayat chiefs.

Another instance of laxity being pointed out by the dissidents is the implementation of the prime minister's 15-point programme for the welfare of the minorities. The programme's first meeting was held 18 months after its announcement.

Another legislator, Udesinh Baria, complained that he had been trying to bring to the chief minister's notice the poor implementation of a programme for

Dissident MLAs at a meeting



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rehabilitating villagers displaced by the Dev irrigation project in his constituency, Halol. Nothing happened. Now, the situation has deteriorated so much that the Opposition has launched an agitation on the issue. Says Baria: "I have stopped meeting Chaudhary. I have a feeling that it is his ploy to harass me."

However, not all the dissidents are those interested in the welfare of the state. Many have their own welfare in mind. Eleven former ministers who failed to find a berth in the recent ministerial expansion, are now among the leading dissidents. This group includes Narendra Raval, Ramesh Thakore, Udesinh Baria (who contested the Godhra Lok Sabha seat last year and lost), Shashibhai Jamod, Janakbhai Jhala and Gita Daxini, the only representative of the Sindhi community in the Assembly. Then there seven ministers owning allegiance to Solanki and 11 of the 25 tribals MLAs in the party are also against Chaudhary.

Solanki, naturally has the biggest motive. He is still to recover from the onslaughts launched by Chaudhary to erode his political base. The chief minister skilfully replaced Solanki's men with

CHIMANBHAI MEHTA

Bold Stand

CHIMANBHAI Mehta's is a one-man crusade: fighting for inner party democracy in the Congress(I). For the 64-year-old maverick politician who came to the Congress(I) after early years with the CPI, talking bold is nothing new. Says Mehta: "With his way of functioning, Rajiv is fast becoming a liability for the Congress(I)." And with this refrain Mehta has been going to the masses

SUKHDEV BACHECH

and the party's grassroots workers.

In spite of the fact that the odds are heavily stacked against him—he has been suspended from the party—his meetings are pulling in more crowds than expected. A farmers convention he addressed in his home district, Rajkot, was attended by about 3,000 people including important party workers.

At another well-attended meeting conducted by the Surendranagar Congress(I) president, Navinbhai Jani, Mehta said: "By suspending me in response to my call for inner-party democracy, the leadership has exposed its weakness." In his public speeches, the soft-spoken Mehta's thrust is on Rajiv's failure to provide effective leadership.

Vishwanath Pratap Singh invariably figures in Mehta's speeches. "Rajiv Gandhi committed his biggest mistake the day he expelled a clean man like Singh from the party. By evicting him, we have presented a mass leader to the Opposition on a platter," he explains.

Mehta was suspended following the Tamil Nadu election results when he exhorted partymen to create "an alternative within the Congress as the myth that there was no alternative to the party had been exploded". The party, however, did not issue him a show cause notice. Says Mehta: "The leadership was too scared least I explode another bombshell in my reply to the notice."

He has always been a fighter. He went underground when he was charged with instigating the farmers by leading the "betterment levy abolition movement" in Saurashtra during the '50s. Earlier, he was in jail during the independence struggle. Despite his suspension, his following in the State INTUC, of which he is the president, hasn't diminished much.

Mehta has always done what he believed to be right, and has been straightforward in his approach. Though it was Union Planning Minister Madhavsinh Solanki who got him a Rajya Sabha ticket, Mehta didn't hesitate to oppose him during the anti-reservation agitation.

Then after V.P. Singh was expelled from the party and his house was attacked by Congress(I) hooligans, Mehta openly confronted Rajiv on the issue. Says a close aide of Mehta's: "He has the courage of conviction to say what he feels is right."

But, despite his clean image, Mehta's detractors say he is close to Dhirubhai Ambani of Reliance Industries. Says a Congress(I) leader: "Mehta is strange and shrewd. He hobnobs with V.P. Singh. He is also close to Reliance, a company which Singh brought to its knees as finance minister."

> In his public speeches Mehta's thrust is on Rajiv Gandhi's failure to provide effective leadership.

Mehta vehemently denies the charge. "Ambani is also from Saurashtra. I know him since old days. But there is nothing beyond that. When 18 MPs submitted a memorandum to the prime minister demanding a brake on the drive against Reliance during V.P. Singh's tenure, I refused to sign it," he says.

Mehta, however, does appear to be shrewd. Though he has been attacking Rajiv and keeping in close touch with V.P. Singh, he is yet to give any clear indication of whether he will be willing to jump on to the Janata Dal bandwagon.

—UDAY MAHURKAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"It was the attitude which kept the passengers happy."

This is an authentic passenger statement.

Lufthansa

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photo: Courtesy Movie magazine

Dancing over gold-kissed crocuses, spring skips into the Happy Valley... and laughter bubbles up in me to watch red-breasted robins look puzzled when I laugh delightedly, for no reason at all! Kashmir... I can't have enough of it!

Dimple Kapadia

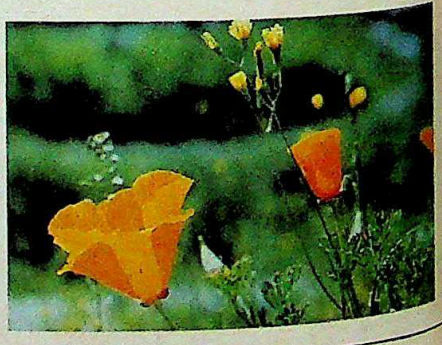
Dimple Kapadia

Myriad hues and the magic of melting silver.

Spring, and Kashmir is a sudden burst of colours. The gentle pastel shades and bright flaming strokes of tulips, daffodils, daisies, pansies and primroses. The snow melts and the sun transforms the slopes and peaks into a gilded magic. Come to the spell. Stroll, boat, or just while away the time.

Enchanted hours, and the mood is romance.

The golden solitude. The endless expanse of wild flowers. The fragrance. The fantasy. And just the two of you. Float along in your own reverie on the Nagin Lake. Take a pony ride on the meandering paths amidst the swaying firs and chinars at Gulmarg. Join the revellery in 'Badamwaris', the

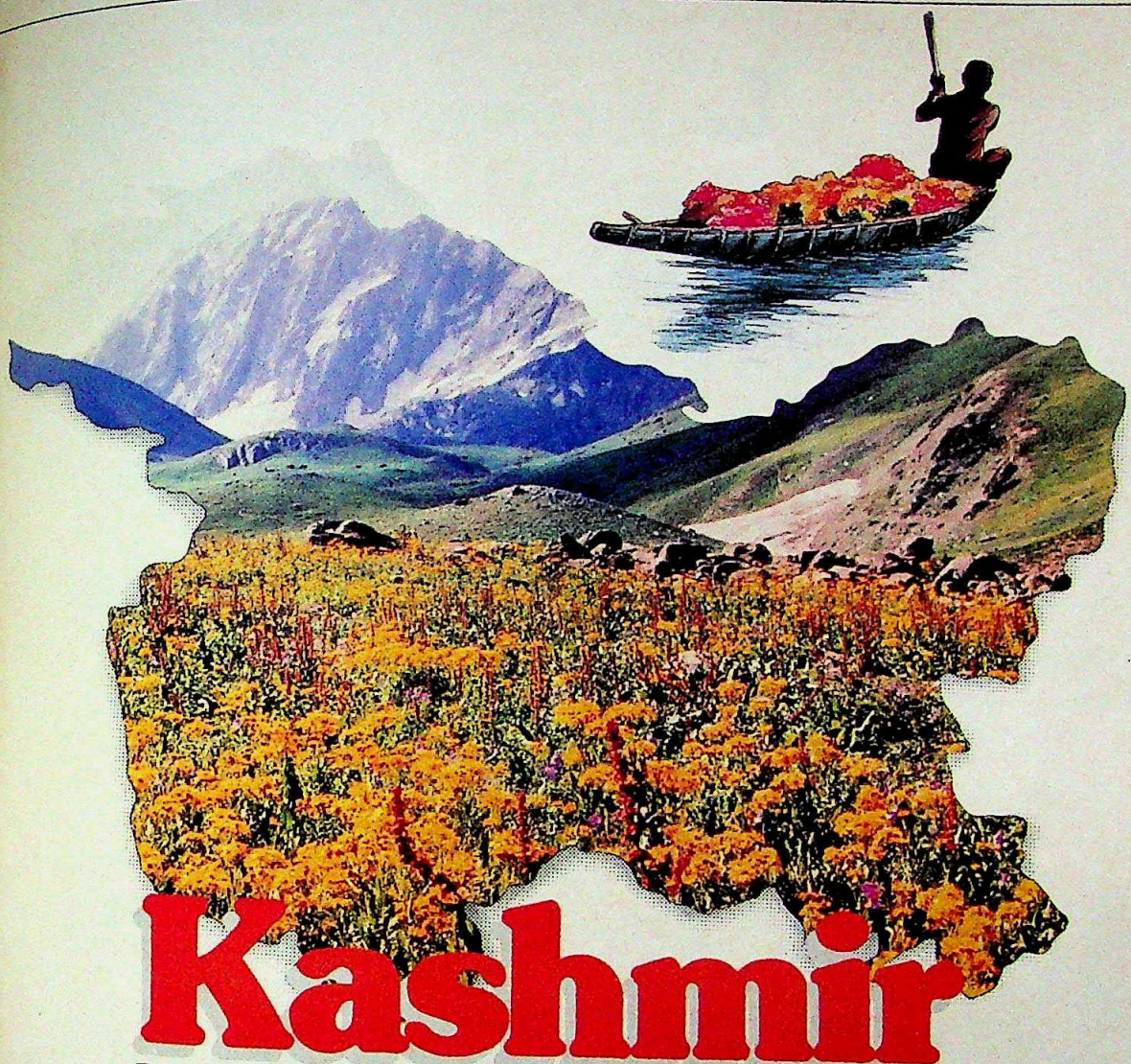


J&K TOURISM

For details contact:
The Director of Tourism, J&K Government, Srinagar
Tel.: 72449, 73648, 77224 After office hours : 77305
Grams : JAKTOURISM,
Telex : 375-207 TSM IN
Telefax : 73265, or

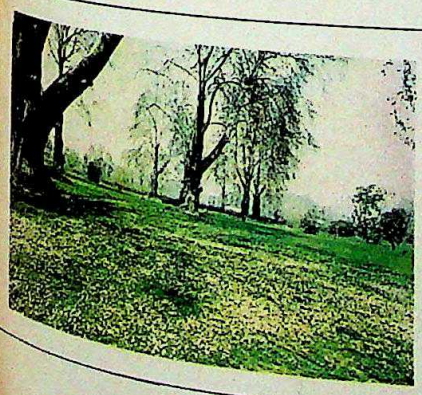
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Kashmir

You can't have enough of it !



almond orchards. Or listen to the symphony of the flowing Lidder at Pahalgam. And on your return, you'll find you're even closer to each other.

Kashmir is out of the world. Yet within reach.

Direct flights from Delhi to Srinagar. Trains up to Jammu. Deluxe buses, coaches and taxis connect major tourist centres in the state.

Hotels, huts, houseboats. Live in a room or a floating dream.

Kashmir offers plenty of accommodation ranging from tourist bungalows and rest houses to huts and houseboats.

J&K Tourist Offices at:
Ahmedabad Tel.: 391043, **Bombay** Tel.: 216249,
Calcutta Tel.: 225790, **Hyderabad** Tel.: 60144,
Jammu Tawi Tel.: 48172, 44527, **Madras** Tel.: 562335,
New Delhi Tel.: 3325373, 3324422 Extn. 2379.

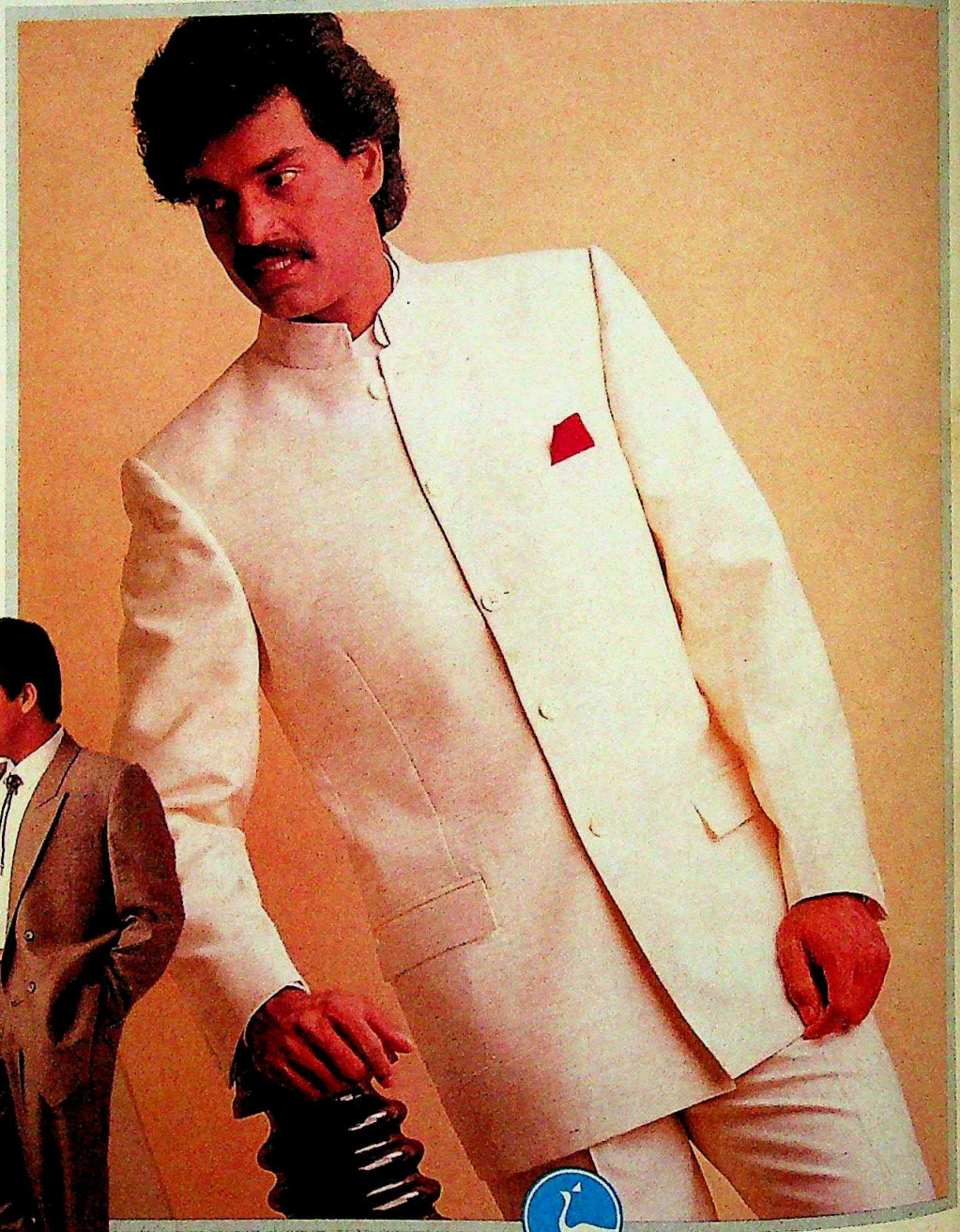
AKSHARA/ITDC-1780 SPG-A

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Casuals or Formals, That's Great Style !

An all occasion fabric that is crafted to finery. From awe inspiring range of formals to fun filled fabrics of casual wear. Mayur drapes all.



MAYUR®

Suitings • Shirtings

THAT'S GREAT STYLE!

A product of Rajasthan Spinning & Weaving Mills Ltd.

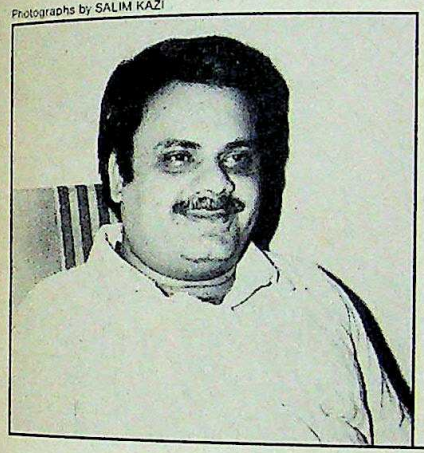
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

his supporters at the lower-level, especially in the rural areas. Today, Solanki may be a Union minister, but he finds himself on a slippery wicket even in his home district, Kaira. As least two of the three ministers from Kaira are against him. And from the three Lok Sabha members from the district, two are supporting Chaudhary.

Darji has an equally strong motive. Chaudhary has been trying to blockade the network of tribal welfare agencies run by him in south Gujarat. Darji has been able to meet the challenge mainly because he is the chairman of the National Commission on Rural Labour.

Photographs by SALIM KAZI



> "Chaudhary thinks he can break us with these tactics. But we are determined to see him go."
> JITENDRA SHAH, MLA

As for Ahmed Patel, initially he supported Chaudhary but soon changed his stand when the chief minister's supporters made him the target of a vicious character-assassination campaign. According to independent observers, Chaudhary's diatribe stemmed from the fear that being close to the prime minister, Patel would upstage him for the chief ministership.

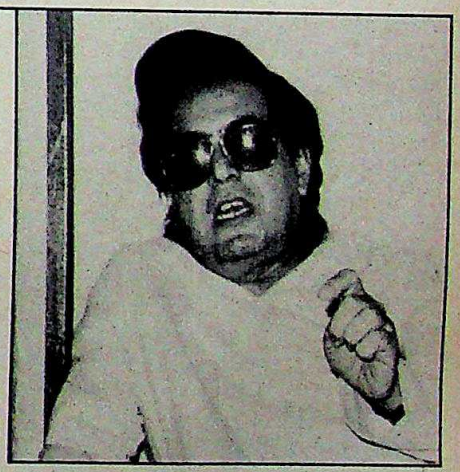
THE usually reticent and sober Patel, has now got Solanki and Darji to sink their differences and work unitedly for the ouster of their common enemy, Chaudhary. Patel has an even more compelling reason. Chaudhary's supporters have been dashing off letters to the prime minister branding Patel as a communalist and supporter of antisocial elements.

In fact, the chief minister's attempts to undermine the dissidents seem to have backfired in his face. Chaudhary's supporters have been leaking spicy stories to the local press on the dissidents. One legislator, Ramesh Thakore says that when a murder took place near his house in Vadodara, police officials deliberately woke him up in the dead of the night and began questioning him. "It was obvious that they were doing it under orders from the top," he alleges.

Barjorji Pardiwala, a Parsi MLA from south Gujarat also alleged that a senior police officer advised him to join the chief minister's group. When he refused, the police official persisted. "Clearly, he had come with a brief," Pardiwala says.

Then there is the case of dissident MLA Mulraj Singh Parmar who was denied police protection for his family, which he sought after receiving a series of threats last year. And the student leaders who attacked the house of Hasmukh Patel, dissident minister for fisheries, were not only let off scot-free, but one of them can often be seen at the

> "A senior police officer advised me to join the chief minister's group. Clearly, he had come with a brief."
> BARJORJI PARDIWALA, MLA



chief minister's residence.

Besides, intelligence sleuths shadow the rebels. It is common to see a police vehicle wherever the dissidents meet. In fact, at a recent meeting of the Congress Legislature Party about 20 plainclothes policemen were present, despite protests by the rebels. As Jitendra Shah says: "Chaudhary thinks he can break us with these tactics. But, we are determined to see him go."

Realising that his days are numbered, Chaudhary switched tactics. He made a last ditch attempt to mend fences with Darji and sought a meeting with a common friend Indubhai Jhani, who placed two conditions for the meeting. One that Chaudhary would not say anything obscene against Darji and the meeting should be at a third person's place.

Chaudhary had no option but to agree to the conditions and the two were closetted for two hours. "I don't expect Darji to openly support me but kindly tell him to stop writing letters to the prime minister against me," he told Jhani. The message was conveyed. But Darji was not impressed.

The desperate chief minister then tried to coerce another legislator Parbar Chavda to switch loyalties. Chavda did not relent but instead hit back by writing out his resignation letter with the line "I am resigning as per the chief minister's demand" and storming out. Chaudhary had to hastily call him back and tear up the letter. Later he told pressmen that he was only joking with Chavda.

His recent moves show clear signs of panic. He summoned his cabinet colleagues and asked them to sign a statement deploring the rebel activity. Dissident ministers Hasmukh Patel, Harisinh Mahida and five others refused to sign objecting to the word 'rebel' in the statement. In yet another obvious show of defeat the word 'rebel' was changed to 'dissatisfied' before any of them agreed to sign. But not before warning Chaudhary against releasing it to the press. He agreed.

Such actions clearly indicate that Chaudhary's days are indeed numbered. The dissidents realise that they only have to keep up the pressure for the high command to eventually bow to their wishes—and elevates one of them to the chief ministership. But in the current context with loyalty at a considerable premium, that can only be a signal for the familiar drama to start all over again.

—UDAY MAHURKAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAM JETHMALANI

Lone Ranger

Celebrity lawyer and opposition MP Ram Jethmalani has a penchant for controversy. What he loves most is taking on the high and mighty. And last fortnight he was once again locking horns with his favourite enemy—Rajiv Gandhi.

YOU either hate him or admire him. But you can't ignore him. Part politician, part lawyer, part publicity-hunter and part crusader, Ram Jethmalani doesn't quite fit into any recognised stereotypes.

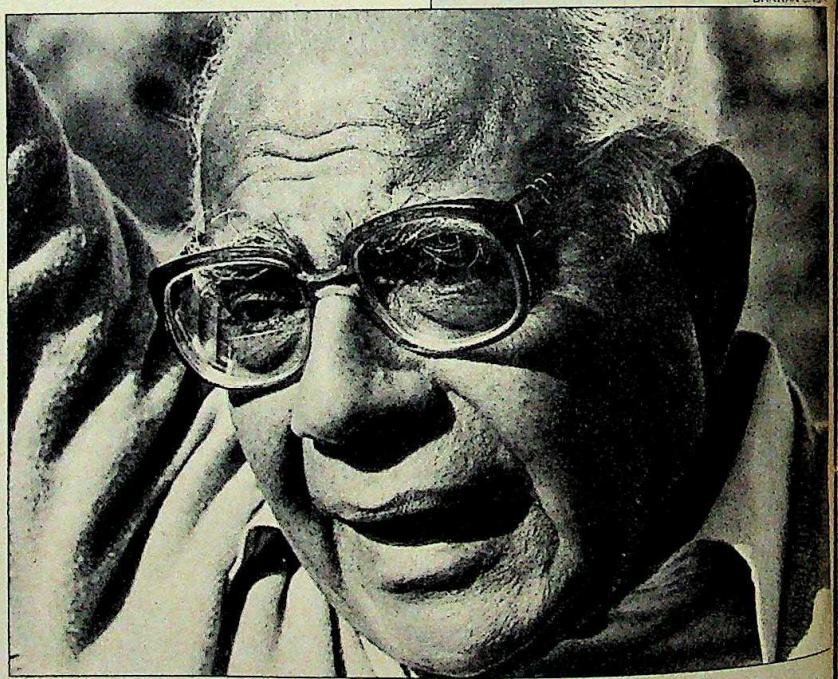
The targets of his righteous wrath have branded him a crazy, quick-on-the-draw cowboy, blasting away at anything in sight that will ensure he hits the headlines dead centre. The ruling party sees him as a dangerous enemy, the key conspirator in a group of industrialists and opposition politicians out to topple Rajiv Gandhi. The Opposition views him as a maverick, an independent-minded crusader with a penchant for getting involved in controversies.

But they all agree that Ram Jethmalani is a highly intelligent man with the sharpest of legal brains, and tremendous guts and tenacity. Few can tangle with him and come away unscathed, as even Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is beginning to realise. Last fortnight, Jethmalani was back where he loves to be—at the centre of a raging controversy and locking horns with the highest and mightiest in the land. It should, therefore, come as no surprise that the first instance since Independence when the entire Opposition has boycotted Parliament on the budget day should be over Jethmalani.

But it is a situation that seemed tailor-made for the man—fighting a lone battle with relish and overwhelming confidence. Rajiv, as is his wont, triggered off the controversy with a typical foot-in-mouth remark which accused Jethmalani of supporting Khalistan. The Opposition, afflicted with the Jethmalani jitters, remained silent. Then, to the celebrated lawyer's delight, Rajiv branded the entire opposition as being supporters of the Khalistan concept. The resulting uproar forced the prime minister to issue a half-baked apology but it was clear that Rajiv was rushing in where others fear to tread—taking on Jethmalani directly. Compounding the confusion, Rajiv produced a booklet issued in Jethmalani's name which, Rajiv asserted, came dangerously close to propounding the Khalistan concept.

The booklet, *The Sikh Case*, has been brought out by the Bharat Mukti Morcha, a crusading organisation started by Jethmalani. The booklet is certainly controversial. It makes a case for an autonomous state of Punjab with the Centre's powers limited only to defence, foreign affairs, communication and currency. It also says that this state should comprise of "all contiguous Punjabi-speaking areas without bringing in the consideration of any community". In effect, the demand is for a Punjab which will extend beyond its present boundaries. Rajiv perhaps thought he was on fairly safe ground when he termed Jethmalani "anti-national and unpatriotic". But as any of Jethmalani's victims will willingly testify, there is no such thing as safe ground where the feisty lawyer is concerned.

BHAWAN SINGH



INTERVIEW

"There is enough

ADAMANT, angry and acrid, Ram Jethmalani, 65, found himself alone when Rajiv Gandhi attacked him on his views on Punjab. The Indian Express *had already ditched him on this issue, and now the Opposition is shunning him. From the* enfant terrible *of the Janata rule, he has had an eventful political career, resigning from the vice-presidentship of the* BJP *over Punjab and joining hands with R.K. Hegde for a Rajya Sabha seat last year. The master cross-examiner met Senior Correspondent* PANKAJ PACHAURI *last fortnight. In an interview which jumped from one subject to another, he talked about the controversies he is embroiled in. Excerpts:*

Q. Why do you always run into trouble with the parties you join?

A. Politics is not a source of livelihood for me. It's my hobby. Because my profession has given me independence, I can plough a lonely furrow in politics.

Q. But due to your views on Punjab, the entire opposition has to take the flak.

A. If it does, that's its own fault. I told the Opposition to first find answers to the issues facing us and then select comrades. The National Front's 71-point programme has some contradictory points. My concept of opposition is not that V.P. Singh should only be a Rajiv

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

circumstantial evidence to prove Rajiv guilty"

minus Bofors. I want the direction of policies to change.

Q. How does the Opposition differ from the Congress(I) on that?

A. They do the same things. People do not commit themselves, so that they can turn around and give an ideological colour to their sordid defections. This is where I differ from the Opposition.

Q. Then why are you a part of them?

A. I am a part of them because I feel that today the prime objective is to dislodge this corrupt government. So I am quiet on other issues.

Q. The Congress(I) accuses you of joining hands with the terrorists.

A. This is all rubbish. We've never supported terrorism. All we said is that individual violence is triggered by state violence. And we oppose both.

Q. Why did you take help from Chandraswami who does not have any commitment to India? He might use you for his vested interests.

A. In my kind of investigations, one has to take help from people like Chandraswami and Adnan Khashoggi. I used Chandraswami, he didn't use me. I did a lawyer's job to get at the truth.

Q. You keep on jumping the dividing line between a lawyer and a politician. Don't you find a conflict?

A. At times I have to defend people whom I do not agree with ideologically. However, my work as a lawyer is to fight for the rule of the law.

Q. But when you fight COFEPOSA *cases, your opponents use it to hit out at your party.*

A. I take up COFEPOSA cases because the laws that are initially used to put smugglers behind bars are later used to jail politicians and to suppress freedom of speech. This was the case during the Emergency. I argue politicians' cases, like Sharad Joshi's, mainly on the previous judgements of my COFEPOSA cases. I fight against preventive detention.

Q. You say you can afford to plough a lonely furrow. Then why are you so close to the Indian Express?

A. Occasionally, the *Express* publishes things which I do not like. But ideologically, I agree with them. Nothing will remain today to fight this government if the *Express* is not there. So I regard it as my duty to support it and make it survive. Besides, the *Express* gives me a medium of expression.

Q. The Congress(I) alleges that Nusli Wadia funds the investigations made by you and the Express.

A. Rubbish. I do not need millions. I will not mind taking money from friends but the stage has never come.

Q. What do you make of Rajiv's charges?

A. He knows that I will continue with my investigations.

Q. But your investigations have not produced anything conclusive.

A. There is enough circumstantial evidence to prove Rajiv guilty in court.

On the Opposition

"My concept of opposition is not that V.P. Singh should only be a Rajiv minus Bofors. I want the direction of policies to change."

On the Bofors Deal

"Money can be paid only to the person whose decision is final. That is Rajiv... I could convict him on the evidence of his conduct alone."

My 10 questions were basically a cross-examination. I have told him he should file a case against me, but he doesn't do so. I could convict him on the evidence of his conduct alone. Money can be paid only to the person whose decision is final. That is Rajiv.

The cover-up is the evidence. The technical reports on the gun were ignored and the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was another cover-up. And what about Mr Ajitabh Bachchan's flat which he bought just 10 days after the deal?

Q. What about the Ardbo tape?

A. It has gone to the public prosecutor of Sweden.

Q. Why didn't you publicise it here?

A. You will get it one of these days. (smiles) Along with other things.

Q. The Sikh Case, published by your Bharat Mukti Morcha, never criticises terrorist killings. Why?

A. The booklet is aimed at ending terrorism. So it is basically against terrorism. It is only a working paper for a dialogue. Now this government distorts it and accuses us of demanding Khalistan, of supporting terrorists.

My position on Khalistan is clear. When a speaker talked at the seminar about a Khalistan within the Indian Constitution, I spoke against it. And before I took up S.S. Mann's case, I got an affidavit from him stating that he abides by the Indian Constitution. The demand of Khalistan is due to the Government's policies. I wrote to Rajiv that Khalistan will not be heard of if he follows my advice. The paper, in fact, includes the package Rajiv has just announced. Is he borrowing our ideas?

Q. You say you are a watch-dog. Yet you're silent on people like the Hindujas who're suspected of corruption.

A. I'm sure they did not have a hand in commissions. Their reply to *The Hindu* is self-explanatory. But I feel they have convinced Ardbo not to speak against Rajiv. Our relations have soured on this.

Q. But The Hindu *published documents linking the Hindujas to Bofors.*

A. *The Hindu* is handling that part of the investigation. I cannot do everything. If I find circumstantial evidence on them, I will pursue it.

Q. Your investigations linking Satish Sharma and Sonia Gandhi with Svenska were denied by Sharma.

A. Satish Sharma's friend (Raymond Hardy of Tribute Caskets) has only denied that Virginia Rodriegues, who also handled the Svenska accounts, was never in his service. I never said she was. You can be an associate in business without being an employee. Why does Sharma not deny his own letter where he said that he had "the dazzle at his disposal in Delhi"?

Q. How come you are left alone now?

A. When it comes to brasstacks, very few can stand the heat.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Jethmalani promptly challenged the prime minister to repeat his remarks outside Parliament so he could haul him to court Defending the booklet, Jethmalani says: "It's the beginning of a debate." *(See interview).*

And characteristically, Jethmalani is unfazed about the whole issue. "It's good to be controversial," he says, "You are under vigil. It helps to keep checks on your actions and ideas." He, of course, stoutly denies that he is for Khalistan. At the Bharat Mukti Morcha seminar, Jethmalani stated that he was ready to talk to "Khalistanis". But only, as he insists, "to convince them how absurd and unworkable the demand is".

Jethmalani is, however, a man with strong and controversial views on Punjab. Once, after meeting Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, he insisted that the Sikh zealot was not a separatist. The remark caused a furore within the Bharatiya Janata Party. He had to leave the party when he announced that he was going to defend two of the accused (Balbir Singh and Kehar Singh) in the Indira Gandhi assassination case.

Jethmalani is something of a misfit in politics. By bringing his celebrated courtroom tactics to the mean streets of politics, he often bites off much more than he can chew. Offence for him, is the best defence. This gadfly attitude unsettles his opposition colleagues. Says opposition leader Madhu Limaye: "He is an ace criminal lawyer. But I do not perceive him as a politician." Adds his lawyer-daughter Rani: "He is a misfit in politics. He sees things in black and white. Today's politics is all grey."

Even Jethmalani admits it. But politics gives him a platform to air his strong views and earn his biggest headlines. He came into the news first when he launched a shrill anti-Indira campaign from the US where he took refuge during the Emergency. Then he hit the headlines when he prosecuted former Maharashtra chief minister A.R. Antulay, who had to resign. Added to that have been his controversial defences: that of suspected smugglers charged under the Conservation of Foreign Exchange and Prevention of Smuggling Activities (COFEPOSA) Act and of Sant Longowal after Operation Bluestar.

His most famous defence was of Kehar Singh and Balbir Singh—while Balbir was acquitted, Kehar was hanged, in January this year. Then there have been his pugnacious forays with the help of the *Indian Express*—digging up evidence of Ajitabh Bachchan's Swiss flat. And for newspapers at large he put out a daily diet of 10 questions to Rajiv Gandhi, who had provoked his ire by dismissing him as a 'barking dog'.

ALL this has certainly succeeded in catapulting Jethmalani onto the national stage. But it also lays him open to the charge that he seeks sensationalism. More important, his broadsides on Bofors and Rajiv have done serious damage to his credibility.

Apart from all this, his political career has reinforced his image as a gadfly. He came under flak when Janata partymen openly talked of how he had "smuggled" himself into the Rajya Sabha from Karnataka with Ramakrishna Hegde's help.

But it is obvious that the Opposition needs him more than he needs them. His very name is a red rag to the Congress(I). Party propagandists like Minister of State for External Affairs K.K. Tewary visibly squirm when talking about Jethmalani. Says Tewary: "I think that there should be a mass movement to divest him of his citizenship." But when asked why the Government does not prosecute him, Tewary clenches his fists in impotent rage, hissing: "The man is so intelligent." This is precisely the role Jethmalani plays and enjoys playing—the eternal inquisitor of the ruling party.

In that, his experience as one of India's most celebrated lawyers stands him in good stead. In matters of law, he is the undisputed master of his universe. There is hardly anyone in the country's legal arena who does not view him with awe. Many feel intimidated by his mere presence in court.

Jethmalani's critics find it difficult to pin him down on his motives though his methods can be questioned. During the Bofors investigations, his accusations were largely seen as mere insinuations and unfounded allegations. His choice of associates has also been myopic. When he joined hands with Chandraswami to unearth secrets about Bofors, he ignored the fact that Chandraswami's motives—and connections—were questionable. Chandraswami ditched him in favour of the Government.

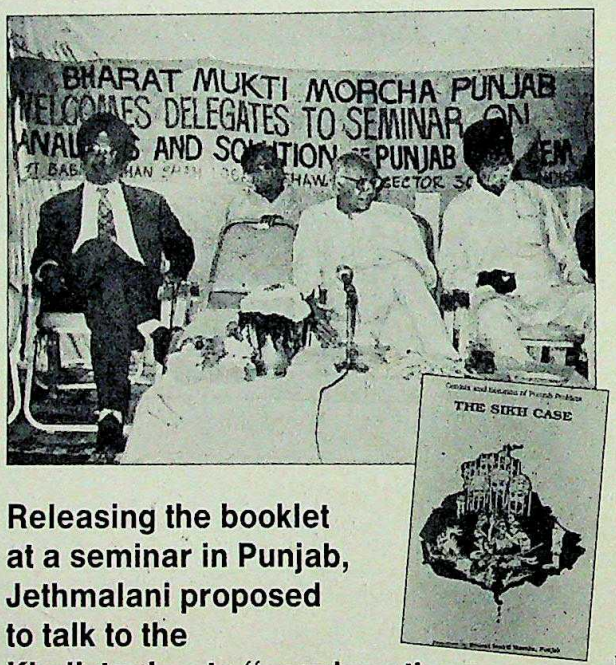
Similarly, he threw in his lot with the *Indian Express*. But now he no longer sees eye to eye with the newspaper and is critical of the way the paper has linked the Hindujas'—who are regarded his friends—with the Bofors deal.

But that is perhaps what Jethmalani is all about. A misfit in politics, where he has made the biggest headlines. A loose cannon in the Opposition ranks, where he is nonetheless needed as a shock weapon. And a brilliant legal luminary with a courtroom record few can match. In the bargain, however, the dividing line between the various roles he plays has become increasingly blurred.

Certainly, during his recent crusades Jethmalani has made many more enemies than friends. And, even those he considered friends, colleagues or associates now refuse to have any truck with him. That suits Ram Jethmalani just fine. He is, by nature, a lone ranger. He also has an unimpeachable reputation for honesty and is by far one of the richest lawyers in the country. What makes him tick is the blood and thunder of battle—and the faintest whiff of a controversy.

—PANKAJ PACHAURI

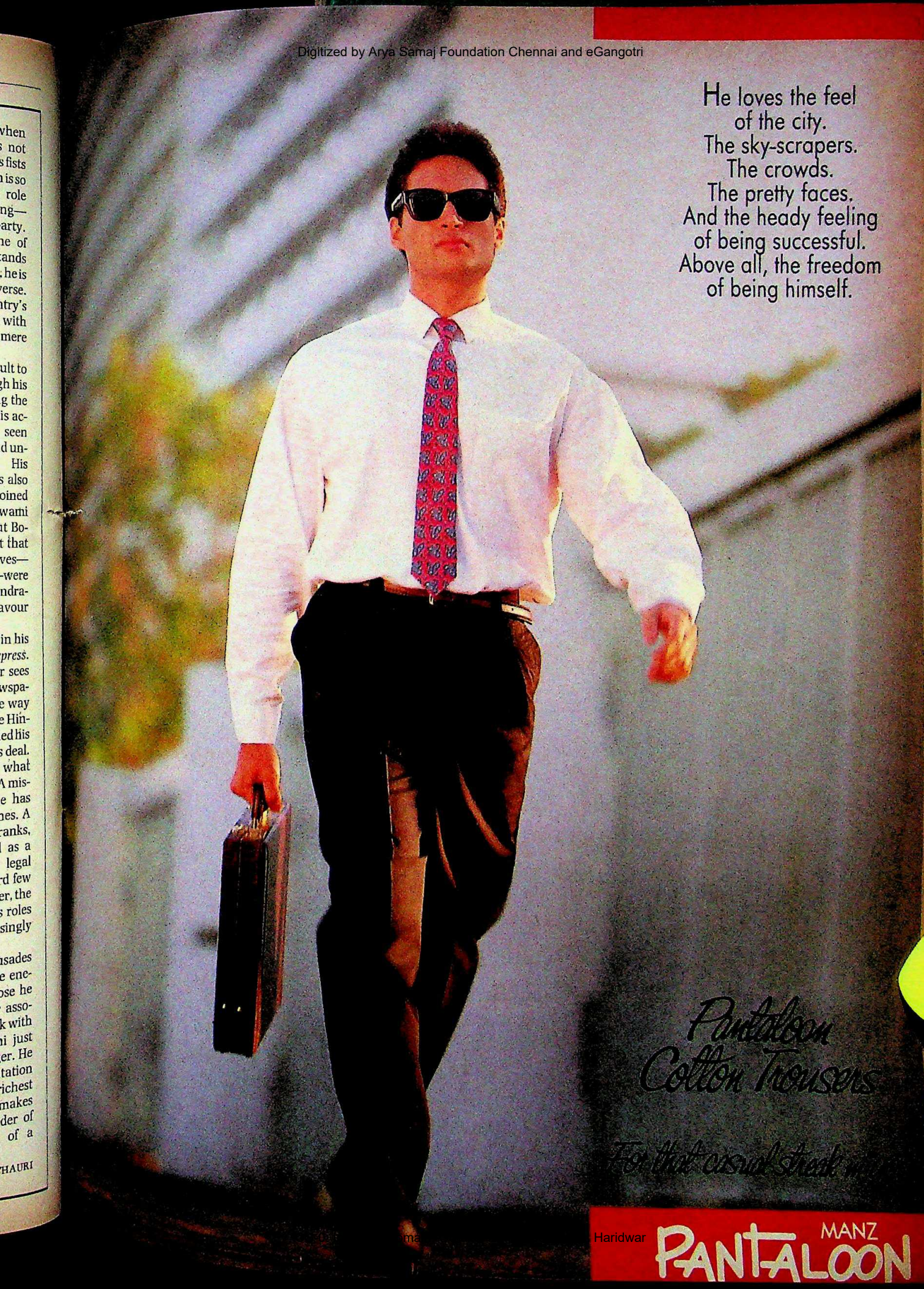
Jethmalani: controversial views



Releasing the booklet at a seminar in Punjab, Jethmalani proposed to talk to the Khalistanis—to "convince them the idea was absurd".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

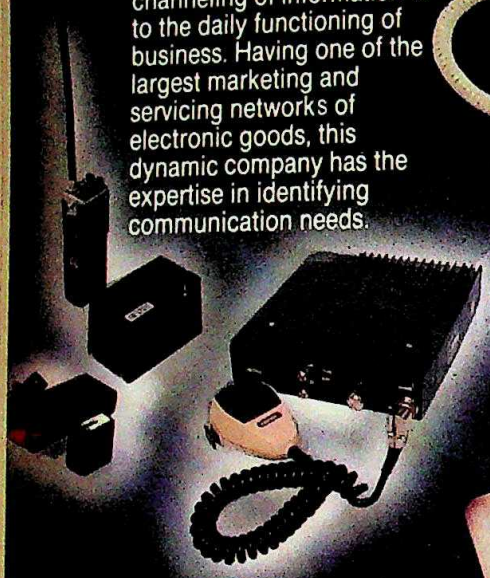
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Haridwar

"It always pays to have an expert on your side."

Enkay Telecom recognises how valuable the speedy and effective channeling of information is to the daily functioning of business. Having one of the largest marketing and servicing networks of electronic goods, this dynamic company has the expertise in identifying communication needs.



It would be interesting to note that at present every second EPABX system in Bombay is marketed by Enkay.

Enkay not only advises you as to the specific equipment you require but also helps you to select it from the wide range of communication hardware it markets. Available, is an array of communication equipment which includes Key Telephone Systems, EPABXs, Desk Top Fax Machines, Teleprinters and Wireless Equipment. Besides marketing, Enkay also provides reliable and professional maintenance of communication systems.

So, if you are entangled in any problem with communication equipment whatsoever—Enkay is equipped with the expertise to help you.

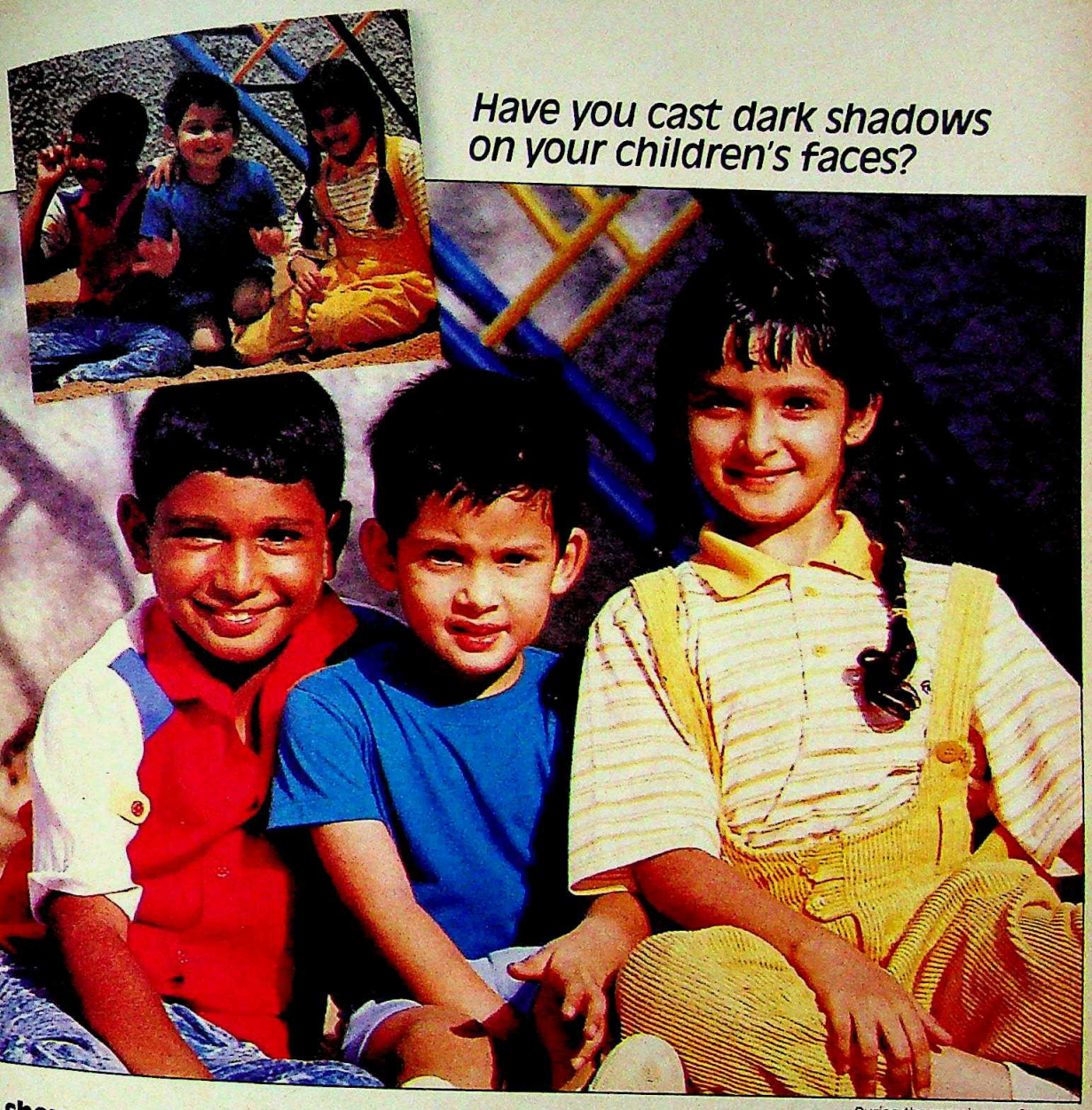
ENKAY

TELECOM

Enkay Telecommunications (India) Private Limited

Enkay Enterprises Group

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Have you cast dark shadows on your children's faces?

During the morning or afternoon, the light spreads evenly outdoors to give a clear photograph

Indu shows you how to take better photographs.

Want a nice, sunny photograph of your kids outdoors? Make sure you click them in the right light.

Avoid taking photographs between eleven and two in the day. At this time, the light falls on the subject directly from top and is distributed unevenly. The result is that you get a photograph with heavy shadows.

The best time to photograph them is in the morning, between seven and ten-thirty. Or later in the day, between two and five. The light falls from the side and spreads evenly on the subject. You get a clear, bright photograph – for your family album.

Keeping these tips in sight helps. So does a good quality colour film. Like Indu. The colours are rich and lasting.

Hindustan Photo Films Mfg. Co. Ltd.
(A Government of India Enterprise)
Indunagar, Udhagamandalam 643 005
Marketing Headquarters, Subramanian Buildings,
No.1, Club House Road, Madras 600002

मेरा भारत महान

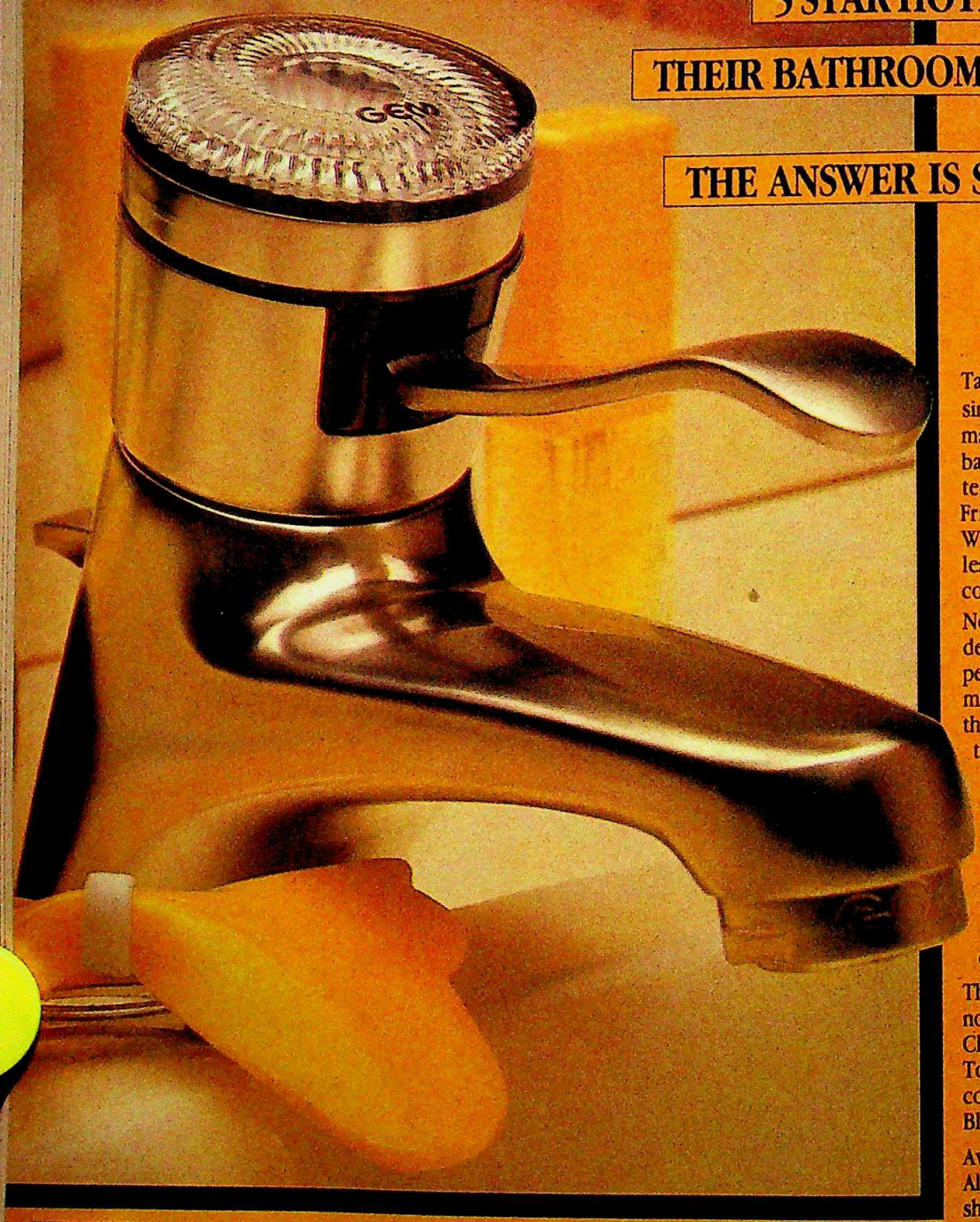
Sista's-HPF.1067.88.B

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EVER WONDERED WHERE THE DELUXE 5 STAR HOTELS BUY THEIR BATHROOM FITTINGS?

THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE – GEM



Take Euromix. An exquisite single - lever mixer which has made it to the most elegant bathrooms in town. Made in technical collaboration with Friedrich Grohe of West Germany – a world leader known in over 100 countries around the globe.

Never before has styling and design been matched so perfectly. This one – hand mixer is designed to give you that 'just right' water temperature and volume, at the touch of a finger. That is why India's finest hotels – The Oberoi chain, Leela Kempinski, Hyatt Regency, Centaur, Surya Palace and many more have all made the only choice — GEM.

The latest range of Euromix is now available in Designer Chrome, Antique Silver, Silver Touch and in fantastic young colours like Fiery Red, Panther Black, China White and Ivory.

Available at :
All leading sanitaryware showrooms.

EUROMIX from GEM

IN TECHNICAL CO-OPERATION WITH FRIEDRICH GROHE

Gem Sanitary Appliances Pvt. Ltd. A-57 Wazirpur Industrial Area, Delhi-110 052

The final word in design & luxury

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ASSAM

Striking a Separatist Stance

Agitation for separate homeland by Bodo tribals turns violent

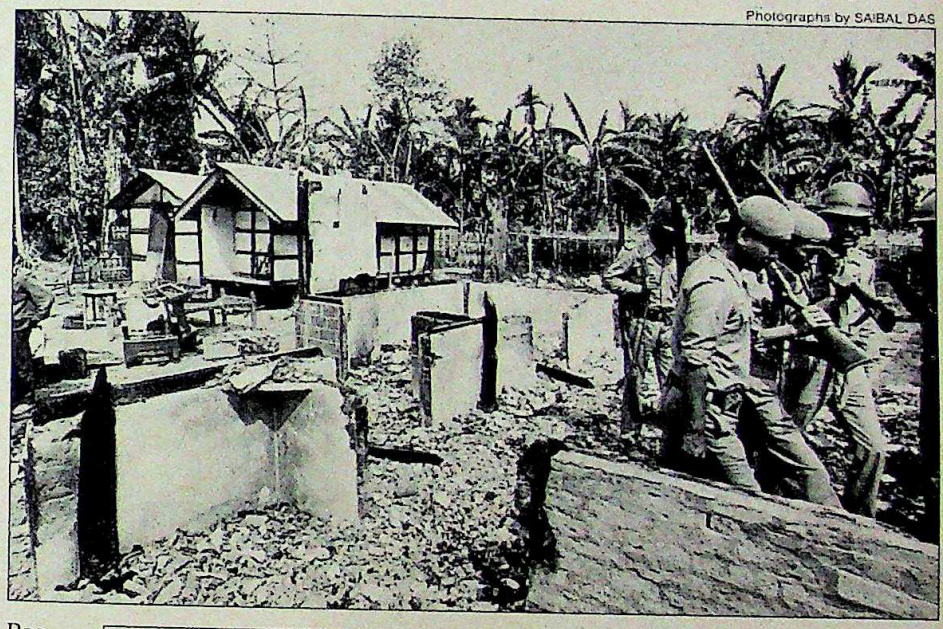
THE hydra-headed monster of separatism has again reared its head in the North-east. Barely had arms been laid down by the GNLF in the West Bengal hills and the TNV in Tripura than Assam went up in flames once again. As the latest bandh called by the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) ended after 175 hours on March 9, it became clear that the state was in for another turbulent period of violence and bloodshed.

Shattering Assam's fragile peace were a strident section of the 40 lakh plains tribals known as the Bodos. Their year-old agitation for a separate state called "Bodoland" took a grim turn last fortnight, as over 30 persons lost their lives, nearly 100 were arrested and numerous villages set on fire. Equally worrying was the fact that the agitating Bodos threatened to isolate the state as they are settled largely on the 20-km wide link between Assam and the rest of the country. As the militants singled out trains for attack, the railway network was thrown into disarray. Passenger trains between West Bengal and Guwahati were cancelled after ABSU men shot dead the assistant station master of Sessapani in Kokrajhar district. Efforts to run a shuttle service between Guwahati and West Bengal were also abandoned after two days when Bodo militants threw bombs, opened fire and burnt some sleepers. And in Darrang, one of the worst affected districts, goods trains were withdrawn, while elsewhere they ran with armed escorts. "There is total panic amongst railway employees," said a senior railway officer, expressing fear that the North-east might be starved of supplies if such a situation continued.

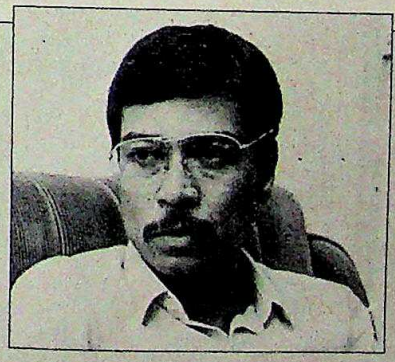
The inaccessibility of the Bodo heartland in Kokrajhar and Darrang districts, made the state Government's attempts to quell the agitation largely ineffective. As the militants rampaged—often burning entire villages—many of the locals fled to safe sanctuaries. Tutlapara village, for instance—which can be reached only after a 10-km drive on a *kutcha* road and a 2-km trek—was completely deserted. ABSU militants had burned 15 houses there and ravaged the granaries. The attackers also killed two persons.

Unfortunately, the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) Government was unable to convince the ABSU to come to the negotiating table. Talks were, in fact, scheduled for February 28, but at the last moment the ABSU backed out on the plea that it would only negotiate if the agenda included the demand for a separate state. The state Government maintains Central leaders met ABSU representatives in Calcutta on the eve of the February 28 meeting and convinced them to boycott the talks. Home Minister Bhrigu Phukan, who has written to the Centre protesting this move, says: "Circumstantial evidence proves clearly that the Centre's hand is behind the entire agitation.

Photographs by SAIBAL DAS



CRPF men guarding burnt houses



"Circumstantial evidence proves very clearly that the Centre's hand is behind the entire agitation."

BHRIGU PHUKAN
home minister

Phukan's belief in the Centre's complicity is shared by others. Political observers in Guwahati complain that while the Centre may have scored points against an opposition state Government, it has also opened the floodgates of ethnic strife in Assam. "Tomorrow the Rabhas, the Coch Rajbhanshis or Mishings might also launch similar agitations," said one of them.

Aside from blaming the Centre, the AGP Government seems to have decided to tackle the problem by launching a verbal assault on the ABSU. Phukan insists that the ABSU leaders had fled to Meghalaya, West Bengal and Burma. "Had the movement been a mass movement, they would not have run away. This proves that the movement has gone

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

into the hands of dacoits and criminals, whom we will not allow to create mayhem," he says. Phukan adds for good measure: "Giving them a separate state is out of question. The demand is unjustified as the Bodos are a minority (27 per cent) even in Kokrajhar district." He does, however, concede that "the Bodos have some genuine grievances".

Exploitation by the majority community is the biggest fear haunting the Bodos. The AGP's attempts to establish the supremacy of the Assamese language and culture has alienated the tribals. They fear losing their identity, language and land. Phukan says: "Since all settlers of the Brahmaputra Valley are not original inhabitants, everybody who has been staying in Assam is an Assamese." But as Assamese chauvinism rises, no one is prepared to buy this argument and the AGP is being increasingly identified as a party of caste Hindus.

The immediate incident which triggered off the ABSU agitation last year was the gang rape of nine Bodo women by policemen at Bhumka village in Kokrajhar district. But the root cause is the socio-economic deprivation of the tribals. Official estimates point out that 70 per cent of the tribals are today landless, though over 90 per cent depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Over the years, tribal land has been encroached upon by new settlers. Even the AGP Government recently admitted that over 2.5 lakh acres of land is illegally occupied by non-tribal encroachers.

As the Bodos take to arms to drive out "outsiders", the irony is inescapable. History seems to have come full circle in Assam, where not long ago, it was the All Assam Students' Union (AASU) which was driving out "foreigners".

ALREADY, like the AASU movement before it, the ABSU agitation has taken on a dangerous communal colour. Caste Hindus were singled out for attack during the 175-hour bandh, and their houses gutted. Some of the worst violence took place in Odla Tamulbari village, where a caste Assamese Hindu's house was burnt after he failed to pay Rs 12,000 to the militants.

As more and more tribal youth give up traditional weapons like bows and arrows to acquire sophisticated arms and explosives, there are ominous signs of the movement turning into a full-fledged insurgency or a bloody civil war. And ABSU leader, Upendra Nath Brahma, has only added fuel to the fire by calling for a "mass revolution".

A confident Brahma recently told INDIA TODAY: "By 1990 we should achieve our goal for a separate state." Taking a leaf out of the GNLF's book, the ABSU plans to cripple the administration by calling for a series of bandhs, the longest being the 1,000-hour bandh to be launched on August 15. Further, ABSU volunteers have formed a Bodo Volunteer Force, a Bodo Liberation Army and a Bodo Security Force. All three groups have been systematically destroying symbols of the Government. Their main targets are school buildings, bridges, post offices and buildings of the forest and agriculture departments. Says Jaypriya Prakash, deputy commissioner of Darrang district: "The agitation has led to all development activities coming to a standstill."

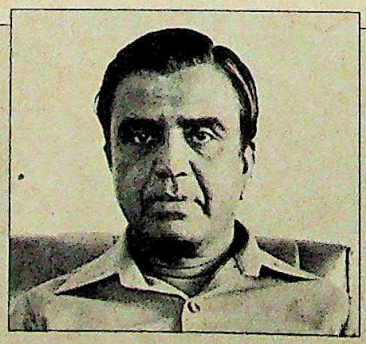
Adds Director-General of Police S.V. Subramanium: "A large section of Bodos are expert dacoits and it is they who have terrorised the people. The movement will not continue for long." Yet, Subramanium's disclosure that the police have unearthed nearly half-a-dozen gun making factories and seized a lot of cartridges and explosives in the tribal areas suggests, on the contrary, that the agitation will pick up momentum even as it turns increasingly violent.

Surprisingly, instead of looking into the genuine grievances of the Bodos, the AGP Government continues to treat the issue as a law and order problem. While the army has been asked to stand by, eight paramilitary companies constantly patrol the sensitive areas.

True, the state Government set up a five-member Tribal Development Committee last month that will be formulating guidelines for the uplift of the tribals. But it was the ongoing agitation that had forced the AGP to take the belated move. Even Atul Bora, president of AASU, said: "This has come very late." Moreover, the Government is yet to implement its decision to make Bodo an associate language in Kokrajhar and Udalguri subdivision of Darrang district. And unless Assam's rulers are more sensitive to tribal aspirations, they will be forced to watch helplessly as history repeats itself.

—KAMALJEET RATTAN in Guwahati

Bodo villagers with traditional weapons



"The police have unearthed half-a-dozen gun making factories and seized cartridges and explosives in tribal areas."

S.V. SUBRAMANIUM
director-general of police

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GALAXY

JETGLAS RADIAL TYRE

THE FOREMOST IN FIBREGLASS RADIALS

The super-tough radial engineered for extraordinary performance.

Extraordinary road grip.
The radial construction and unique tread design gives excellent road grip. Holding firm even on wet roads!

Extraordinary mileage.
Fibreglass belts eliminate tread shuffle, reduces heat build-up and tread wear.

Extraordinary comfort.
Fibreglass belts absorb shocks on bumpy roads. Keeping the suspension shock-free and the going smooth. Always.

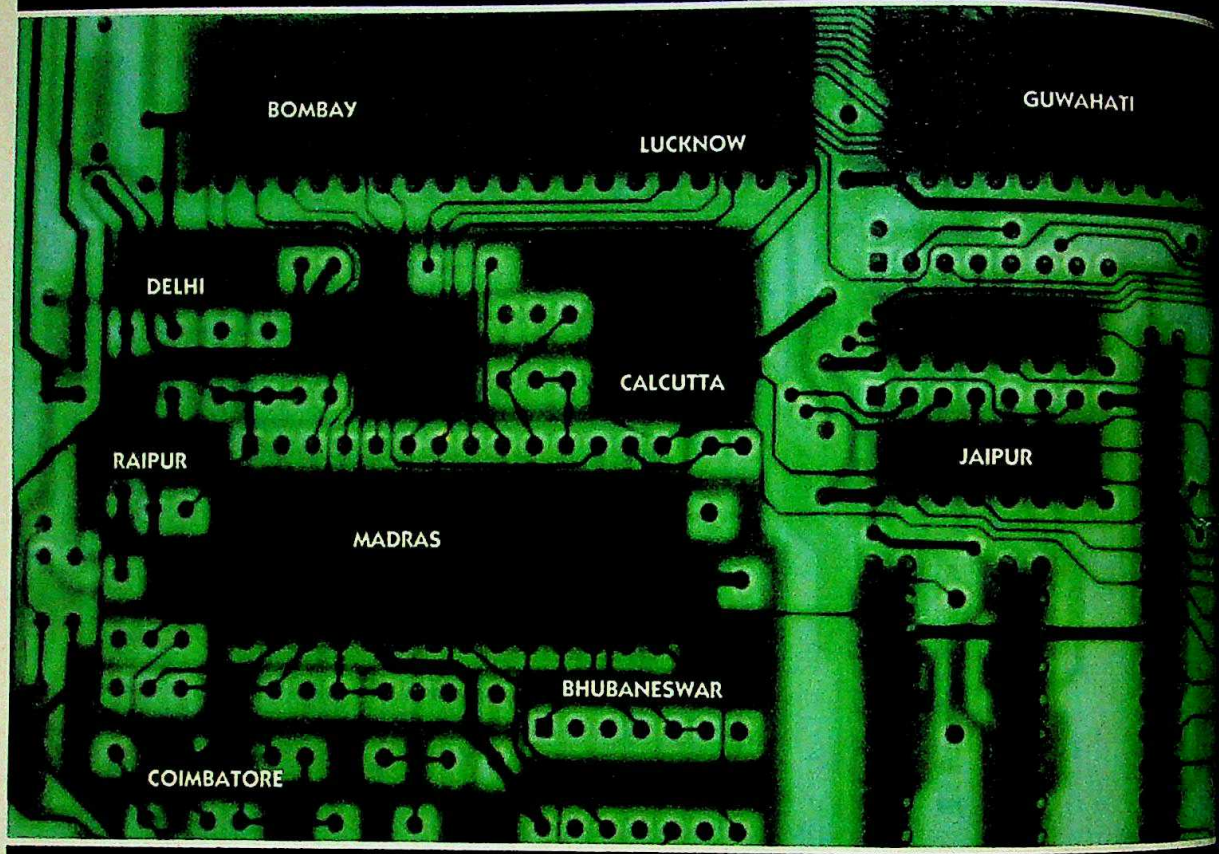
From the country's first in radials – JK Tyre.
With 12 years experience and the highest test-standards for quality. X-ray screening each Galaxy Jetglas Radial for thorough performance. Before it reaches you.

JK TYRE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE PCL SERVICE



48 OFFICES

PCL is a service oriented company. And to PCL service begins with the ability to reach its customers anywhere, across the length and breadth of the country. In keeping with this service philosophy, PCL today has a vast network of offices in 48 locations manned by over 800 experts to effectively service and support each of our clients locally.

Networking, the PCL Service Plus

To start with, you can be assured of the same consistent high standards of PCL service for all your offices – even in small towns – quickly and efficiently.

Installing similar systems all over from a company like PCL, also results in considerable time and expense savings. Collective training for all your teams at a central location. Greater system compatibility and reliability. Uniform upgradations and significantly lower investments on systems design and software including conversions and modifications.

Service, right through

Now, a word about the day-to-day benefits of being serviced by PCL.

At PCL, service begins at the product design stage itself – where every step is taken to ensure that the product being developed would require least maintenance. Reliability has to be inbuilt into the product itself. Which means that everything – every component, sub-assembly and finished product – is checked and rechecked to the point of perfection.

Site planning programmes by PCL's Customer Engineering group ensure the ideal environment for your computer. From designing the floor work area to consultancy on dust, humidity and temperature control.

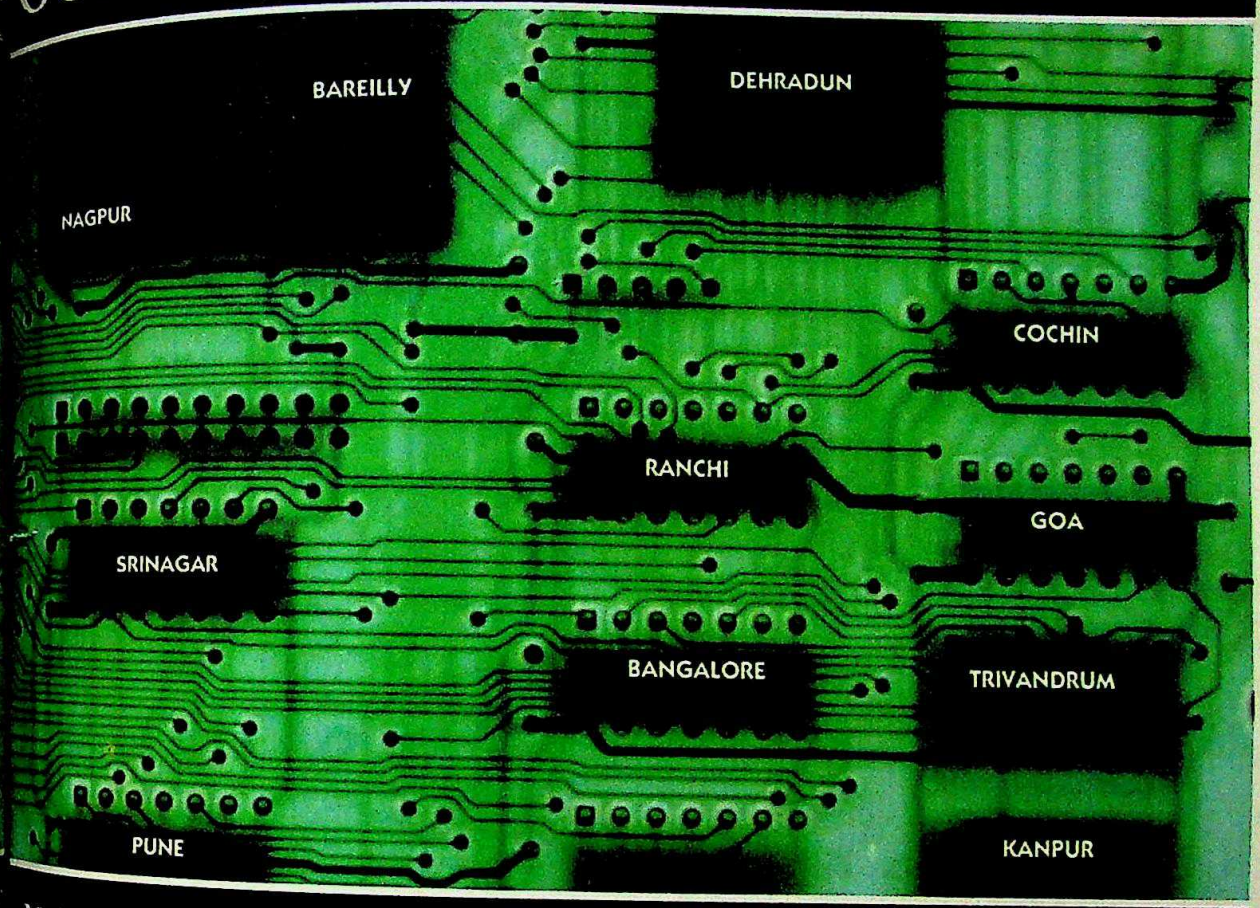
everest/d88/PCL/385 R

Pertech Computers Ltd

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONFIGURATION



NATIONWIDE

And after systematic checks during installation, PCL's preventive maintenance team swings into action with regular checks and servicings including timely replacement of components to prevent major breakdowns.

On corrective maintenance, a PCL Customer Engineer is expected to respond within an hour and a half, while outstation calls are met within 24 hours. Replacement of defective parts is done immediately, with minimum downtime.

Each of PCL's Service engineers is inducted into specialised service groups. Followed by intensive training to equip each with specialised service capabilities. Each one is trained to listen to the customer's needs. To encourage communication. And finally, each one is kept fine-tuned to the very latest developments in the computer world.

To provide the highest standards of service for you. Always. PCL's service and support today have established an unbelievably impressive track record. 6000 installations in just over a year. A record uptime of 99.8%. And a repeat order track of almost 70%. That's the kind of performance few can hope to match, let alone beat.

PCL

India's fastest growing computer company.

Corporate Office: E-46/10, Okhla Phase-II, New Delhi-110 020. Tel: 6837379, 6841860, 6841864, 6846472. Tlx: 031-75163 PCL IN.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs. 727*, Rs. 668*

Has your watch kept pace with you?
Look at your wrist, then read this message from Titan.

So many things about you have changed. Your income. The way you travel. The clothes you wear. Why then should you sport the watch you wore years ago?

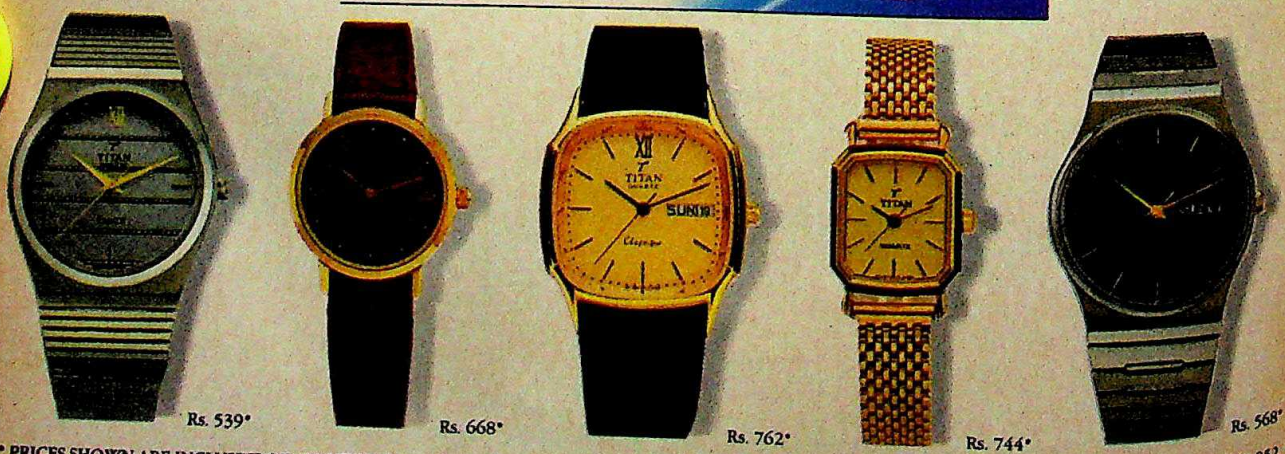
Now Tata offers you Titan Quartz. Choose from the latest, international collection of over 200 fine quartz watches. From Rs 370 to Rs 2000. Titan Quartz is incredibly accurate, durable, reliable. In a variety of styles to suit your personality, your dress, your status.

With Titan Quartz you have the Tata assurance of many years of faultless performance. And every watch is guaranteed for two years. Our after-sales network offers service with speed and economy.

So reward yourself with a Titan Quartz. Its contemporary good looks will signal how your watch too has kept pace with you.

Titan Quartz from Tata
The changing face of time

TITAN QUARTZ



Rs. 539* Rs. 668* Rs. 762* Rs. 744* Rs. 568*

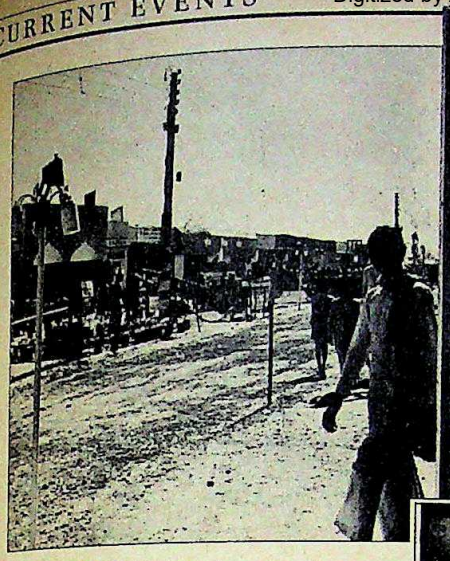
* PRICES SHOWN ARE INCLUSIVE OF ALL LEVIES IN MAHARASHTRA

Titan Showrooms: F-43, South Extension-I, New Delhi 110 049.
55, Center Point, Panchawati, Ambawadi, Ahmedabad 380 006.

Titan Watches Limited, Sona Towers, 71, Miller Road, Bangalore 560 052.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Photographs by R.K. GUPTA

UTTAR PRADESH

Hi-tech Blitz

Image building at science show

DID Rajiv Gandhi invent the aeroplane? Or perhaps play a key role in devising the personal computer, the robot and the television? The people of Amethi, the prime minister's constituency, cannot be blamed if henceforth they answer these questions in the affirmative.

For, at the 11-day exhibition of science and technology that began at Gauri Ganj in Amethi on March 4, it was easy to get that impression. Life-sized portraits of Rajiv Gandhi dwarfed the exhibits. One lakh posters featuring Rajiv and his newly coined slogan, "*Vigyan gaon ki oor* (science goes to the villages)" were pasted all over Sultanpur and Rae Bareli districts. As many as 50,000 calendars with Rajiv's picture were distributed. More than 40 arches announcing the exhibition and displaying the prime minister's portrait were erected in the two districts. And more than 2 lakh Rajiv stickers were distributed.

The Gauri Ganj exhibition was ostensibly aimed at making Amethi's rural masses aware of the country's scientific achievements. But was edification the sole aim of the exhibition? Perhaps not entirely. Said a party activist involved in organising the exhibition: "Our prime aim is to educate the rural people. If in the process we gain some political advantage, why should it raise eyebrows?"

But raise eyebrows the exhibition did. Especially because it erased the already hazy line between the party and the Government. State and Central departments worked closely with the Congress(I) without even an attempt at concealing the nexus. While the Central and state governments pooled in Rs 30 lakh towards exhibition expenses, excluding cost of transportation of exhibits, the AICC(I) contributed Rs 6 lakh.

The science exhibition (top); and electronic exhibits

No effort or official machinery was spared to make the show a success. It was organised by the National Institute of Wastelands and Rural Development (NIWARD) in collaboration with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Preparations began in January when a CSIR-NIWARD team visited Gauri Ganj to finalise the site. But other organisations too pitched in. For instance, the Industrial Toxicology Research Centre of Lucknow. Its director was made the chairman of the steering committee which supervised the organisation. The result of this cooperative effort was a gigantic affair.

The exhibition, spread over 27 acres, had a covered area of 1 lakh sq ft with 204 stalls displaying exhibits produced by 75-odd government corporations and public sector units. The exhibition was organised around various themes—environment, agriculture, construction industry, small-scale and cottage industry, solar energy, aeronautics and electronics. Also on display were more than 2,000 modern gadgets including personal computers, VCRs and digital telephones. And every evening, in the exhibition's huge pandal, there were cultural programmes.

Whether the rural visitors to the exhibition were educated by it is in doubt. What is certain is that they were entertained. They went around the exhibition with glee and gawked at the mechanised replica of a robot and models of aircraft. Said Siya Ram, 40, of Gauri Ganj who demonstrated to his children how a lamp lit up when he clapped: "It is a rare sight not only for our children but also for us. Thanks to Rajiv Gandhi for bringing this exhibition here." Raj Kumar, 35, came a long way hoping to buy soyabean seeds. He could not, but he was thrilled all the same.

Still, the results may not have matched the effort put in. Satish Sharma, a close aide of the prime minister, spent three days before the inauguration going from block to block holding meetings with *pradhans* to ensure that the show was a success. The Transport Department was asked to ply 300 buses daily between Gauri Ganj and 10 adjoining districts. But, while the target was 20,000 visitors a day, the average turnout was not more than 5,000.

The success of the exhibition was the only factor that the Congress(I) seemed concerned about. The impropriety of blatantly using government machinery for what were clearly political ends scarcely weighed on the minds of Congress(I) leaders. But then, they have long ceased asking themselves any uncomfortable questions.

—DILIP AWASTHI in Gauri Ganj

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

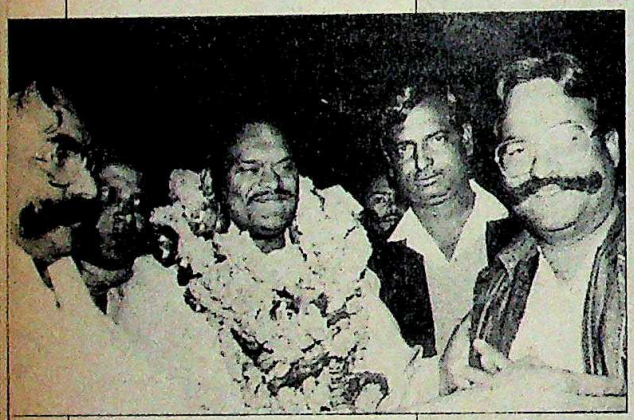
UTTAR PRADESH

Criminal Move

Congress(I) inducts people with police records

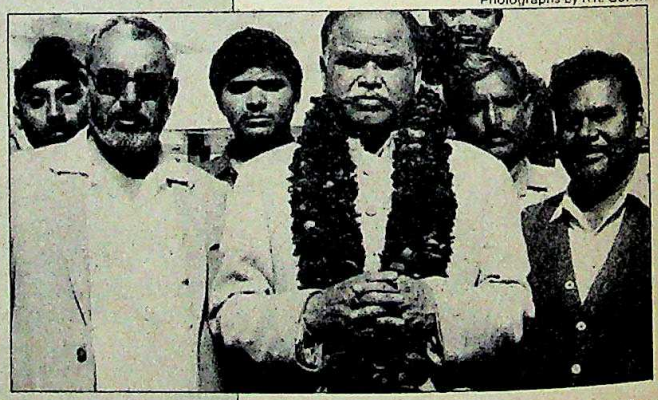
THEY have police records an arm long, are charged with crimes ranging from goondaism to murder and kidnapping, and have been detained under the NSA plus the Gangster Act. Men with a price on their heads? Criminals on wanted posters? No, four party officials of the Uttar Pradesh Congress(I) Committee (UPCC-I).

Amazingly, the UPCC(I) has allowed as many as four 'A' category criminals to become district-level Congress(I) functionaries. Though criminals have long enjoyed a reputation of being the henchmen of politicians, this is one of those rare instances in Uttar Pradesh when they have actually been directly inducted into the ruling party.



Om Prakash Gupta after election: serious charges

Photographs by R.K. GUPTA



Ram Gopal Misra with supporters: elected unopposed

Even Congressmen are upset at the move. At least 70 party MLAs have signed a memorandum to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi suggesting overhauling of the UPCC(I) and the state ministry. Though the signatories refrain from coming on record at the moment since they hope to get the signatures of at least half the 245 Congress(I) legislators, one of the MLAs revealed that the memorandum seeks removal of UPCC(I) President Balram Singh Yadav as he had been found ineffective and had supported the enrolment of "anti-social elements in the party".

Worse, the choice of Lucknow don Ram Gopal Misra as consensus Congress(I) candidate for the chairmanship of the Sitapur Zilla Parishad was allegedly cleared by the AICC(I). The Opposition did not dare field a candidate in the elections held on January 24 and Misra was elected unopposed.

Misra has 20 cases of heinous crimes registered against him since 1972. He stands accused in six cases of murder, six cases of attempts to murder, and one case of kidnapping. In five cases of murder and three cases of attempts to murder the trial is still pending. Misra was arrested under the Goonda Act in 1979 and 1980, under NSA in 1983 and again in 1985 and under the Gangster Act in 1986. Yet he coolly says: "I have been falsely involved by the police."

Criminals have long been politicians' henchmen. But now, they have been directly inducted into the ruling party.

Another underworld old-timer, Om Prakash Gupta of Sitapur, was the Congress(I) candidate for the chairmanship of the Misrikh-Neemsar Nagarpalika in Sitapur district. Gupta's name was proposed by Public Works Development Minister Ammar Rizvi and Yadav quickly granted his approval. Gupta's fate in the polls: elected unopposed.

The police have registered 42 cases against Gupta. He has been tried in four cases of murder and seven cases of attempt to murder and four cases of robbery and dacoity. Other cases are still pending and the police record says: "Nobody is ready to become a witness against him due to his terror." Like Misra, Gupta also claims to be a victim of police machinations.

Munendra Awasthi, general secretary of the party's Sitapur unit, is another hardened criminal. He has 26 cases against him since 1973, including eight cases of attempts to murder and four cases of robbery and dacoity. Since 1985, he has been challaned thrice under the Goonda Act.

The last of this unholy quartet is Ranjit Bahadur Srivastava, who came into prominence when former Bara Banki Superintendent of Police Brij Lal was last month summarily removed from his post and made joint secretary attached to the chief minister. Reason: local leaders, including Bara Banki MLA Surendra Nath Awasthi, had been demanding Brij Lal's transfer since he arrested Srivastava in Lucknow on January 5. In fact, it was S.N. Awasthi who had announced Srivastava's appointment as general secretary of the Bara Banki traders' cell at a rally to honour Yadav late last year.

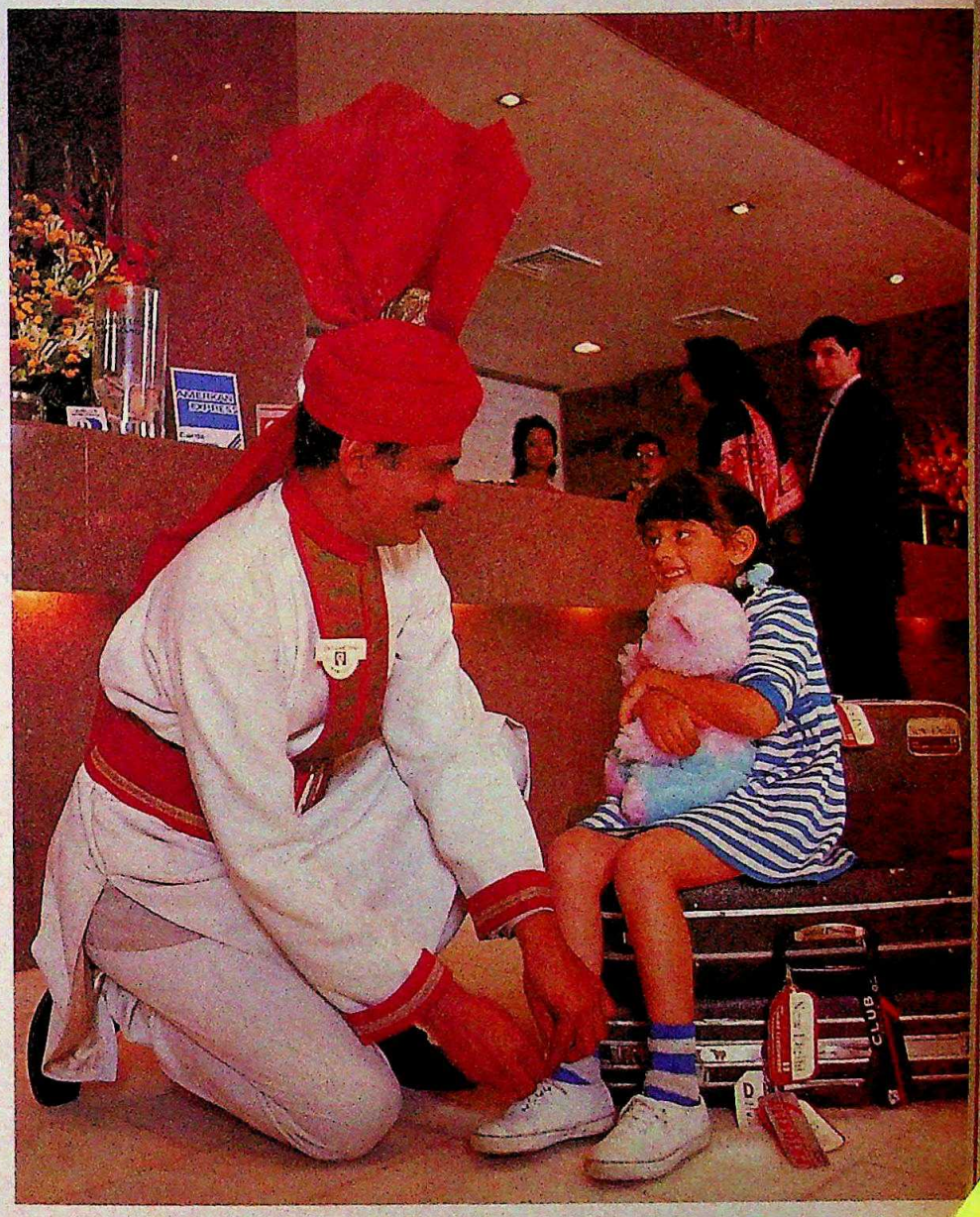
Srivastava has been involved in 40 cases of crimes—including four murders. Of these, 22 were registered in Lucknow. He had been challaned twice under the Goonda Act and once under the NSA. He was arrested under the Anti-Terrorist Act in November 1986 and detained for 18 months under the Gangster Act in September 1988. The January 5 arrest was in connection with a case of robbery and extortion in Bara Banki.

The police say that after his arrest,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Salzburg Institute of Hotel Management never prepared us for this



The little extras always come from the heart'

The world's finest institute can train a hotelier on what a hotel should be, but it never prepares you on how to make it the finest.

At Vasant Continental the 5 star deluxe feeling comes from within and comes with a welcome smile.

So, whether you're on business, or on a pleasure tour, leave your cares behind. And we'll make sure you're always among friends. Because that is really the essence of this small hotel with a large heart!

For reservations, contact:
Bombay : 494 5255-58, 233606.
Madras : 479440.
Bangalore : 77351, 77263, 77287.
Calcutta : 440808, 432189.

You're among friends

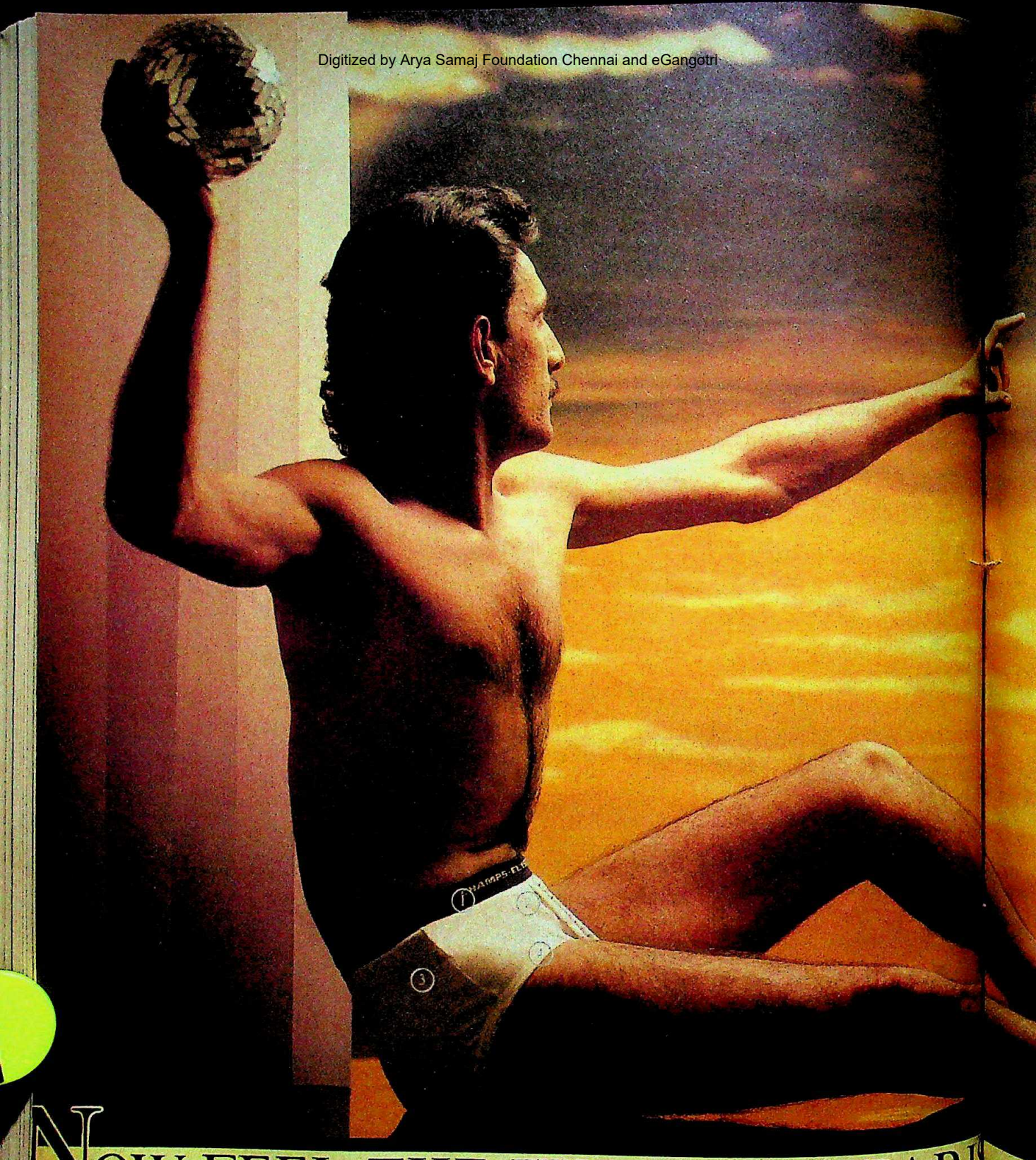
JAYPEE HOTELS

HOTEL
Vasant Continental

Vasant Vihar, New Delhi-110 057.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

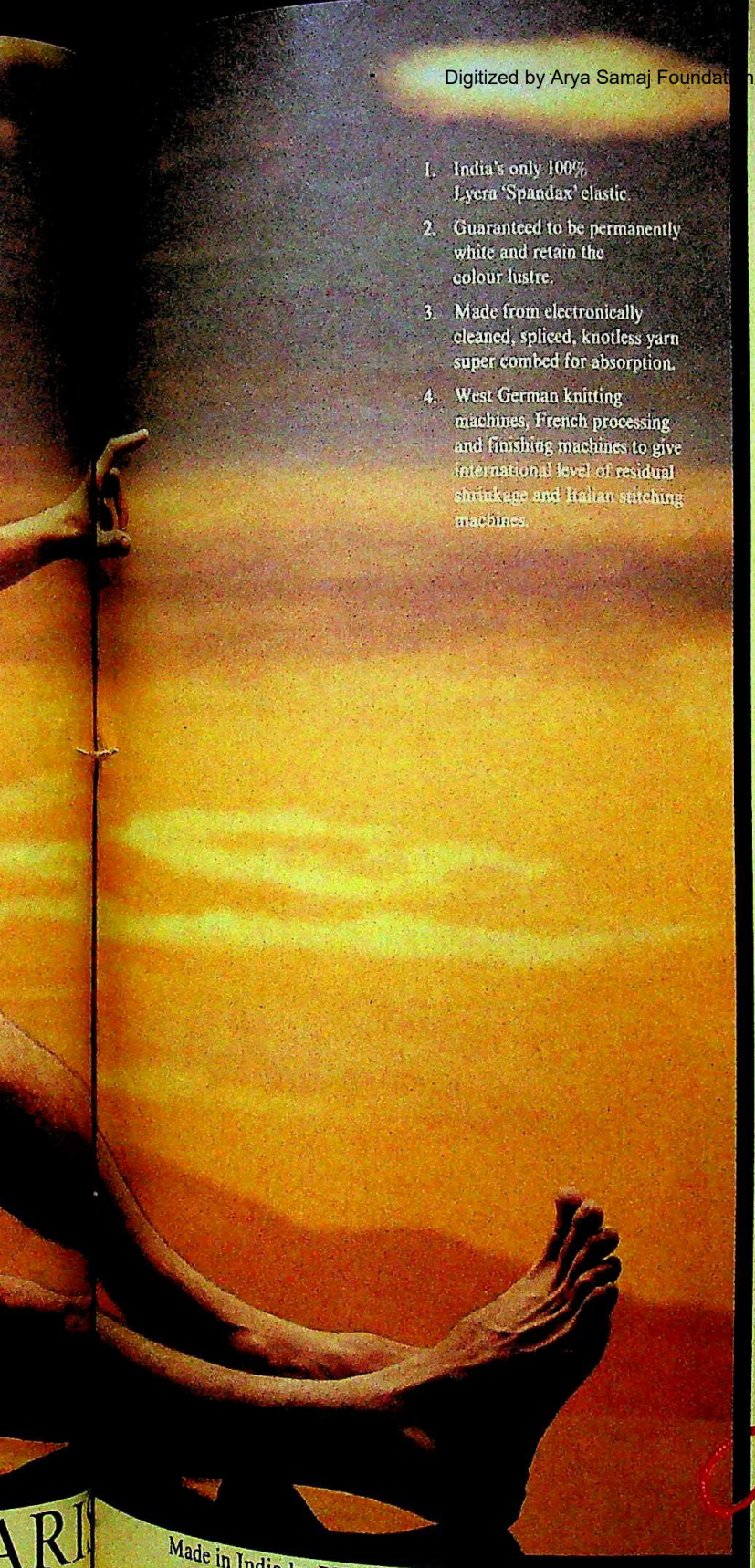


NOW FEEL THE THRILL OF PARI DOWN YOUR OWN SPINE.

NOW AVAILABLE IN ALL LEADING STORES IN YOUR AREA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



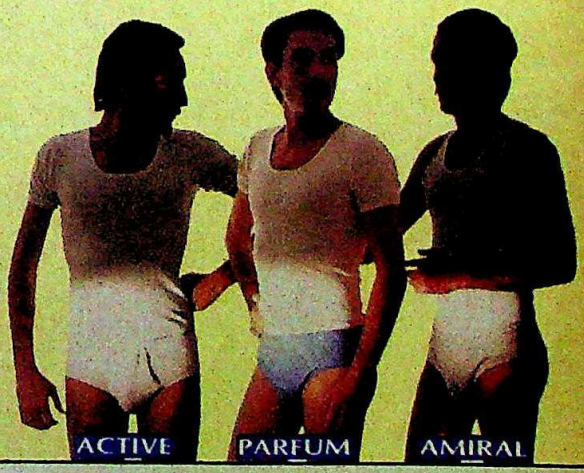
1. India's only 100% Lycra 'Spandax' elastic.
2. Guaranteed to be permanently white and retain the colour lustre.
3. Made from electronically cleaned, spliced, knotless yarn super combed for absorption.
4. West German knitting machines, French processing and finishing machines to give international level of residual shrinkage and Italian stitching machines.

Made in India by BHILWARA Licensee of Devanlay France.

For the man who plays many roles, here come the very best wearunders via the grand fashion avenue of Paris. Champs Elysees (Pronounced as Shawnze Lyzey) manufactured with French technique. And they'll reach out to the best part of your body.

Only our wearunders recognize the many roles a man plays. And there's a model for each of them. The macho male, the business man, the romantic. Not every man can separate these roles. But remember, every woman can.

Now there's one thing less you'll bring back from abroad.



CHAMPS-ELYSEES

12 models of wearunders to choose from

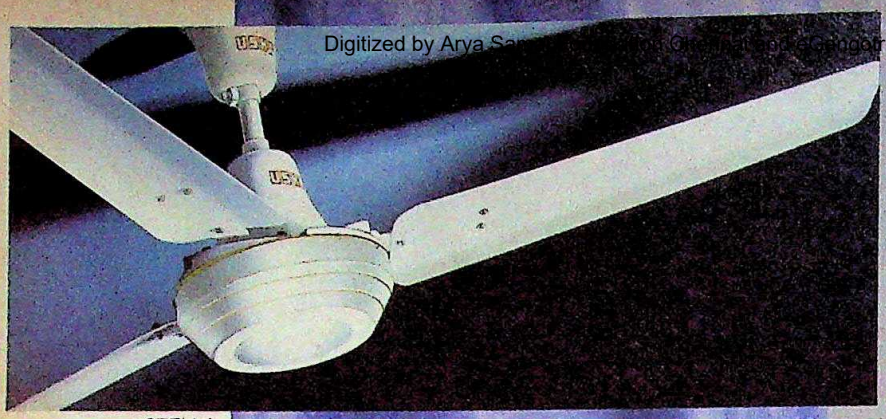
Begin dressing with 'B'
It's fashion's first letter

B

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ASIAN KNITWEARS PVT. LTD. (A unit of Bhilwara Group)

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



STELLA

STYLE ALIVE!

perbly streamlined style.
In pearly white
and rich brown.
ith double ball bearings.
uperbly engineered with
Usha's expertise of
over 40 years.

STYLE FOR LIFE!

Over 2.73 crore
Usha fans
ave satisfied customers.
In India and over
60 countries abroad.
a wide range of ceiling,
table, pedestal, wall,
abin and exhaust fans.
That's why many more
people trust
Usha... India's largest

USHA

India's largest selling fan

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Srivastava confessed in a taped statement that his chief patron was S.N. Awasthi. Awasthi, however, charges: "Brij Lal has got the so-called statement implicating me under duress from Srivastava. In fact, it was Brij Lal who was patronising notorious criminals and I have a whole list of them to prove this." S.N. Awasthi, who also wrote a letter to Rajiv asking for Brij Lal's transfer, says he had nothing to do with Srivastava's induction into the party. Asserts Awasthi: "His name was recommended by two state-level UPCC(I) officebearers. I had only written that I had no objection."

While Awasthi is trying to disown reponsibility, Yadav is attempting to justify the induction of criminals. Last fortnight he gave newsmen a novel reason for having done so: "If such persons are given responsibilities of a public nature, they will mend themselves."

His sentiments are not echoed by many in the party. Says Raja Mohammed Amir Mohammed Khan, Congress (I) MLA from Sitapur, the area which has seen most of the recruitment of criminals: "If the party has opened its doors for such people, it is time for the saner elements to bow out." Says another MLA: "We will first raise the issues before the party high command and within other party forums before going to the press."

Sitapur District Magistrate Vijay Shankar Pandey and SP B.L. Yadav had also protested against such recruitment, but were ignored. Some officials are even said to have reported the matter to Chief Minister Narayan Datt Tiwari but to no avail. And Brij Lal's transfer has expectedly angered the bureaucrats. Though Tiwari apparently took Brij Lal's side, Yadav and S.N. Awasthi are said to have taken the issue up to Shiela Dixit, Mohsina Kidwai and Bir Bahadur Singh, who ensured the SP's transfer.

"If such persons are given responsibilities of a public nature, they will mend themselves."
BALRAM SINGH YADAV
UPCC(I) President

Now a senior official says: "If the Congress(I) has decided to give party posts to criminals then at least the law and order is beyond the DMs and SPs. The Congress(I) should now take charge of maintaining law and order."

That these appointments have generated strong reactions is not just because of the storming of the party ranks by the underworld. It is prompted as well by the fear that with the toughs increasingly getting party posts, it will become more and more difficult for the others to survive. Says one of the signatories of the memorandum to the prime minister: "If I have to make any one of them say no to something, I will have to carry a gun."

Clearly, what the police consider to be crime, the local Congress(I) leadership indulgently views as political assets.

—DILIP AWASTHI

MAHARASHTRA

New Equation

BEYOND the cliched tributes, it is not often that the death of a septuagenarian leader sends reverberations through the political life of a state. But the death last fortnight of sugar baron, grassroots politician and Congress(I) boss Vasantrao Patil, 71, did just that.

The death of Dada, as Patil was affectionately known, leaves his large group of supporters virtually leaderless. His one unfulfilled dream was to elevate his son Prakash, an MP, to his political gaddi. Ironically, in the absence of anybody else, the group will now turn towards Chief Minister Sharad Pawar, a man Patil had opposed vehemently. Says a minister and Dada loyalist: "Pawar is a very lucky man. Without Dada our group will lose its cohesiveness. Everybody knows that Pawar is a master tactician. Like some others we will also have to run to Delhi if we want to confront Pawar."

Ironically, Vasantrao Patil's death will force his followers to turn to Chief Minister Sharad Pawar.

Leaders pay their respects to Patil.

But the importance of leaders like A.R. Antulay, who still commands a following among the underprivileged sections, will increase tremendously with regard to intra-party tangles. But neither he, nor Dada's widow Shalinitai—who was separated from him—can be acceptable to the powerful sugar lobby. For this group again, Pawar becomes the natural successor.

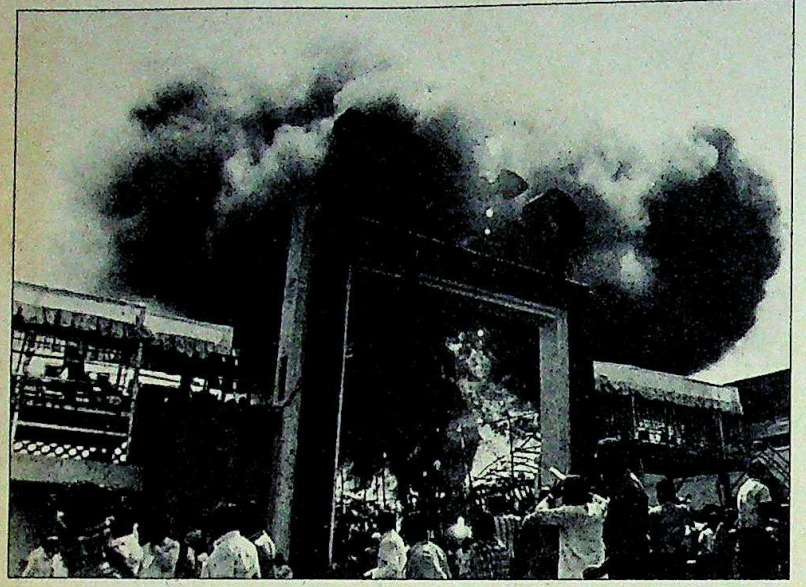
Nevertheless, the fate of both Antulay and Shalinitai will depend on the attitude of the Congress(I) high command towards them. Shalinitai is presently involved in a court tussle with a Maratha leader over the Centre's decision to grant her permission to open a cooperative sugar factory. Everybody knows that the path to power in the Maratha heartland is paved with sugar crystals. Now that Dada, Shalinitai's fiercest opponent, has gone, her career might come under the spotlight one more time.

—M.RAHMAN

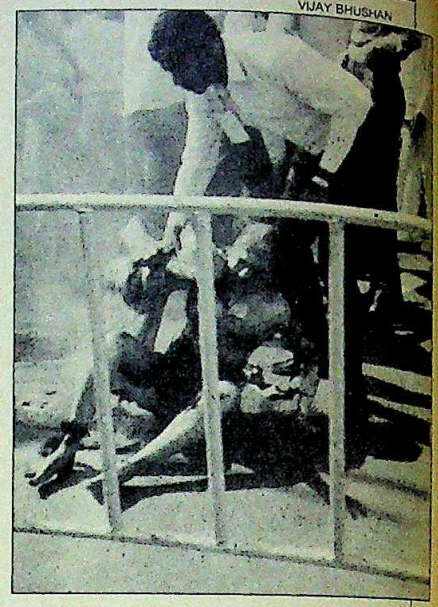
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UNI



VIJAY BHUSHAN



The burning VIP gallery (left); and a survivor

BIHAR

Fiery Trap

Gory end to TISCO celebration

FOR Jamshedpur's Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO), March 3 is a special day—the birth anniversary of its founder Jamshetji Tata. This year was even more special. It was the founder's 150th birth anniversary and the company's management wanted the occasion to be a memorable one. It was. But hardly in the manner that the company had intended. A ghastly fire that broke out at the celebrations killed about 50 people and critically injured many others.

The fire began as a glow on the roof of the gallery that seated the VIP invitees. It was noticed only after it had spread to the false ceiling under the tarpaulin. To prevent panic, an announcement was made asking people to remain seated.

But as the cloth and bamboo structure began to burn, a stampede began. Before everyone could move to safety, the structure caved in, trapping around 200 of the estimated 800 people in the enclosure. By the time the ambulances arrived, the gallery had been reduced to rubble and many of the bodies charred beyond recognition.

Sanjay Goel had undergone a successful heart surgery a short while before. His new lease of life turned out to be brief. He died in the fire along with his brother. Madonna Lobo who was expecting a child next month suffered 80 per cent burns. Before dying in hospital she delivered a stillborn baby. Her husband, also critical, begged to be allowed to hear his wife's voice for the last time. Doctors brought him from another floor to be with her for five minutes.

Many of the victims were heroic in death. Ila Ganguly escaped from the gallery unscathed but rushed back to help her husband. R.K. Verma, industrial relations manager in TISCO, went back into the fire to save his wife. All perished. The father-in-law of Major Wadhwa dragged several people including a child to safety before being himself burnt to death. Dr R.S. Choudhary lost his wife and son in the fire. After identifying their bodies, he went back to work at the Tata main hospital to treat survivors.

Some escaped providentially. For instance, ace football player Chuni Goswami who heads the Tata Football Academy in Jamshedpur had gone out of the gallery to have a cup of tea when the fire broke out.

TISCO and the people of Jamshedpur rallied magnificently to mobilise life-saving drugs and blood donations. Nevertheless, the company came in for criticism. Most serious were the charges of negligence. There were no fire extinguishers around when the fire broke out though fireworks formed part of the celebrations. And the company's fire tenders, which are normally parked near the main gate, were shifted that day to the east plant, 3 km away. It was doubtful whether they could have averted the tragedy but the charge upset the normally unflappable Russi Mody, chairman-cum-managing director of the company.

Another complaint was that the company had failed to restrain visits to intensive care areas of the hospital by government officials, politicians, security men and curious onlookers. Some even complained of lack of medicines and the callous attitude of the medical staff. But the hospital was clearly overstrained. Said one doctor: "No hospital, however sophisticated, is normally equipped to handle 200 severe burn cases simultaneously." Most people though were all praise for the doctors. Said Ipsita Chanda who lost her father in the fire: "We cannot blame the doctors. They worked round the clock and poured their heart out for everybody."

The cause of the fire has not been established. Mody brushes aside any suggestion that the fireworks, which ended around 15 minutes before the fire was first noticed, were responsible. He hints at possible sabotage and points out that an incendiary substance could have been lobbed from the windows of the forging shop behind the gallery.

The possibility of sabotage will no doubt be examined once the inquiry that the Bihar Government has ordered gets under way. The police too have instituted a criminal case against TISCO.

But if the company was unnerved it also put up a brave front. This year's Founder's Day celebrations were cancelled but Mody declared that next year's would be held as usual. That may well be, but the gloom of this year's tragedy will surely shroud all future celebrations.

—UTTAM SEN GUPTA in Jamshedpur

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CATCH TODAY'S NEWS

Headline making offer from Catch.

The very same free flowing, iodized Salt and fresh ground Pepper that is a family favourite.

An exciting offer of a free cash bank with every twin purchase.

Quick.

Catch the excitement – cash in on a cash bank today!

Catch

The real table salt and pepper.

Offer open till stocks last.

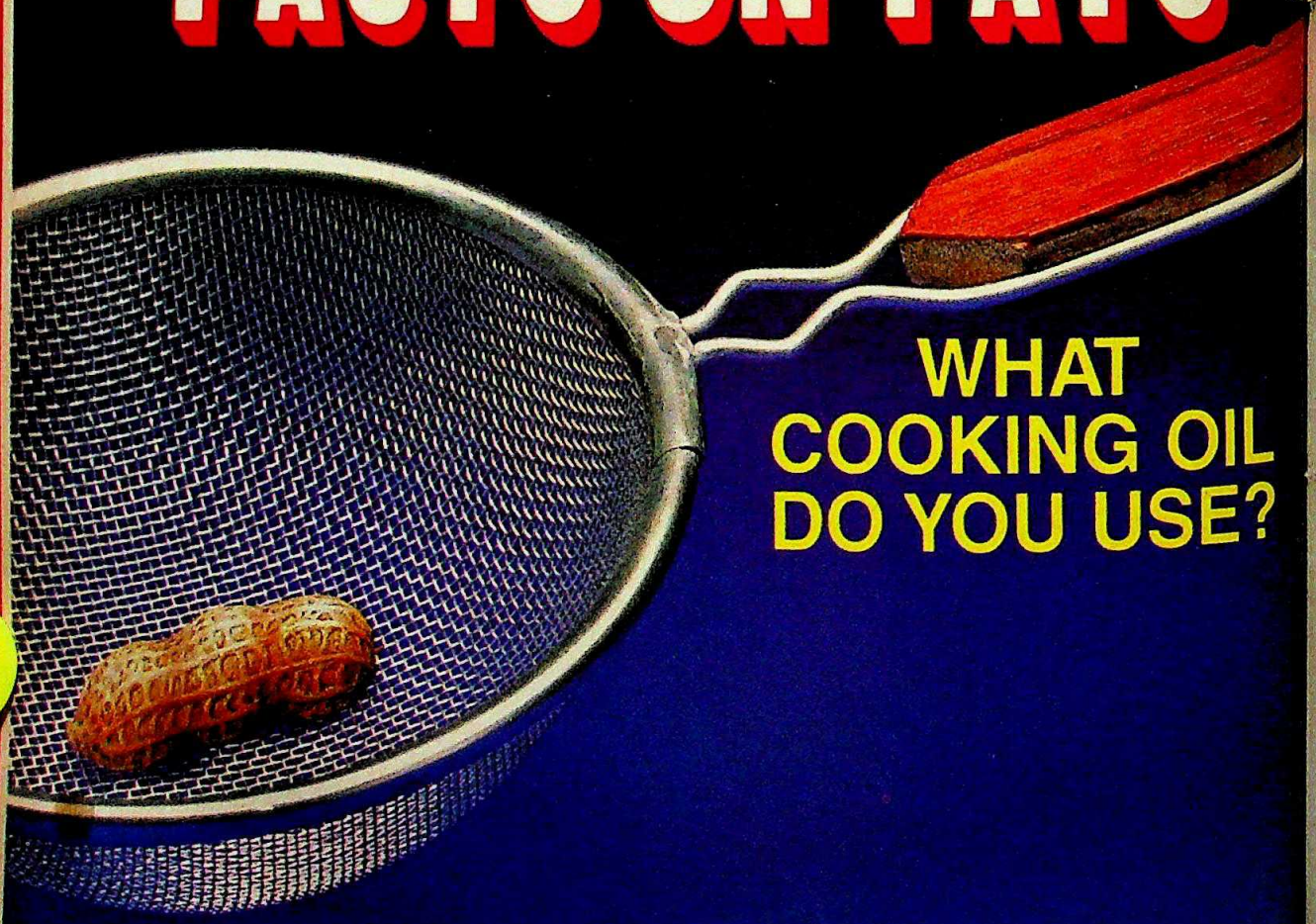
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FAMILY HEALTH

GUIDE

FACTS ON FATS



WHAT COOKING OIL DO YOU USE?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FAMILY HEALTH
GUIDE
COMMENTS

How reassuring to know that recent medical trends are leaning towards mono-unsaturated cooking oils!

Because that's my cooking oil. Postman. Trusted for generations in my family.

My mother always used Postman. Because her mother had used it too.

She believed it was the healthiest cooking oil for the whole family. Although she knew nothing about things like cholesterol and fatty acids. Like I do.

I know that Postman, like all other vegetable oils, is cholesterol-free. And thus, good for the heart. I'm also familiar with terms like PUFA and MUFA, from all the articles I read in newspapers and magazines, and even from advertisements for cooking oils. You must have seen them too?

What are PUFA and MUFA?

They're abbreviations for poly-unsaturated fatty acids and mono-unsaturated fatty acids. Both of which make up the total unsaturated fat content of a vegetable oil, in varying proportions.

For example, safflower, soya and corn oils have a higher percentage of PUFA. While groundnut oil has more MUFA. And for a long time, PUFA was thought to be highly effective in reducing blood cholesterol levels and in minimising the risk of heart diseases.

However, this theory has never been conclusively proved. Since there are many other factors involved in lowering your blood cholesterol, such as exercise, giving up cigarettes and control of stress and tension. According to leading cardiologists, food technologists, nutritionists and health-care experts the world over today ... no heart disease can have a simple "cause and effect" relationship with dietary fat.

Is too much PUFA harmful?

Medical research today says that PUFA may possibly suppress the body's immune system, and even cause cancer. "Now the advice is to turn more to mono-unsaturates like peanut and olive oils, which also reduce total cholesterol." Time Magazine, Medicine Section, 12th December, 1988.

With approximately 45% of MUFA in groundnut oil, in comparison with 12% in Safflower oil... where does that leave Postman? Right on my kitchen shelf, naturally!

Because it's not only the healthiest cooking oil for my family. It's also wonderful for bringing out the natural taste of goodness in all my cooking. Just as mother always said!

Zero-cholesterol for fifty years.
POSTMAN... naturally.

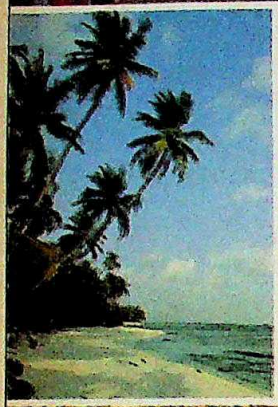
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Your dream islands

Cherbaniani Reef

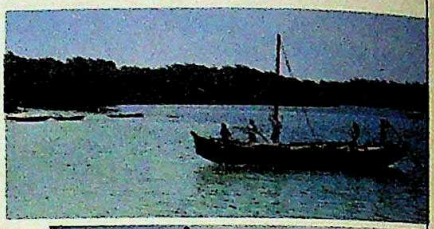
Enjoy but do not destroy



Byramgore Reef

Chetlat I

Bitra I



Kiltan I

Perumal Par I

Kadmat I

Parali I

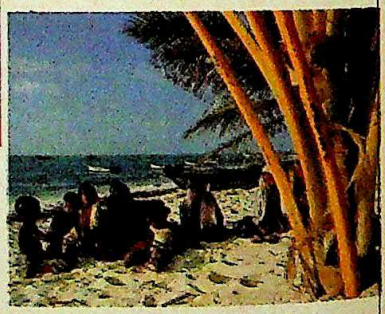
Bangaram I

Agatti I

Amini I

Androth I

Pitti I



Cheriyam I

Kavaratti I

Suheli Valiyakara I

Pitti Tilakkam I

Kalpeni I

How to get there

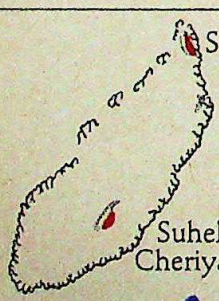
By ship : From Cochin

By air : From Cochin to Agatti

Package tours available

For further information contact:

Your nearest Government of India Tourist Office or Asstt. General Manager (Sports):
Lakshadweep Secretariat
Indira Gandhi Road
Willingdon Island
Tel: 69755



Suheli Cheriyakara I

Lakshadweep

Protect this precious environment It needs to be treasured

Whisk into another world - a pristine, leisurely country. Lakshadweep, about 300 kilometres from mainland India, is a separate world by itself. A world unexploited and unspoilt. A world that has still retained its virgin natural charms.

The Lakshadweep archipelago has many coral islands and open reefs. Most of these islands are uninhabited. Remoteness has kept intact the spectacular natural beauty of these tropical islands.

A natural museum in itself, these islands are a paradise for scientists, ecologists, ornithologists, marine experts and basically any nature lover.

And the balmy sun, the clear blue waters, the timeless white beaches, the gracefully swaying palms – all add to a soul stirring experience.

Preserve and conserve our heritage.

On this date with nature please see that you play your part well. The ecology here is quite sensitive and fragile. Do not upset the environment here.

Department of Tourism
Government of India

Minicoy I

ISLANDS OF LAKSHADWEEP OF (INDIA)
SKETCH MAP (NOT TO SCALE)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ANDHRA PRADESH

Dissent Drama

Sacked ministers rebel

IT was slow in erupting. More than a fortnight after Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao dismissed his entire 31-member cabinet—blaming them for leaking budget proposals to the press—and brought in a new 23-member team, the simmering discontent in the Telugu Desam Legislature Party has come out into the open.

The dismissed ministers and other disgruntled partymen have now rallied behind Speaker G. Narayana Rao who has emerged as their point-man. In a bold move he called for the protection of the "self-respect of the members and inner-party democracy".

The covert group of rebel MLAs—comprising mainly those unsure of getting party tickets in the assembly election—have sent out veiled threats to Rama Rao about voting down some of the government's proposals during the debate on the state budget. They have even hinted at presenting a memorandum to Governor Kumudben Joshi to pre-empt any move by Rama Rao to recommend dissolution of the Assembly soon after the budget session.

But Rama Rao was unfazed. Egged on by his son-in-law and former health minister Dr D. Venkateswara Rao—who has been trying to edge out the other son-in-law, Chandrababu Naidu—Rama Rao refused to meet any of the peeved legislators or agree to their demand for a meeting of the Telugu Desam Legislature Party. Instead, he met them in smaller groups, representing each of the 23 districts.

The first signs of the conflict surfaced on February 22 when the speaker disallowed the demand of a CPI MLA Rajeswara Rao for a motion of privilege against the chief minister on the issue of budget leaks but conceded the opposition demand for a discussion. Rama Rao questioned the propriety of a discussion being allowed by the speaker when he had disallowed the motion. Later, on February 27, the speaker agreed to the demand for a House committee to look into the conditions and working of hospitals in the state. But the chief minister construed it as an attempt to malign son-in-law Venkateswara Rao, who was then health minister and had backed the dismissal of the entire cabinet.

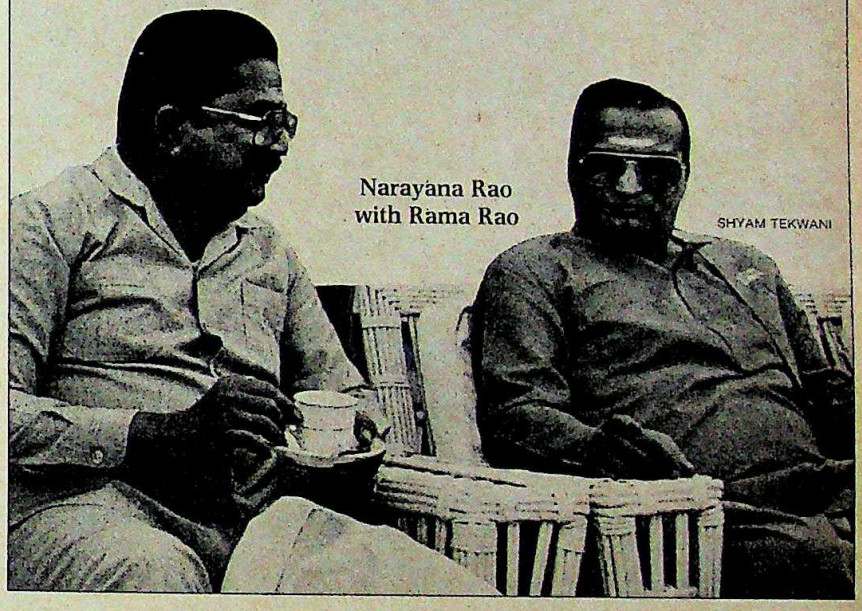
Rama Rao's detractors in the party fired their first salvo outside the Assembly. While on a visit to his native Kurnool district, the former irrigation minister K.E. Krishnamurthy, an influential backward class leader, declared that the "chief minister did not have the self-respect to inform me about the decision to sack all ministers" and reminded his followers that "the assurance about protection of self-respect prompted many to quit the Congress(I) and join the Telugu Desam and that self-respect is more important than the party or its leader".

Meanwhile, as a stream of MLAs and other party activists called on Speaker Narayana Rao, who had been taken ill, Rama Rao stepped up the police presence at his house and in the assembly corridors. Incensed, Narayana Rao complained: "How dare he keep vigil on me. It is not good for the Government to keep the institution of the speaker under intelligence surveillance. Democracy should not be preached but practised."

Such rhetoric, unthinkable just a few weeks ago, has infused new courage in the rebels. Said a sacked minister: "We know we have no future but we are keeping our cards close to the chest and forcing him to make the wrong moves." But Chandrababu Naidu, parliamentary party leader P. Upendra—who on his own talked to some rebels—and Rajya Sabha member Renuka Choudhary persuaded Rama Rao to go slow and try to patch up.

The climb-down was evident from the chief minister's decision to call on the convalescing speaker after keeping away for three days. As a former minister said: "He gave us one shock but we will give him many, to prove that the Telugu Desam is no longer a one-man show."

Telugu Desam rebels have rallied behind Speaker Narayana Rao who has demanded inner-party democracy.



Narayana Rao with Rama Rao

SHYAM TEKWANI

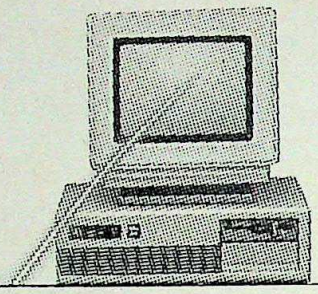
The rebels claim the support of about 100 MLAs—out of 196—most of whom fear they may not get tickets in the coming election. While dismissing the number as "a convenient figure to use in conversation" a staunch Rama Rao supporter admitted that "the threat is a serious one and 70 of them are enough to wreck the legislature party". But, if they fail to muster support to vote down the budget, the dissidents may not get another chance to show their strength and force Rama Rao to constitute a broad-based party committee to decide on the candidates for the next election.

The image of Rama Rao will definitely get sullied if the rebels are not pacified—if not with promises of party tickets, at least with soft words. For the moment, however, the dissidents are determined to show that in the Telugu Desam they are not, as Congress(I) MLA Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy calls them, "zeros behind a hero".

—AMARNATH K. MENON

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



How to fax a document to New York a sales report to Ghaziabad or a drawing to Bangalore from your PC in Bombay.

Need a fax facility. Get it now

How many times have you been unable to send urgent information to a foreign associate because he has a fax machine and you don't?

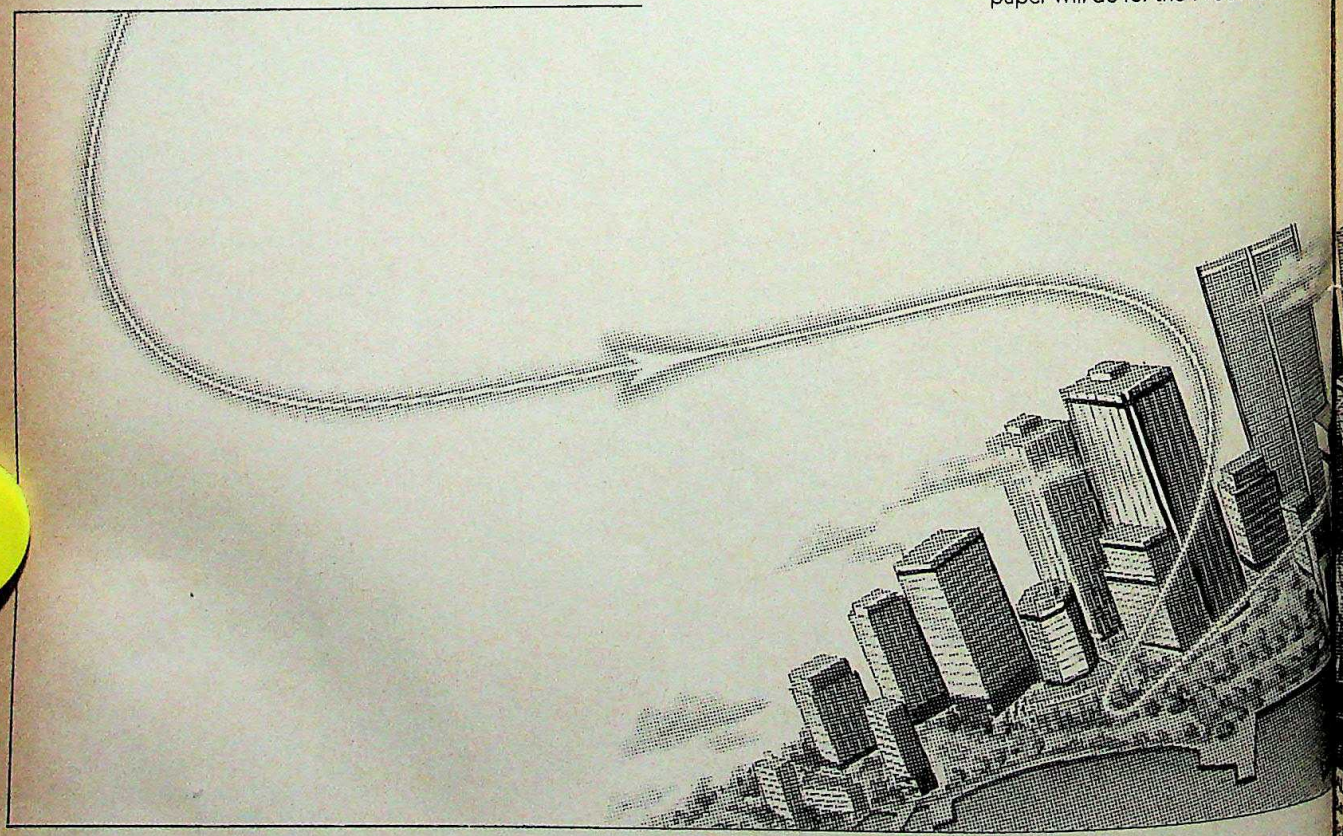
Now you can use your PC for the same. Through a small miracle called the TVS JT Fax.

It's a card which slips into your PC, turning it into a facsimile communication system which can communicate with G III fax machines all over the world. As well as PC s with similar cards.

You can send and receive letters and drawings at speeds upto 4800 bps.

A fax facility you can afford

Just Rs. 14,495/- * for the TVS JT Fax. Whereas you would have to spend over a lakh of rupees for a fax machine. And when it comes to running costs, the difference is enormous. The fax machine uses thermal paper, which costs as much as Rs. 3/- per sheet. Whereas ordinary paper will do for the TVS JT Fax.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

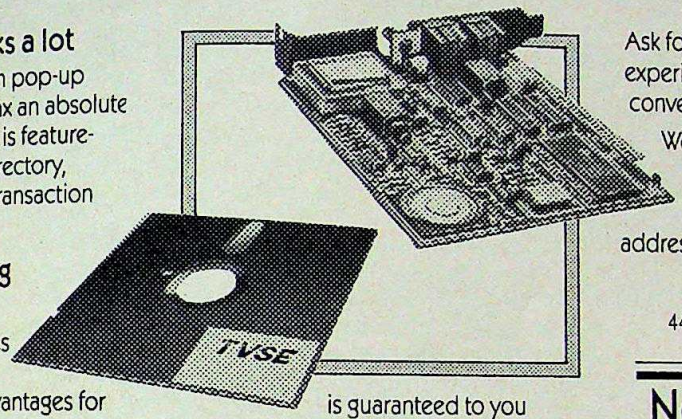
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TVSE
TVS ELECTRONICS

INTRODUCING

TVS JT FAX

It turns your PC into a powerful facsimile communication system.



Software which packs a lot

User friendly software with pop-up menus makes the TVS JT Fax an absolute pleasure to use. Besides, it is feature-packed, offering a large directory, automatic re-dialling and transaction log among other things.

Night-time scheduling

Another exciting feature...

You can schedule messages for night-time. To multiple locations. This has two advantages for you... lower rates for national transmissions... and uncrowded lines.

From TVSE – The complete computer peripherals company

The quality and reliability of this product is guaranteed to you because it's from TVSE.

Your call to action

When you consider how much you need a fax facility and how affordable the TVS JT Fax is, why delay?

Ask for a demonstration, so you can experience the speed, economy and convenience for yourself.

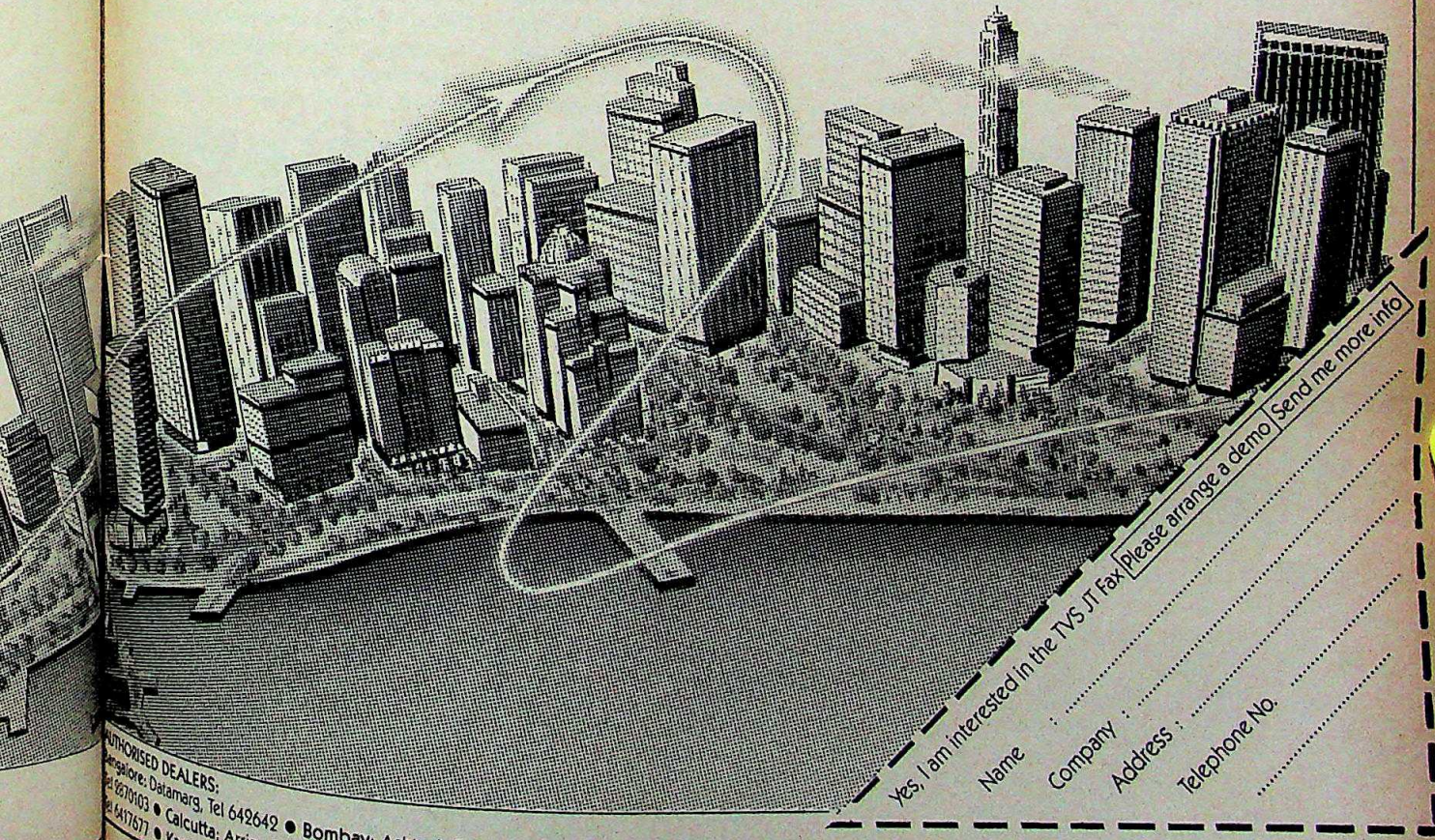
We will be glad to spend as much time with you as necessary.

Contact our dealers at any of the addresses below. Or action the coupon to:

TVS Electronics Limited
44, Miller Road, Bangalore 560 052.

Now a fax facility for just Rs. 14,495/-*

*Local taxes extra



Yes, I am interested in the TVS JT Fax [Please arrange a demo] [Send me more info]

Name : .....

Company : .....

Address : .....

Telephone No. .....

AUTHORISED DEALERS:
Bangalore: Datamarg, Tel 642642 ● **Bombay:** Ashtech Systems and Services, Tel 4927388 ● Datamarg, Tel 6141228 ● Sound Electronics Corporation, Tel 6670103 ● **Calcutta:** Arrjey Business Services, Tel 425840 ● Electrocraft, Tel 267360 ● **Delhi:** The Calculus, Tel 345980 ● Yamuna Syndicate, Tel 6417677 ● **Kanpur:** Computervision, Tel 210094 ● **Madras:** Datamarg, Tel 457012 ● **Saharanpur:** Applied Business Computers, Tel 7830

TVS-375-89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GUJARAT

Fatal Festivities

Illicit liquor claims more than 135 lives

THAT Gujarat's controversial prohibition law is hollow and a perpetually ringing death knell was brought to the fore last fortnight like never before. Even as Vadodara (Baroda) prepared to celebrate Shivratri with customary gaiety, some enthusiastic residents of the communally-sensitive Wadi police station area commenced festivities a day in advance on March 4, in the only way they know: by downing country liquor.

The revellers fanned out to the illicit liquor dens that operate there right under the nose of the police. Little did they realise that the polythene bags they were purchasing contained not their favourite *lattha* (hooch), but the drink of death. For, scarce had they finished tippling that the fatal dance began. Some suffered eye burning, others bodyache, and many fell unconscious.

Though they were rushed to the Sir Sayaji Civil Hospital, by next day nearly 50 of them lay dead. As the hours passed, death literally stalked the poorly-equipped hospital. Within 36 hours, the worst liquor tragedy in the state's history had claimed more than 135 lives (unofficially over 170). And 40 of the 300-odd victims were in danger of losing their eyesight either partially or completely.

The civil hospital presented a heart-wrenching sight. As bodies of the victims lay outside the post-mortem room, their near and dear ones wept and wailed uncontrollably. With the hospital ill-equipped to handle such an emergency, patients had to share beds and saline bottles had to be lashed to doors and windows with strips of bandage.

Even more moving was the picture at the Bakrawadi and Nadiyawas localities to which most of the victims had belonged. Coming from the lowest strata of society, the majority had worked as sweepers in the municipal drainage division, or as vegetable vendors and minor traders. While in most cases the sole bread earners had died, in others, more than one family member had been killed.

In Nadiyawas, death struck almost every alternate house. As many as 22 men—mostly employed youth—and two women fell to the killer brew. Shantilal Bhanabhai, 62, was a poignant example. Both his sons, Narsinh, 30, and Parshottam, 25, died, leaving their wives and a total of six children. Wailed Kalavati, Narsinh's widow: "We are doomed. We have not eaten for the past 48 hours."

Others like Manish, five, and his sister Usha, three, were orphaned. The two children, whose mother died one year ago, lost their father in the tragedy. Now, their only guardians are their aged grand parents. Another victim, Panabhai Jethabhai, has left his handicapped wife Malti the responsibility of rearing their three children. A crushed Malti cried: "With my polio-affected leg, how will I be able to look after my small kids?"

Doctors are of the view that the killer brew contained methyl alcohol instead of ethyl alcohol which is generally used in brewing *lattha*, along with other things including chemicals used in making radio cells. Said Dr. D.N. Shah, the civil hospital's superintendent: "Methyl alcohol is extremely poisonous. Moreover, it is difficult to distinguish from ethyl without a chemical test. The bootleggers must have made a mistake."

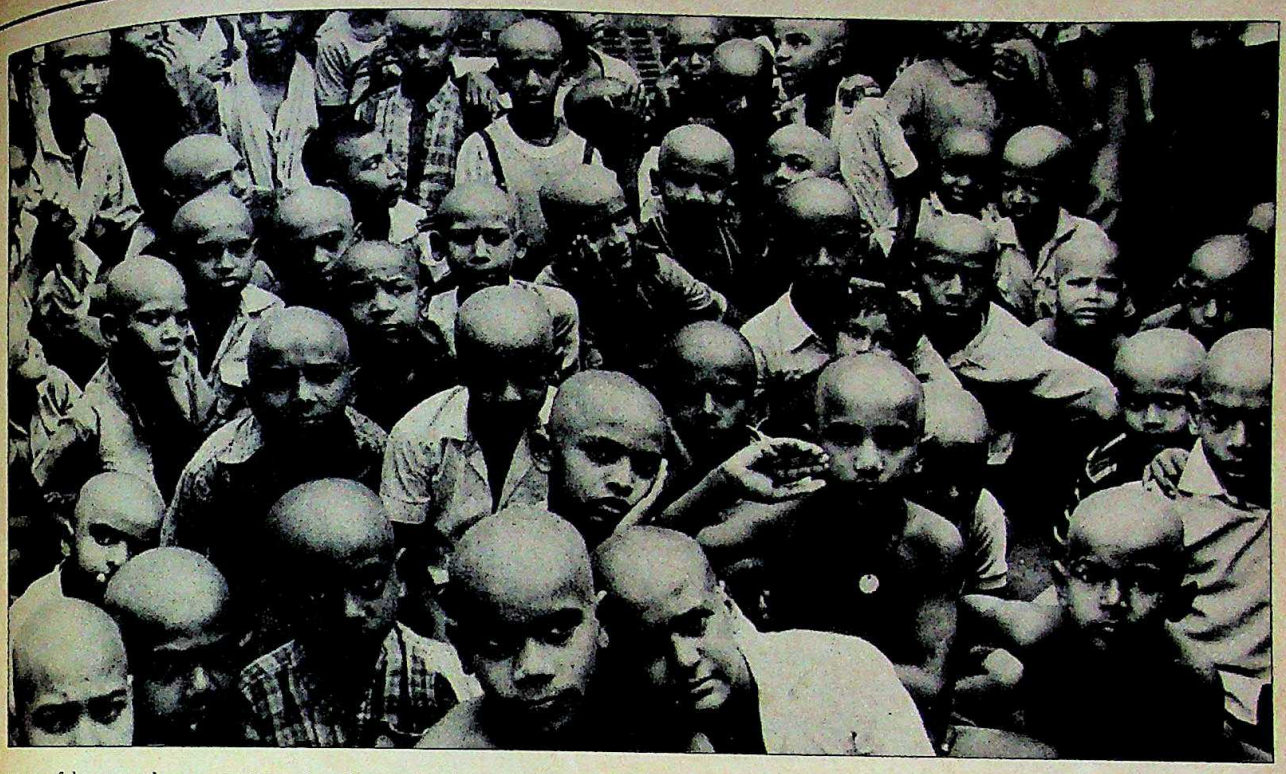
The fatal mistake resulted in an awesome tragedy that has revived the old debate on the practicability of the prohibition law. Says the state Congress(I) Seva Dal President Maulin Vaishnav: "It is high time the Government reviewed its prohibition policy." Adds Chimanbhai Mehta, the suspended ruling party MP who has been campaigning against the dry law: "Once again it has been proved that the law is meaningless. It is the single-biggest

Bodies of victims at the civil hospital

Photographs by VALLABH SHAH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Nadiyawas boys who lost their fathers

cause of large-scale corruption in the police force."

Chief Minister Amarsinh Chaudhary, of course responded expectedly, by ordering a judicial inquiry into the tragedy and replacing the Vadodara police commissioner P.K. Bansal with A.K. Tandon. The superintendent of police of the Wadi area was transferred, and the inspector-in-charge suspended along with several constables. The Government also ordered a general crack-down on bootleggers. Among those held were Arvind Jaiswal and Chimen Dedi, who were allegedly responsible for selling the brew. (Dedi too lost his son in the tragedy.)

However, the crack-down did not help cool the growing anger. Chaudhary's conduct was singled out for castigation. Opposition leaders and social workers alleged that while victims were being ferried to the hospital on the night of March 4, Chaudhary was enjoying a musical fete in Vadodara. They claimed that though he was informed about nine deaths the next morning, he displayed complete lack of sympathy and responsibility, and flew off to Rajkot.

Chaudhary did return to Vadodara from Rajkot, but the agitators continued to demand Chaudhary's resignation for his "shameless" act. Said Chimanbhai Patel, leader of the Opposition in the state Assembly: "It is shocking that the chief minister chose to go on a joy ride even when informed about the tragedy."

On March 7, the entire Opposition staged a walk-out from the assembly session to press for Chaudhary's resignation for his failure to implement the dry law. Alleging that the judicial probe was aimed at delaying the emergence of embarrassing facts, the Opposition compared the chief minister with the proverbial Nero who fiddled while Rome burnt. Said BJP leader Suresh Mehta: "The police officers responsible for the tragedy should be dismissed along with Chaudhary."

CHAUDHARY who also holds the home portfolio, however, refused to be apologetic. "The opposition benches never asked for the Janata Morcha government's resignation when such tragedies occurred during its reign," he counter-attacked. Defending himself against accusations of errant behaviour, he said: "When I left Vadodara for Rajkot, I knew about only two deaths." But he assured the House of stern action against bootleggers and erring policemen.

Whether this is carried out remains to be seen. It is an open fact that Vadodara, along with Ahmedabad and Surat, is a haven for bootleggers. In Vadodara, the flourishing liquor business has the active abetment of the local police and corporation members. The fact-finding mission of the Pradesh Congress(I) which had gone to Vadodara to investigate into recurring communal riots in the early 80s, had concluded that the bootleggers were responsible for the riots.

The only answer to the problem, several feel, is to scrap the dry law and ensure that clean liquor is provided to those coming from poorer sections. Asserts Janata Dal worker Jagdish Parmarhe: "Sweepers and others from the poor class just cannot live without liquor."

However, the pro-prohibition lobby of Gandhian workers doesn't see reason in the argument. Says Hasmukh Patel, a well known Gandhian worker: "Such tragedies take place even in wet states. It is the deep nexus between the police, bootleggers and politicians which needs to be broken." And that appears a far distant likelihood for even after such a big tragedy, illicit liquor continued to be freely available in Vadodara, and people could be seen drinking liquor in and around the Wadi area on March 7.

Meanwhile, as the toll mounted to over 135 and the public reaction against the state Government grew hostile, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi dispatched AICC(I) General Secretary V.N. Gadgil to Vadodara to study the situation. Reporters who met him there for an informal chat presented him with a *Lattha Potli* (hooch bag).

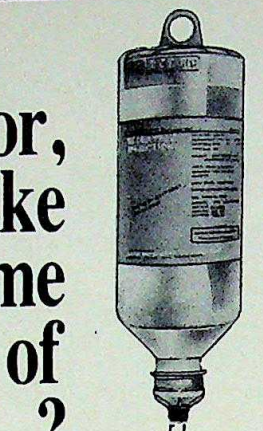
Gadgil refused to comment on the demand for a change in state leadership. But he indicated that his report to the prime minister would state whether the police department had failed to meet the situation by bringing the bootleggers to book or cutting the supply channel soon after the tragedy. And if that is true, the state Government is likely to find itself in trouble.

—UDAY MAHURKAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Doctor, could we take 5 minutes of your time to discuss a matter of life and ... ?

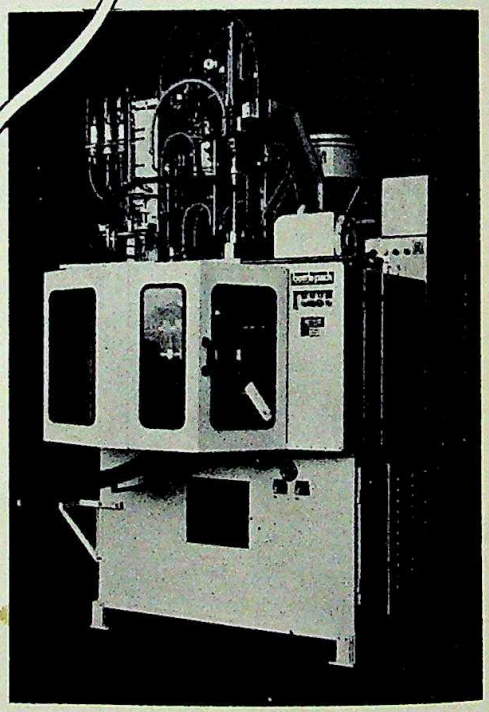


You administer intravenous solutions to many of your patients during the course of your day. And many a while, you may have faced the problem of Rigor. It may have occurred to you that this was a direct result of the intravenous feeding. The reaction to the presence of pyrogens in the solution bottle.

Isn't it astonishing that these 'sterile' bottles are manufactured and packaged in 3 different operations? This process itself allows for bacterial contamination. Leading to **pyrogens** in the bottle even when terminally sterilized in an autoclave.

The FORM-FILL-SEAL process is today's packaging method for intravenous solutions throughout the world. Here, all 3 processes are combined under aseptic conditions in one single machine — the 'ROMMELAG BOTTELPACK SYSTEM'. Therefore, **no bacteria** and most important — **no pyrogens.**

Now if patients are administered IV solutions from solution bottles using the ROMMELAG technology, you are assured of a **truly sterile bottle.**



bottelpack ASEPTIC SYSTEM

STATE-OF-THE-ART PACKAGING SYSTEM FOR INTRAVENOUS SOLUTIONS

Manufactured by:

rommelag

Aarau, Switzerland.

Agents in India

SALESWORTH INDIA PVT. LTD.
308, Manish Commercial Centre,
216 Dr. Annie Besant Road,
Worli, Bombay-400 025
Tel: 4940800/4943663/4949909
Tlx: 117664

Rommelag Users in India

ALBERT DAVID LTD.
New Delhi

CORE PARENTERALS LTD.
Ahmedabad

ELYS INJECT PVT. LTD.
Bombay

GUJARAT INJECT LTD.
Vadodara

IFIUNIK PHARMACEUTICALS LTD.
Bombay

IVEON LABORATORIES
Nasik

MIAAMI PHARMA & CHEMICALS PVT. LTD.
Pune

Sobhagya/BNG/SW/89338

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

High performance in Engineering

DURAMETALLIC

Dura Seals

Sealing every known fluid and sealing it successfully. From **Durametallic (I) Ltd** in collaboration with Durametallic Corporation, USA, internationally acknowledged experts in sealing systems.

BS·B

BS&B Rupture Disks

"Safety equipment of the last order" which surpass established international standards. From **BS&B Safety Systems (I) Ltd** in collaboration with BS&B Safety Systems, USA, the largest and oldest company in its field.

TUFLIN

Tuflin Plug Valves

The most effective Isolation Valves — the only ones of their kind in India. From **Xomox (I) Ltd** in collaboration with Xomox Corporation, USA, leaders in valve technology, worldwide.

Smith Meters

A complete range of Flow Meters including Turbine Meters for accurate fluid volume measurement. From **Moorco (I) Ltd** in collaboration with the pioneers in flow measurement technology — Smith Meters Inc., a subsidiary of Moorco Inc., USA.

Crosby Relief Valves

Safety Relief Valves — the most dependable equipment for added plant safety. From **Moorco (I) Ltd** in collaboration with the specialists for nuclear and process industries — Crosby Valve and Gage Co., a subsidiary of Moorco Inc., USA.

ASCO

ASCO Solenoid Valves

High quality valves from **ASCO (I) Limited**, available in a wide range to suit every conceivable application. Produced to the stringent specifications laid down by ASCO, USA, its technical and financial collaborator. A world leader in Solenoid Valves, ASCO, USA, has 100 years of proven experience.

A range of hi-tech engineering products that play a critical role in smooth, safe and uninterrupted plant functioning...

Proven products that were being imported until recently by Indian industries from the very same companies.

Identical technology, changed location

Result : the 'Made in India' advantages.

- No more import licence and foreign exchange problems.
- Prompt supply and service throughout the country.
- Specialised engineering capability for Indian needs.
- Assistance in selection, installation and commissioning.

So, for precision and reliability in fluid control and safety systems, come to:

Regd. and Head Office:
147 Karapakkam Village
Madras 600 096

Branches:

407-412 Swastik Chambers
CST & Sion Trombay Road Junction
Chembur Bombay 400 071

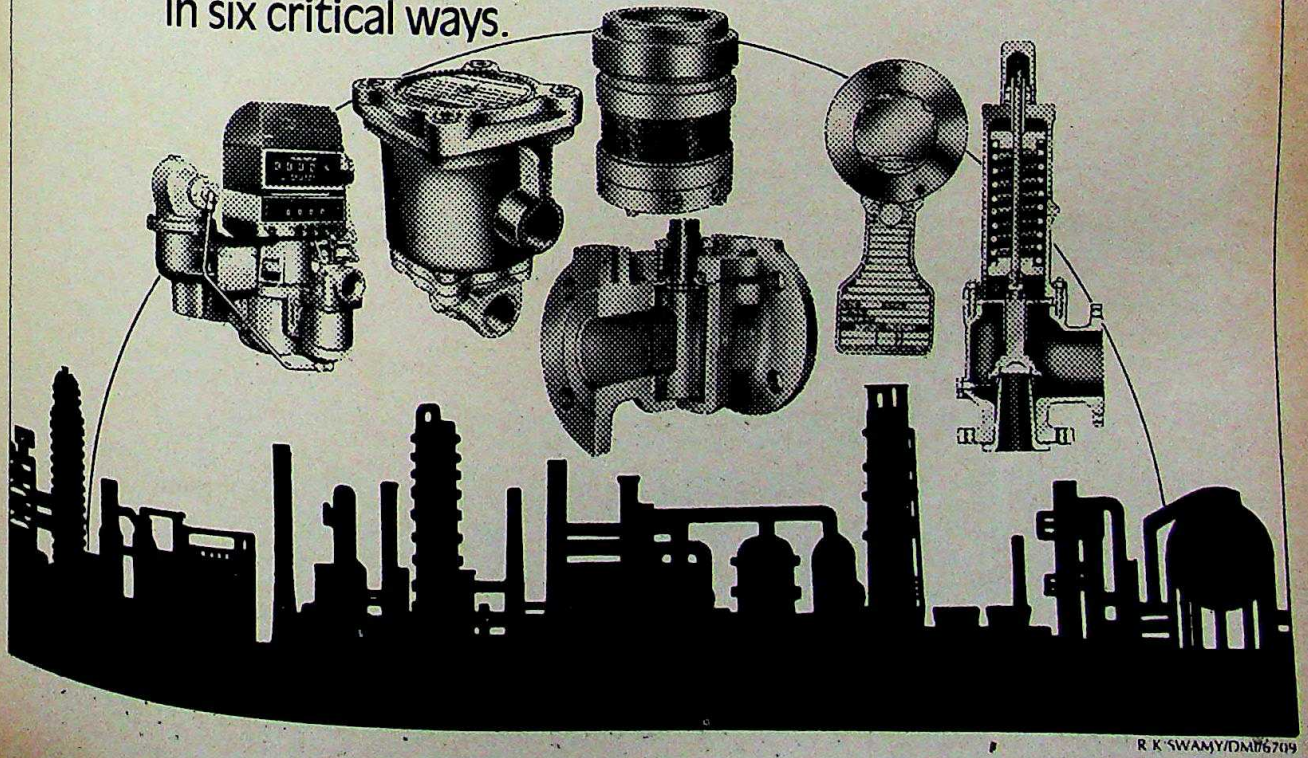
203 B N Chambers
R C Dutt Road
Alkapuri Baroda 390 005

1209-11 Padma Towers-1, 4 Rajendra Place
New Delhi 110 008

51 Shakespeare Sarani
Calcutta 700 017

Dhun Building 827 Anna Salai
Madras 600 002

Minimise maintenance and maximise safety in six critical ways.



R K SWAMY/DM/6709

Sobhagya/BNG/SW/89338

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TAMIL NADU

Missed Mission

MP's visit causes embarrassment

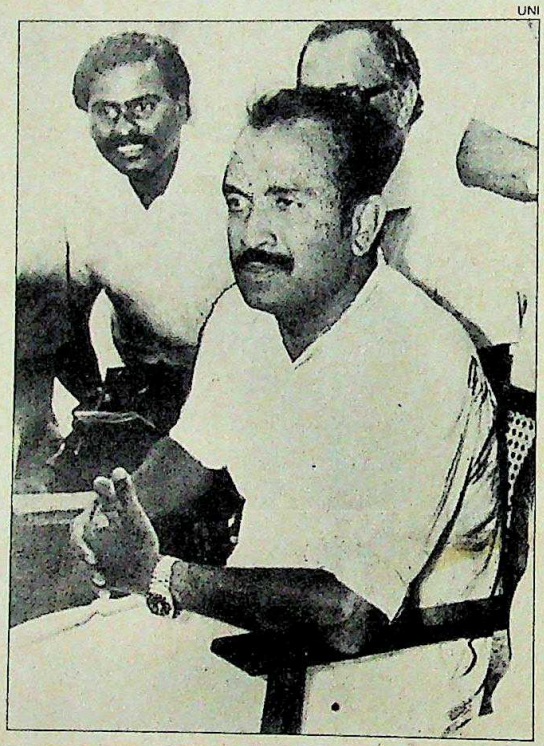
IT was to have been a diplomatic coup. An intrepid MP slips into Sri Lanka, meets Velupillai Pirabhakaran, chief of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), and convinces him that talks with India are the best way out of the current impasse. So went the original script. In the event, all that was achieved were sensational headlines in the press, discomfiture for his party chief and questions in the Rajya Sabha.

V. Gopalasamy, DMK MP, disappeared on February 5 and the Tamil press speculated that he was in the jungles near Vanni in Sri Lanka, with a message to Pirabhakaran from Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi. But there was no official confirmation. A fortnight later, Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) Commander Lt-Gen A.S. Kalkat met Karunanidhi in what was officially described as a courtesy call. Significantly, the next day, DMK General Secretary and Tamil Nadu Education Minister K. Anbazhagan disclosed that if Gopalasamy had indeed gone to Sri Lanka it was without permission, much less authorisation, from the party. Karunanidhi intriguingly remained silent.

Twice, during the last week of February, questions were raised in the Rajya Sabha about Gopalasamy's whereabouts. On March 2, Karunanidhi broke his silence by releasing a letter written to him by Gopalasamy which said he was off to meet Pirabhakaran to convince him of the need to come to the negotiating table. Rather melodramatically, Gopalasamy concluded the letter by saying he was prepared to face death if he should be captured by Sri Lankan or Indian security forces. And Karunanidhi declared that Gopalasamy's trip, while not against his party's declared policy, was not authorised by it. He also expressed concern about the MP's safety. Meanwhile, Union Minister of State for Home P. Chidambaram told Parliament that the Government of India would search for Gopalasamy if the state Government made a request. There were also reports that he was in IPKF custody.

On March 5, Gopalasamy surfaced as dramatically as he had disappeared and claimed that he was in the jungles of Sri Lanka for 24 days during which he stayed with Pirabhakaran "for a few days". Embellishing his account with tales of danger from which an LTTE unit reportedly saved him, Gopalasamy said he had impressed upon the Tigers to come to the negotiating table. According to Gopalasamy, Pirabhakaran said they were firm on their quest for an independent Eelam. For good measure Gopalasamy added that the IPKF should announce a general cease-fire after which negotiations could perhaps begin. He said he had "apologised to Karunanidhi for his impulsive action", and that the latter had accepted his apology.

UNI



Gopalasamy's clandestine visit discomfitted all concerned—his party chief Karunanidhi the Centre, and Sri Lanka.

If Gopalasamy had thought that his mission would bring the Tigers to the negotiating table, he was quickly disillusioned. On March 4, the LTTE released a statement in Colombo in which it implicitly rejected the path of negotiations. The statement said the Tamils were determined to liberate their nation and that they were marching on victoriously towards this goal.

There were other questions about the trip as well. It was being rumoured in Madras that Gopalasamy had gone to Sri Lanka only with the tacit concurrence of Karunanidhi and the Centre. Karunanidhi, obviously, denied that this was the case. Again, Gopalasamy did not bring back with him any evidence of having met Pirabhakaran, like a photograph or a video tape. Nor was there any letter from Pirabhakaran to Karunanidhi or to Rajiv Gandhi. All that Gopalasamy would say was that he had carried a message from Pirabhakaran to Karunanidhi. He refused to divulge the contents of the message. Further, Gopalasamy's letter to Karunanidhi was dated February 5 but delivered by a "trusted courier" only on February 24. This delay has also not been explained.

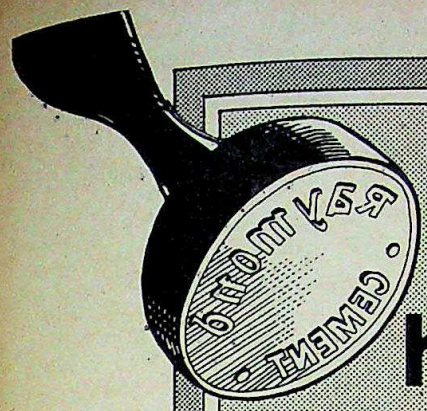
Meanwhile, Karunanidhi has been quick to denounce the clandestine visit. Describing it as "highly irresponsible and adventuristic", he said his party could neither approve nor accept it. In a harsh comment, possibly prompted by the controversy, he said: "What Gopalasamy has discovered through his hazardous trip was well known even before he left the Indian shores. All that he has achieved is to publicise his bravado. The next meeting of the DMK general council will decide what disciplinary action to take against Gopalasamy." And in Delhi an official spokesman chipped in: "We concur with the chief minister's assessment of Gopalasamy's trip." Simultaneously, the Sri Lankan Government registered its own protest by charging Gopalasamy with entering the country illegally and took up the matter with the Indian Government.

What all this adds up to is not quite clear. It is obvious that once it became evident that the mission had failed, the Centre feigned ignorance while Karunanidhi distanced himself. Whatever the truth, Gopalasamy's Rambo-type operation has turned into something of a farce. In fact, the battlefield of Vavuniya might seem like a healthier place for him than the political one he now finds himself in.

—GUHA PRASAD

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



When a decision has to last a hundred years, concrete proof helps.

Proof 1: QUALITY
The name Raymond is synonymous with the highest standards of excellence and reliability.

Proof 2: STRENGTH
A decidedly higher compressive strength than the specifications set by BIS.

Proof 3: BLAINE
The finest blaine guarantees the desired strength with a lesser quantity of cement.

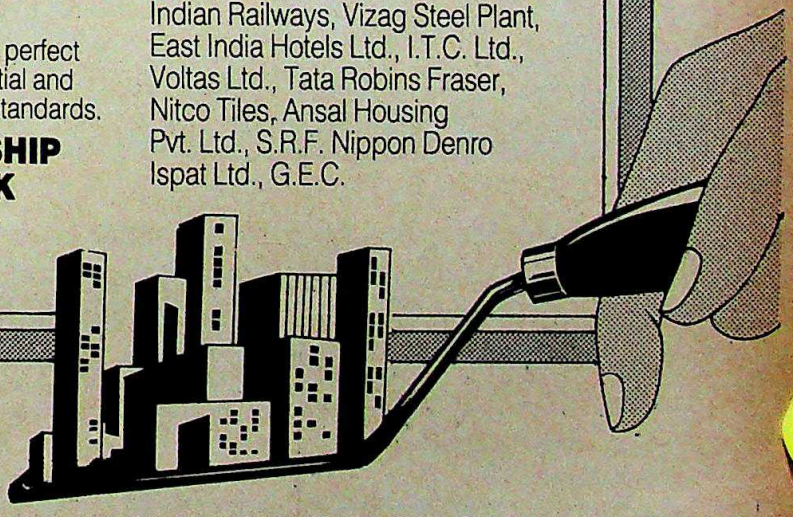
Proof 4: SETTING
Raymond Cement assures perfect setting as it has a better initial and final setting time than BIS standards.

Proof 5: DEALERSHIP NETWORK
The Raymond network of authorised dealers makes sure of 100% genuine cement. Nationwide.

Proof 6: PACKAGING
Automatic rotary packing machines and the toughest non-pilferage plastic and jute bags.

Proof 7: ECONOMY
No other cement guarantees all these concrete advantages. Everytime.

Proof 8: OUR CLIENT LIST
N.T.P.C., Oil India Ltd., Indian Railways, Vizag Steel Plant, East India Hotels Ltd., I.T.C. Ltd., Voltas Ltd., Tata Robins Fraser, Nitco Tiles, Ansal Housing Pvt. Ltd., S.R.F. Nippon Denro Ispat Ltd., G.E.C.



KAILASH CEMENT FROM

Raymond

THE NAME GUARANTEES QUALITY.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MADHYA PRADESH

Settling In

Vora consolidates position

IN his last reign as chief minister, Motilal Vora danced while Arjun Singh pulled the strings. But things have changed. The puppet now has a mind of his own—and more important, the support of the Congress(I) high command. Last fortnight, Vora put that support to good use. In his second ministry expansion in 40 days—during his last tenure he could not expand his ministry even once—not a single MLA belonging to the dissident camp found a place.

Vora made it clear that he was in no mood to compromise. Several of the nine new ministers—Kamleshwar Prasad Dwivedi, Satyadev Katare and Vijay Guru among others—were known for their hardline anti-Arjun Singh stance.

The dissident camp was naturally displeased. Said a political aide of Arjun Singh: "The expansion was totally one-sided and means trouble." Vora, however, insisted that he had given "adequate representation" to various party factions. Said he: "I consulted everyone whose advice was needed." Apparently, the dissident camp which is still in a majority in the legislature party, was not among these.

And to rub in the fact that he was totally in command, Vora breezily declared that the current expansion was a "minor" one, hinting that a major expansion was in store. With 31 ministers and 10 parliamentary secretaries in a house of 320, the Madhya Pradesh Ministry is already a large one. Inducting more ministers will certainly strengthen Vora's position. The price, though, will have to be paid by the state exchequer which is on the verge of bankruptcy and can barely pay salaries to its employees.

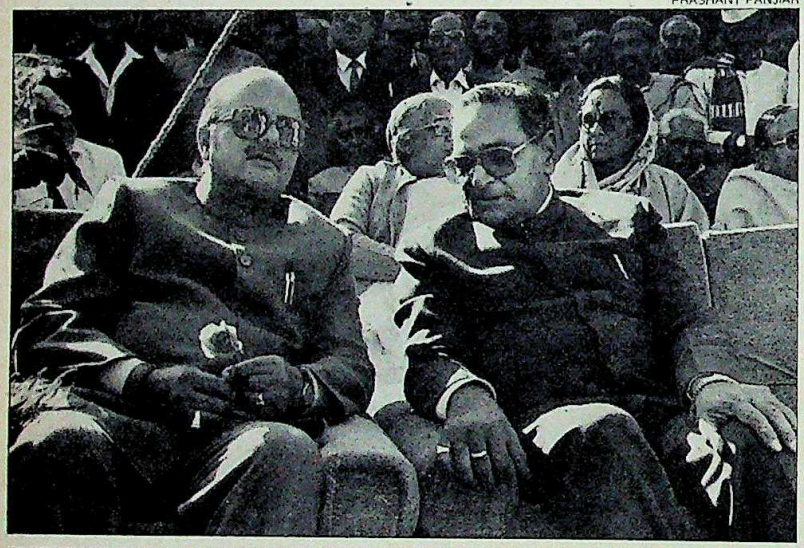
But for Vora, who is enjoying his new-found power, that is hardly a consideration. What is important now is to consolidate his power by weaning away Arjun Singh supporters to his own side. The message he has sought to convey is clear: desert Singh and you will be rewarded. Already his efforts seem to have paid off. About 70 of the 140 MLAs who had sided with Singh when he had been forced to step down from the chief ministership are said to have pledged their loyalty to the party high command.

For someone who was a puppet two years ago, that is no mean achievement.

—N.K. SINGH

Singh (left) with Vora: bitter rivals

PRASHANT PANJIAR



Earlier, when he was chief minister, Motilal Vora had been content to play second fiddle to Arjun Singh. This time, he has swiftly moved to undermine Singh and strengthen himself.

KARNATAKA

Master Stroke

Janata Dal gets a president

IT was the original dispute—one over which a former dissident leader stormed out of the Janata Dal, leading to the resurrection of a defunct Janata Party. Yet, last fortnight, the Janata Dal managed to settle the vexatious issue of a president for its Karnataka unit far more easily than similar appointments in other key states.

In fact, the manner in which the dispute was settled was hailed as a masterstroke, designed to bolster the party's sagging image with general elections and state assembly polls (before March next year) less than 12 months away. The surprise-choice for the post: 67-year-old Basavaiah Rachaiah, veteran politician and a highly respected Harijan leader.

Rachaiah

The appointment followed a year-long drama: large sections of the then Janata Party demanded that the incumbent, M.P. Prakash, step down, since the party code of one man-one post was being violated. Prakash held a ministerial job and was from the majority Lingayat community, a distinct liability in a party perceived as being dominated by the major communities.

The dissident group led by H.D. Deve Gowda made an attempt to bargain for the post. But the move was resisted by the Ramakrishna Hegde group, which hoisted Gowda's arch foe, Dr. Jeevaraj Alva, as the party secretary-general.

But with the formation of the Janata Dal, a change became imperative with even Prakash wanting to step down because of Alva's total dominance in the party hierarchy. Moreover, the Gowda camp was already capitalising on the fact that the Janata Dal was led by a Lingayat chief minister and a Lingayat party president. Angling for the imminent vacancy were Alva and Rajya Sabha member D.B. Chandre Gowda, both prominent Vokkaligas.

However, even as a fratricidal clash erupted in key north Indian states over

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If we're leaders in pharmaceuticals, how come they still call us 'United Breweries'?

Fact:
The 'United Breweries' Group is at the forefront of India's pharmaceuticals industry today. With our partners – Hoechst and Roussel – we manufacture a wide range of vital drugs to meet India's needs.

If we're helping to revolutionise India's telecommunications, how come they still call us 'United Breweries'?

Fact:
The 'United Breweries' Group is bringing state-of-the-art technology to India's telecommunications industry. Through Unitel, United Telecoms and WIE Electronics, we're manufacturing everything from the latest push – button telephones, electronic telexes and printers to total telecom networks.

If we're opening new vistas for Indian Science & Technology, how come they still call us 'United Breweries'?

Fact:
The 'United Breweries' Group has already set up a highly sophisticated R&D base in India–The Vittal Mallya Scientific Research Foundation. This centre for advanced scientific studies will not only support the activities of the Group, but more important, serve the long– term scientific needs of the industry.

The time has come to change our name.

From now on, we'll no longer be called 'United Breweries'.

OBM 2859

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

similar appointments, Janata Dal President V.P. Singh dampened Alva and Gowda's aspirations by declaring that the party would have at least one Harijan president. And last fortnight, V.P. Singh, on the advice of Dal Vice-President Hegde, decided on Rachaiah.

Rachaiah is a leader of rare integrity. And, as one MLA said: "It is a politically expedient appointment aimed at correcting the stigma that we are a party dominated by the majority community." The Dal has also picked a general secretary and three vice-presidents from different communities.

Interestingly, Rachaiah reacted coolly to the new responsibility. The low-profile politician reluctantly accepted the post, after obtaining an assurance that Alva would lay off him. He also exposed immediately the nature of the appointment by pointing out that when it had come to electing a chief minister following Hegde's exit last year, no one thought of him, though he was the seniormost party leader and was acceptable to all sections of the party. Said he: "Suddenly I have been discovered."

But the appointment has been welcomed by the rank and file. Rachaiah's non-partisan image is expected to ensure some order in what promises to be a turbulent run-up to the elections.

But Chief Minister S.R. Bommai gave a hint of what might be in store when he called Rachaiah the party's Bhishma. He meant to describe him as a wise guardian of opposing forces, but forgot that in the end the grand old man was reduced to immobility on a bed of arrows.

—CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

BOTTOMLINE BY D. BUNKER

Running Riot

RUNNING the country must be fun. First we had the great Freedom Run where the prime minister surrounded by Zeenat Aman and other bodyguards jogged down Raj Path along with thousands of freedom lovers. Now we have had an even larger bunch of patriots participating in the "I-run-for-my-country" marathon. This time, the rabble dabble was somewhat lacking. Apart from Moon Moon Sen and Vijay Amritraj, the only other celebrity was Rajiv Gandhi in a sweat shirt which proclaimed 'I Run The Country'. There was a rumour another celebrity, V.P. Singh, was lurking around (his T-shirt said 'I won't run my country'), but there was no way of confirming that in the crush.

But Nikes off to the organisers. It takes a lot of planning, coordination and numerous marathon sessions to organise something on such a large scale. Here's how the planning is done.

Suresh Calamity: We've had the Freedom Run and Run for My Country. This time we need something really spectacular. Any ideas?

Uma Rouge: How about if I and the PM arrive in a helicopter. During the Tamil Nadu elections that always brought out the crowds. We can be wearing matching designer outfits and....

Calamity: Forget it. Sonia wouldn't go for it. Anyway, what we need is a catchy slogan, something really patriotic.

Roaming Chopra: How about *Hame Daurna Hai?*

Satisfied Sharma: I don't think that kind of stuff goes down so well anymore.

Calamity: Well, we're running out of time. Shall we call in Saatchi & Saatchi?

Summon Dubey: Well last time they gave us a real run for the money. I've got it. How about the Janata Jog?

Calamity: Sounds too pedestrian. We can hardly expect people to jog in a marathon event with prize money at stake.

Rouge: My daughter suggests—Runs in the family.

Dubey: Sounds like a bad stomach ailment. We need something with more zip in it.

Chopra: Let's call in Mani Shankar Iyer. He always comes up with good one-liners.

Calamity: I did. He suggested Dandi Daur. I doubt if Gandhi will approve, Rajiv I mean.

Dubey: Have you tried Rediffusion?

Calamity: Yes. They suggested we hold a 20-km walk with the slogan 'The Government That Walks.' Doesn't work. We have to involve the people.

Rouge: How about The Great Race. I saw it the other...

Sharma: It's got to have patriotic appeal. Remember, this is election year. How about Run for Rajiv? Or, Congress I Run for My Country?

Dubey: That's too blatant.

Chopra: Let's call it Bharat Bhag. Snappy and patriotic.

Dubey: Sounds pretty unpatriotic to me.

Calamity: I agree.

Calamity's secretary: Sir, the PM's office just called. They want it called off. Vyjanthimala has criticised the run in Parliament and she is supposed to be on our side.

Rouge: She's jealous we didn't send her a track suit.

Calamity: Anyway, the fat is in the fire. We have to come up with something new.

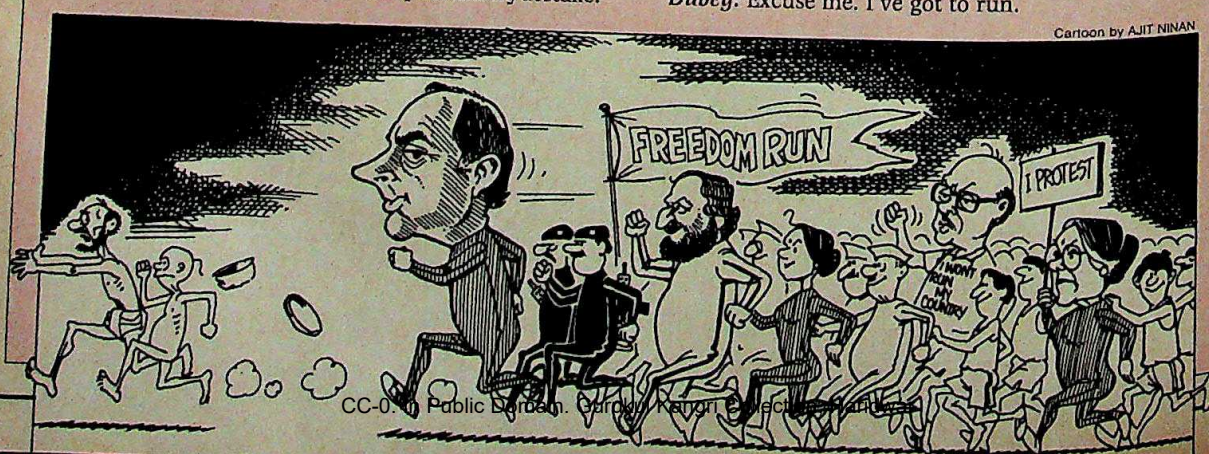
Dubey: Why?

Calamity & Rouge: (in chorus) What will we do with all the track suits we have ordered?

Sharma: I'll take them. Make a great election gimmick in Amethi. Imagine, all the villagers dressed in white track suits. Now all we need is the right slogan to put on the sweat shirts. Now, its got to be snappy and patriotic. Any ideas?

Dubey: Excuse me. I've got to run.

Cartoon by AJIT NINAN



CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If we're at the forefront in food processing, how come they still call us 'United Breweries'?

Fact:
The 'United Breweries' Group stands at the forefront of the food processing revolution in India – a high priority area for the Government. Through its leading brands Kissan and Dipy's, the Group is helping India harness her vast potential for vegetables and fruits.

If we're market leaders in polymers, how come they still call us 'United Breweries'?

Fact:
Hindustan Polymers, a part of the 'United Breweries' Group, is a leader in the manufacturing and marketing of styrene, polystyrene and expandable polystyrene – rated among the finest in the world in terms of product purity and quality.

If we're so involved in petrochemicals, how come they still call us 'United Breweries'?

Fact:
The 'United Breweries' Group is making significant inroads on the Indian petrochemical front today. Manufacturing a wide range of industrial chemicals and plastics and poised now to make a quantum leap in this exciting new technology.

The time has come to change our name.

From now on, we'll no longer be called 'United Breweries'.

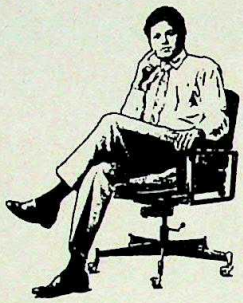
OBM 2860

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

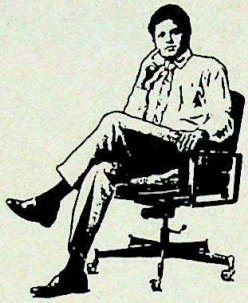
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Why are we called 'United Breweries'?

Why not 'United Petrochemicals'?



Or 'United Pharmaceuticals'?



Or 'United Biotechnology'?

Or 'United Telecommunications'?

Or 'United Foods'?

Or 'United Electronics'?

Or 'United Engineering'?

Or 'United Polymers'?

Or 'United Research'?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There are at least 9 different reasons why we've decided to change our name.

So far we've been known as 'The United Breweries Group'. But we find it's a name that is increasingly inappropriate today.

Because it obscures the fact that today, we're involved in petrochemicals.

And the fact that we're leaders in pharmaceuticals.

It obscures the fact that we're at the forefront of the paints industry.

You see, we're rapidly diversifying from our traditional base in brewing and distilling.

And we're now involved in an array of exciting new fields from telecommunications to biotechnology, from processed foods to energy products, from pharmaceuticals to information technology ... and more.

That's why we've decided it's high time to change our name. And that's why from now we are going to be called, very simply, 'The UB Group'.

It's a name that you're going to hear a lot more about in the near future!

Don't call us 'The United Breweries Group'
– just 'The UB Group' will do!

THE UB GROUP

In pace with the future

UB House, 1, Vittal Mallya Road, Bangalore 560 001

OBM 2853 R

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Zealous Ministers

WHEN Karunanidhi cracks the whip, all the DMK ministers jump. And currently, the Tamil Nadu chief minister has put them on the job of presenting themselves as accessible and honest. All set to display these attributes are Food Minister Arcot Veerasamy and Health and Water Resources Minister Dr Ponnmudi. The enthusiastic Veerasamy has made surprise inspections of over 35 ration shops, arrested 25 officials working there, suspended 100 and

SHYAM TEKWANI

Veerasamy inspecting a ration shop: enthusiastic

seized over 1 lakh bogus ration cards. Ration shops have been instructed to clearly display their stocks and officials working there told to wear name tags. Two telephone numbers have been given to the public to phone in complaints.

Ponnmudi, on the other hand, has been making surprise rounds of hospitals in the state. Says he: "Everywhere, the big problem is sanitation." So incensed was he at the filth in one hospital that he picked up a broom and threatened to sweep the floor himself. He has also given an assurance that doctors will be posted in all primary health centres in the state by March 31. This is not all. The zealous minister has also detected serious lacunae in the supply of water to Madras by tankers, which he has promised to rectify before summer sets in.

Dubious Distinction

BIHAR seems unable to escape the bizarre. Where else can a person remain away from the classroom for two long decades and yet be promoted as university professor? That was the distinction recently conferred on Jagannath Mishra by Bihar University. The former chief minister may not have taken a single class all these years, nevertheless, he claims to have been a 'guide' to over a dozen research scholars. Expectedly, Bihar University Vice-Chancellor Shakeel Ahmed, who ordered the promotion, is an unabashed Mishra fan.

Interestingly, another Mishra loyalist and former vice-chancellor of Lalit Narayan Mithila University, Shakeelur Rahman, had refused to promote Nagendra Jha, Mishra's arch-rival and education minister in the Azad cabinet on the grounds that it was unethical to promote a person who had not been teaching for a long period. It was for the same reason—the Government's refusal to allow this kind of time-bound promotion to university teachers—that 20,000 teachers launched an indefinite strike last month, arguing that this would mean demotion for many of them. Mishra, who has been in the political wilderness for some time, certainly appears to have got the best of both worlds.

Jagannath Mishra

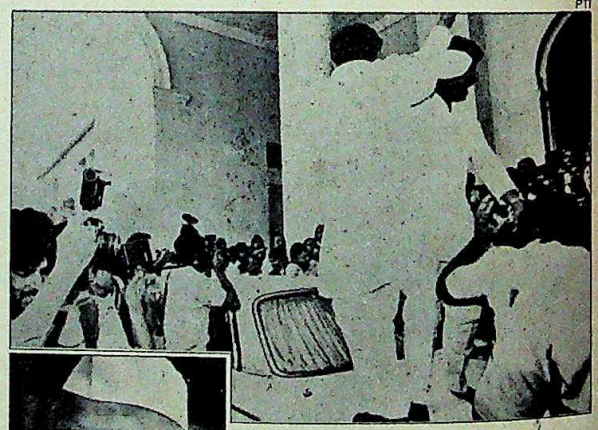
Cover-up Programme

THE report about fudging of Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) figures (INDIA TODAY, March 15) has caused a storm in Madhya Pradesh. An unnerved Chief Minister Motilal Vora has reportedly written to Rajiv Gandhi complaining of a smear campaign by detractors. Even as the Opposition has taken up the issue of the systematic fraud, the Government has launched a cover-up operation and started witch-hunting officials suspected of leaking the news. The Vora Government is distributing copies of documents to select newsmen to substantiate its claim that the IRDP implementation was worse during Arjun Singh's tenure. The documents show that Singh left behind an unutilised balance of Rs 49.55 crore in 1985. They also confirm that since the IRDP launch in 1979, successive governments have fudged records to paint a rosy picture.

Bitter Farewell

FOR a governor who had a smooth tenure in an opposition-ruled state, the last day marked a bitter farewell. Heckled and manhandled by angry Congress(I) legislators, outgoing West Bengal governor Nurul Hasan was obstructed from completing his address on the opening day of the budget session. The members were

PTI



Congressmen atop Governor's car; and (inset) Nurul Hasan

demanding the resignation of the "corrupt" Chief Minister Jyoti Basu and booking of culprits responsible for the murder of CPI(M) MP, T.S. Gurung, who had drifted away from the party. As Left Front members gheraoed the protesters, Congress(I) MLAs Subrata Mukherjee and Sultan Ahmed sustained injuries. There was chaos again as Congressmen tried to prevent Hasan from leaving by lying prostrate in his way. Security staff and Left Front MLAs kicked and pushed them to clear the passage. Describing the incident as unprecedented, Jyoti Basu said it was a case of "assault and battery" on the governor. Retorted Congress(I) Legislature Party leader Abdus Sattar: "Democracy has been murdered under CPI(M) rule. They cannot tolerate any opposition. We were beaten up by ministers, assistants of ministers and even outsiders."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

For Coffee Connoisseurs Only

Rich, pure and smooth coffee.
Makes your every coffee moment
a golden moment.

FROM THE MAKERS OF
GOLD CAFÉ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VAISHNO DEVI

Pilgrimage's Progress

When the Vaishno Devi shrine was taken over by a statutory board, promises were made of radical reforms and reconstruction. Two years later the improvements have exceeded the wildest expectations of the people.

BHAWAN SINGH

Offerings at darshan exceed Rs 5 crore a year

THE Vaishno Devi *yatra* had over the years become a national symbol of the material and spiritual exploitation of the faithful. The tales told by the 6 to 7 lakh *yatris* who annually undertook the 13 km trek to the shrine, situated at 5,500 ft in the heart of Jammu's Trikuta mountains, were anger-invoking horror stories. Like that of the plight of an impoverished mother who, unable to beg, borrow or steal water on the pilgrimage, was forced to buy a cola for an exorbitant Rs 6 from a fly-infested roadside stall in order to wash her nine-month-old baby.

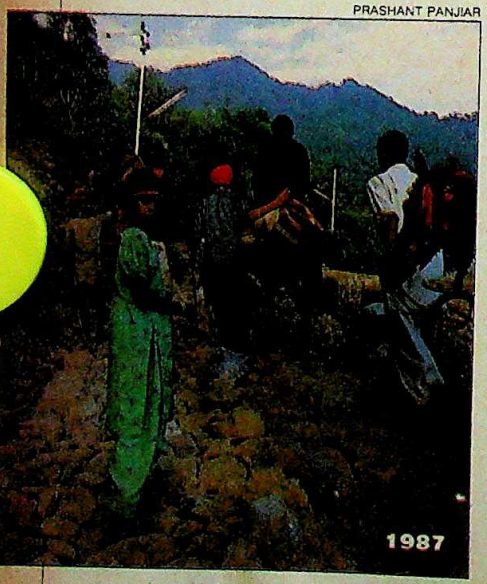
But two years ago things began to change. And today the curtain has risen on an entirely new scenario that visitors to the shrine almost universally describe as a miracle. The number of pilgrims has shot up from 6 lakh to 22 lakh. By all reasoning, this increase should render the trek filthier, grimier, and even more unmanageable. However, it is the exact opposite that is now true.

A pilgrim now not only gets potable water for washing and drinking, but also soap, flush toilets, private bathing facilities, medical care, wholesome pre-packed snacks, and even a cola for Rs 2.50 at small government-run kiosks where all prices are prominently displayed. The threefold increase in the pilgrims is both the result as well as the cause of what must surely rank as one of the most extraordinarily successful ventures of this sort in the country.

Before this metamorphosis, pilgrims, who reached their destination after a seven or eight hour climb from the small township of Katra, had no guarantee that they would even be allowed in for the worship. The *darshan* in the holy cave depended on how much the pilgrim was willing to pay the pandits or the *baridars* (the traditional 3,000 Dogra families who shared the offerings made there) whose fiefdom the shrine was.

The journey was infernal—no water, no toilets, no shelter. What was in abundance was greed and exploitation: profiteering by shopkeepers, beggars (teeming everywhere), and assorted godmen and religious mountebanks peddling out-of-queue *darshans*. On top—where the holy cave containing the deity is—was the Bhawan. It was a ramshackle collec-

PRASHANT PANJIAR



The nightmare trek of two years ago, in which pot-holes, bad water and filthy food played havoc with life and limb, is now a smooth and clean journey on a tiled passageway.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tion of dilapidated buildings where thousands huddled, washed and defecated together in the open while awaiting their turn for darshan.

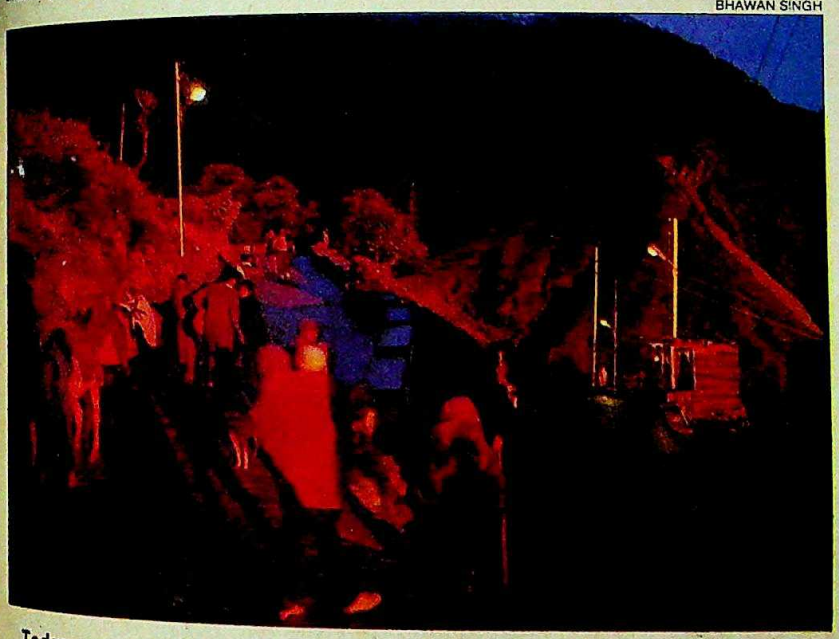
Now only the memory of that nightmare remains. The support for the reform that generated this change is so forceful that the state legislature in its last session unanimously voted to institutionalise it. It made into law Governor Jagmohan's 1986 edict under which the management of the *yatra* and the shrine was taken over from the Dharmartha Trust and vested in an independent board.

It was Jagmohan's most controversial reform measure during Governor's Rule and faced stiff opposition from politicians, Hindu groups and the vested interests of the *baridar* families who controlled the shrine. Court cases were filed and agitations against the take-over planned, and Dr Farooq Abdullah's government had hinted that it would rescind the edict after its life ran out in two years.

The new Vaishno Devi Board's only hope lay in transforming the entire area with lightning speed. And as the clock began to tick on the life of the gubernatorial edict, Jagmohan and the board mounted a race against time to be able to demonstrate quickly the visible and tangible benefits of the reform.

The miracle is not that the transformation occurred within an 18-month span but that it happened at all. Kunwar Devinder Singh, a Rajput whose family had vowed to fight the take-over, remarks: "This stands in monumental contrast with the rest of the country. In India, what is easily said is never done. But in this case, what is done is not said. And that the Government has been able to achieve this is almost unbelievable."

BHAWAN SINGH



Today some 650 powerful sodium vapour lamps make the passage so sparkling that most *yatris* prefer to do the trip by night.

THE *yatra* has now burst upon the area as a spiritual cocktail of myth, magic and modernity. And it is not just modern engineering that is so abundantly in evidence. Sure, the Sintex culture can be seen everywhere, with tanks, water stands and water coolers available at over 50 locations along the way. About 2 lakh gallons of filtered water collected from mountain streams is in constant storage and the amount will be quadrupled at a cost of Rs 70 lakh.

But the reformation is far more than just the provision of clean water. The entire exercise has become a cultural crucible for an experiment with religion, self-reliance, hygiene, and modern efficiency, with sharply visible results.

Says Ashok Singh, a *yatri* who has lived in Europe: "The whole atmosphere is Indian but in some ways I feel I'm in a foreign country." The observation is not entirely unjustified. Just about every other kilometre, three-tiered prefabricated shelter and catering units—overlooking scenic views—have sprung up. Dozens of small kiosks serve piping hot coffee from Espresso machines. Each kiosk and shelter boasts a prominently-displayed first aid box. Where medical aid was non-existent along a route in which pot-holes, bad water and filthy food played havoc with life and limb, there are now five self-contained medical units. They are equipped with stretchers, beds, and even oxygen cylinders for those who get short of breath. And every hundred yards one encounters signposts, guidemaps, information centres and announcement booths.

The toilet facilities are ubiquitous. A staggering 450 toilets with automatic flushing systems, manned 24 hours by cleaners armed with phenol and powdered lime, have been set up. The toilet areas are surrounded by rose gardens. And all along the way—at 56 locations—small gardens called *vatikas*, planted with ornamental trees, shrubs, creepers and flowers have been built. Also, some 18 lakh trees—chir, gulmohar, bottlebrushes, acacia—have been planted. When fully grown, they will make the *yatra* seem like a sojourn through an endless garden.

The Bhawan has been transformed into a modern complex of rooms and halls—cleaned daily with vacuum-cleaners—with free accommodation for over 1,000 visitors. There are two dozen deluxe suites with attached baths (cost: Rs 100 a night). And nearing completion are 40 independent huts.

At the Bhawan's new vegetarian restaurant, equipped with a modern kitchen and stainless steel sinks, a hot *thali* costs Rs 4. Twenty-five colour TV sets and a Rs 4-lakh Philips piped music system playing religious themes have been installed in the waiting-rooms.

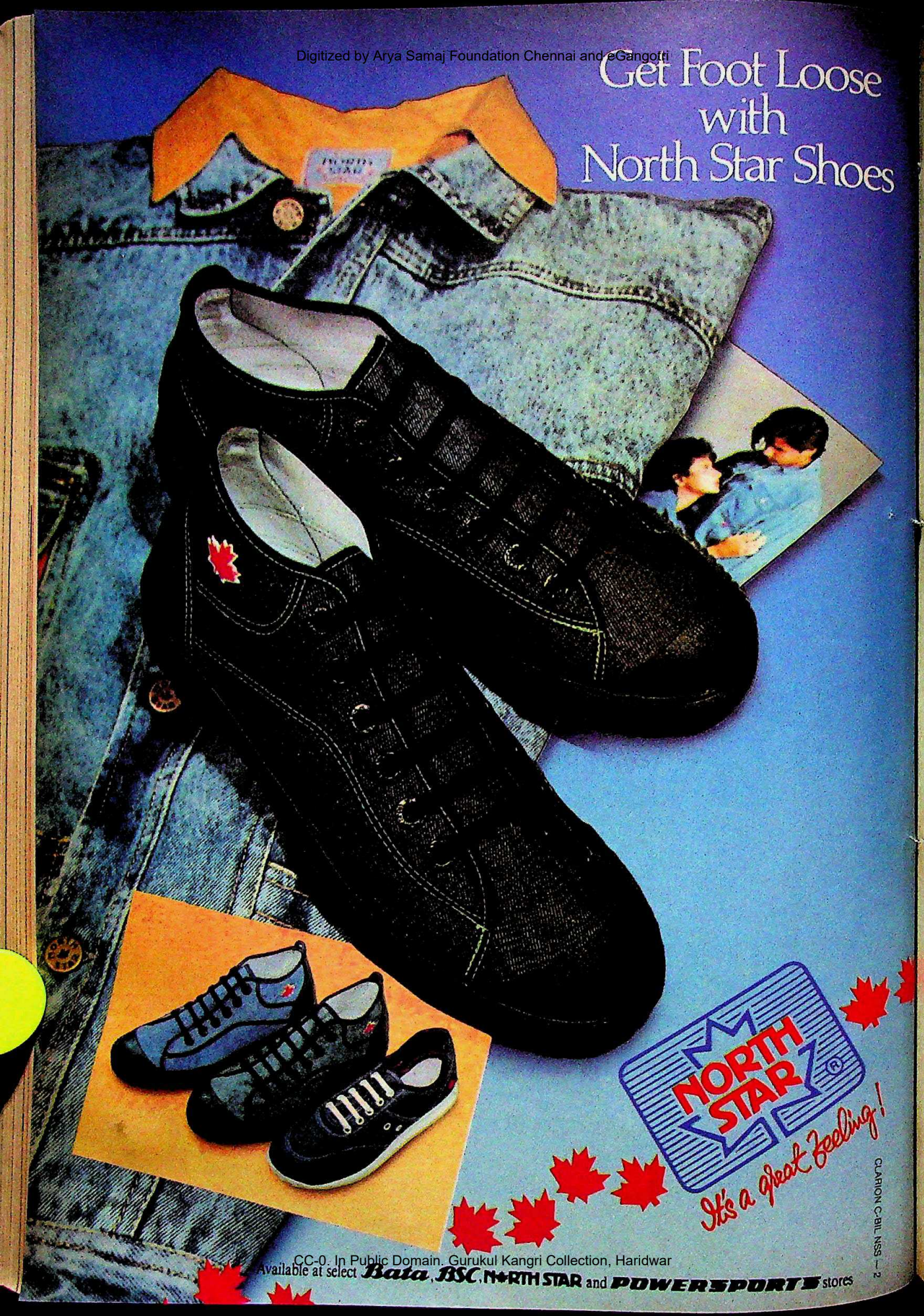
But what is revolutionary is the provision of clean blankets to those staying overnight from wooden distribution counters on each floor. The board has purchased 14,000 new blankets for free use by the *yatris*, and a massive, Rs 15-lakh automated laundromat capable of cleaning 2,000 blankets each day hums away in the basement. Periodic fumigation of the complex has just about eliminated flies and insects.

The initial proposal to transform the *yatra* was modest in comparison with the achievements of today. Paving the track, providing drinking water, lighting the route, and wiping out the stranglehold of the *pandas* and *baridars* were then the only goals. The take-over by the board eliminated the *pandas* almost in one fell stroke. But just as dramatic was the electrification of the entire route. Today, some 650 powerful sodium vapour lamps, backed by five reserve generators, illuminate the path. And so sparkling is the passage that 80 per cent of the *yatris*, especially in the summer, prefer to do the trip by night.

The new track is a smooth passageway of 11 lakh tiles made in a factory set up by the board. It is fenced by 5,000 m of parapet walls and 2,000 m of railing. Says

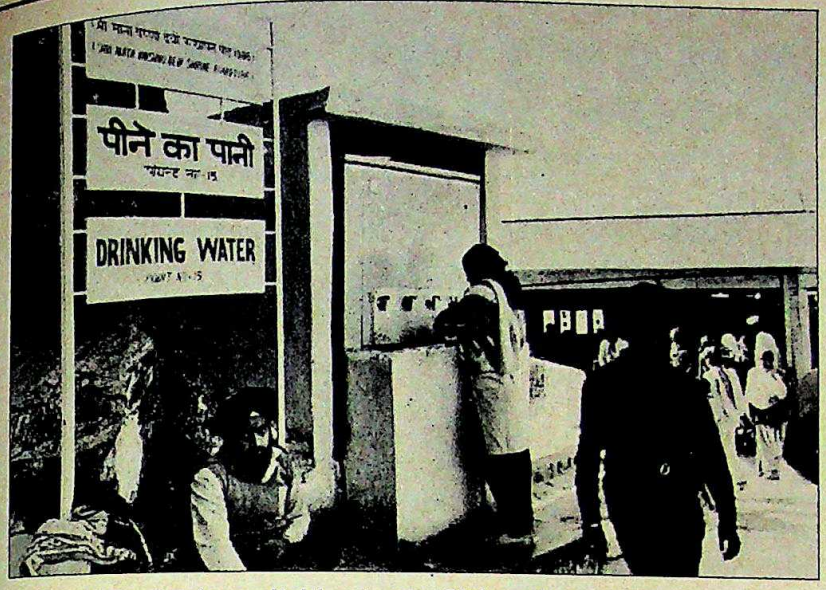
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

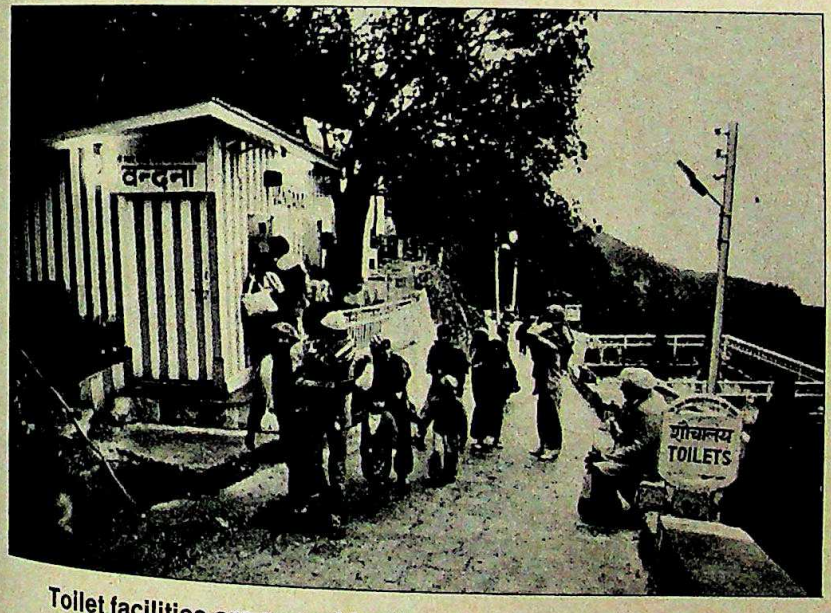


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Potable water is available at over 50 locations along the way, and about 2 lakh gallons of filtered water is kept in storage.



Toilet facilities are now ubiquitous—450 toilets with flushing systems, constantly manned by cleaners, have been set up.

one traveller: "You walk on it and it seems as if your own feet lift you. And mothers can now take their babies up in prams."

THE changes have affected not just the *yatra* but also the surrounding area and its people. This is not easily apparent to the *yatri*. As Surinder Khanna, a Delhi businessman visiting the shrine, said as he lounged with his wife, two daughters and granddaughter in one of the Bhawan's new rest-rooms: "All that I know is that the offerings are no longer pocketed by the priests and the *pandas* and that they are being put to some use." Adds Shiv Kumar from Jalandhar who has returned after three years: "I had heard vague rumours that fresh blankets are available and there are latrines for the ladies. But what I've seen exceeds even my wildest expectations."

What Khanna and Kumar probably do not know is that just the offerings made by pilgrims inside the cave now exceed Rs 5 crore a year. About one-third of this is in gold and silver, which is melted down in government mints and sold in the bullion market. The entire transformation has been paid for by these funds. Says Anil Goswami, the energetic former collector of Udhampur who supervised much of the construction on horseback, and is now the board's chief executive: "We've done all this without asking the Government for a penny. And I think that's something of a national record."

Specially noteworthy is the fact that the money offered at the shrine and generated by the *yatra* is beginning to change the economic and social lives of the people who live in the area. Take Manu, for example, a sweeper—or "safai karamchari" as the board describes him. He is one of some 400 workers engaged to keep the track clean and the bathrooms disinfected. He gets Rs 600 as pay, free clothes, subsidised rations and, with his brother, who also works there, has chipped in to buy a TV set. In a few months, Manu will get a small hut in one of five colonies being constructed for the sweepers. Each will have its own primary school, medical unit and ration shop.

Kewal Dass Sharma of Riyassi, 35 km away, has been trained under contract with the India Tourism Development Corporation to become a full-time waiter at the new suites at the Bhawan. Now earning Rs 600 a month, he will graduate to the regular pay grade of the state Government after a year's training. Kesari, 45, used to beg along the track for as long as she can remember. Now, along with 200 women who have been rehabilitated, she has been trained at the new Mahila Mandal at Purana Garud, along the trail. She stitches uniforms for the board's officials and can earn as much as Rs 20 a day. "I used to feel ashamed. Today, I can look you in the eye. This is what the Devi must have wanted," she says.

Villagers in a 30-mile radius have benefited, Goswami points out. These include about 3,000 registered pony attendants, who earn about Rs 80 a day and are also provided free medical service and clothes. And the animals—for the first time ever—are tended to at several large shelters along the way, equipped with veterinary facilities.

So far between 8,000 and 10,000 people have gained direct or indirect job benefits from the *yatra*. In line with the board's educational thrust, a new Sanskrit university is now under construction a few kilometres away from the Bhawan, and 10 fellowships of Rs 1,000 a month have already been awarded through Jammu University to scholars for religious and historical research.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BUILT FOR SPEED

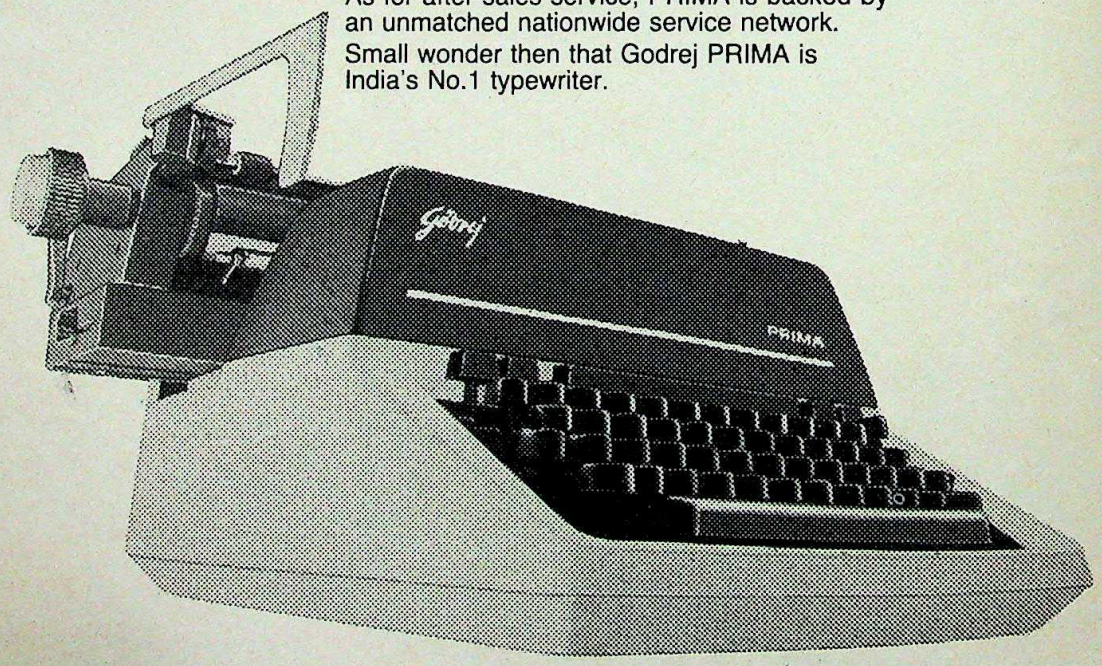
106 words per minute, the super speed achieved on the PRIMA at the National Speed Typing Championship due to its light touch.

123 hours of non-stop typing has earned PRIMA a place in the Guiness Book. That's how durable and trouble-free the PRIMA is.

In fact, PRIMA incorporates a host of features like end-of-page indicator, the vertical line facility etc. And is available in 15 typestyles, most Indian languages and select foreign languages.

As for after-sales-service, PRIMA is backed by an unmatched nationwide service network.

Small wonder then that Godrej PRIMA is India's No.1 typewriter.



BUILT TO LAST

Godrej®
PRIMA

India's Premier Typewriter.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ULKA-11814

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JAGMOHAN

Undermining Obscurantism

THE success of the Vaishno Devi reform measure and rapid transformation of the surrounding region has stimulated other states to consider similar changes in the management of other major shrines. The exemplary implementation of the scheme was largely due to the perseverance and persistence of Jammu & Kashmir Governor Jagmohan. He spoke on the subject—the first time he has been on record—with Executive Editor INDERJIT BADHWAR. *Excerpts:*

Q. *What made you undertake the Vaishno Devi reform?*

A. It was a chance visit to the shrine. I was shocked by the insanitary conditions, the material and moral corruption that prevailed there. I vowed to myself that, if ever I got a chance, I would carry out a radical reform of the management.

Q. *And you got the chance when Governor's Rule was imposed in the state in March 1986?*

A. Yes. Using my legislative powers, I promulgated a law which vested the management in an independent statutory board under the chairmanship of the governor.

Q. *Was your motivation religious, administrative or social reform?*

A. You can judge that from what I recorded after the visit: "If anyone wanted to see the degeneration of our society, one had nothing else to do but to walk from Katra to Vaishno Devi. One would get the impression, not of a wounded civilisation, but of a society stricken with terminal illness." I was swept by the desire to regenerate this cultural wasteland.

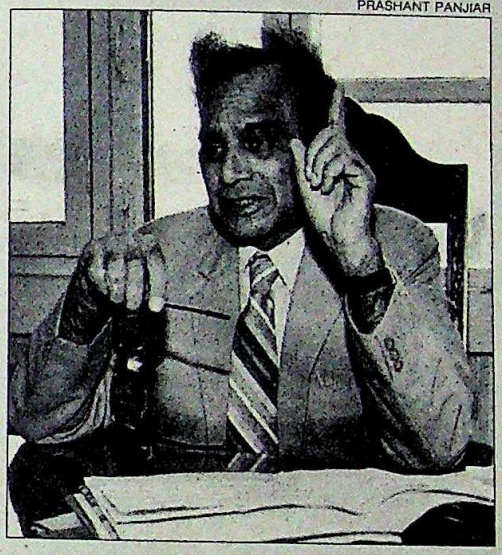
Q. *What do you mean by this?*

A. Pilgrimage is an important part of Indian tradition. It is a journey undertaken to meet the 'gods' and experience spirituality. In ancient times, *yatris* encountered a charming environment. The air was exhilarating, the forests thick and the streams full of crystal-clear water. Unfortunately, all this is gone now.

Q. *What was the state of this 'yatra' before the reform?*

A. It was a soul-depressing experience. An encounter not with exhilarating air but foul stench; not with thick and green forests but a raped and ravaged landscape. It was not being face to face with the spirit of the great souls, but with the motivation of manipulators, the ignorant carrying torches for the 'guidance' of others. It was meeting gods strangled and suffocated by limitless physical and moral degradation.

PRASHANT PANJIAR



"The yatra was a soul-depressing experience."

Q. *What has happened now?*

A. That is for you to see.

Q. *Were you concerned with cultural regeneration?*

A. Not only that. I believe true religion lies in service, in the service of *jeeva* (living beings) is the service of 'Siva'. Hence all our humanitarian works—construction of schools, dispensaries, and the like.

Q. *What about the administrative aspect?*

A. The reform was also an exercise of creativity in administration—tapping new resources, and providing new avenues for social and economic development. Such reforms undertaken all over India can undermine the forces of obscurantism.

And in a largely illiterate community eight new primary and secondary schools financed by the board have started functioning. Admits Baldev Sharma, a scion of a *baridari* family: "For all these years we had taught our children to loot the pilgrims. Today we would much rather put them in school."

Sharma is a resident of Katra (pop: 5,000) that is the base camp for the *yatra*. Owner of the Amar Mahal cinema, he is one of the most obvious financial beneficiaries of the *yatra*. "I have not seen ever before what has occurred here in the last two years," he says. He is among dozens of Katra businessmen building new hotels. Since the take-over includes the administration of Katra—whose sole naib tehsildar has now been replaced by an IAS officer—the town has positively boomed. A new bus-stand paved with concrete, widened by-lanes, a new bazar, a spruced up Yatri Niwas and even storm-drains have changed the face of the town.

Surindar Khajuria, owner of Hotel Subash, is constructing two new three-star facilities. And Kunwar Devinder Singh, a Jammu businessman dealing in tractors and farm equipment, is one of several first-generation entrepreneurs who find the commercial atmosphere of Katra exciting. "I'm moving into Katra and setting up business. This place has become a gold-mine. Professionals like me find the challenge fascinating."

Because the *yatra* has swollen by three times in two years, the total turnover from tourist expenditures on hotels, guest-houses, food purchases is estimated at between Rs 20 crore and Rs 40 crore a year, not counting the Rs 5-crore in donations. During the peak period the board-run kiosks make as much as Rs 3,000 a day, and the *halwai* shops at the midway rest stop—Ardhkunwari—where a Rs 6-lakh marble resting platform has been constructed—rake in about Rs 10,000 daily.

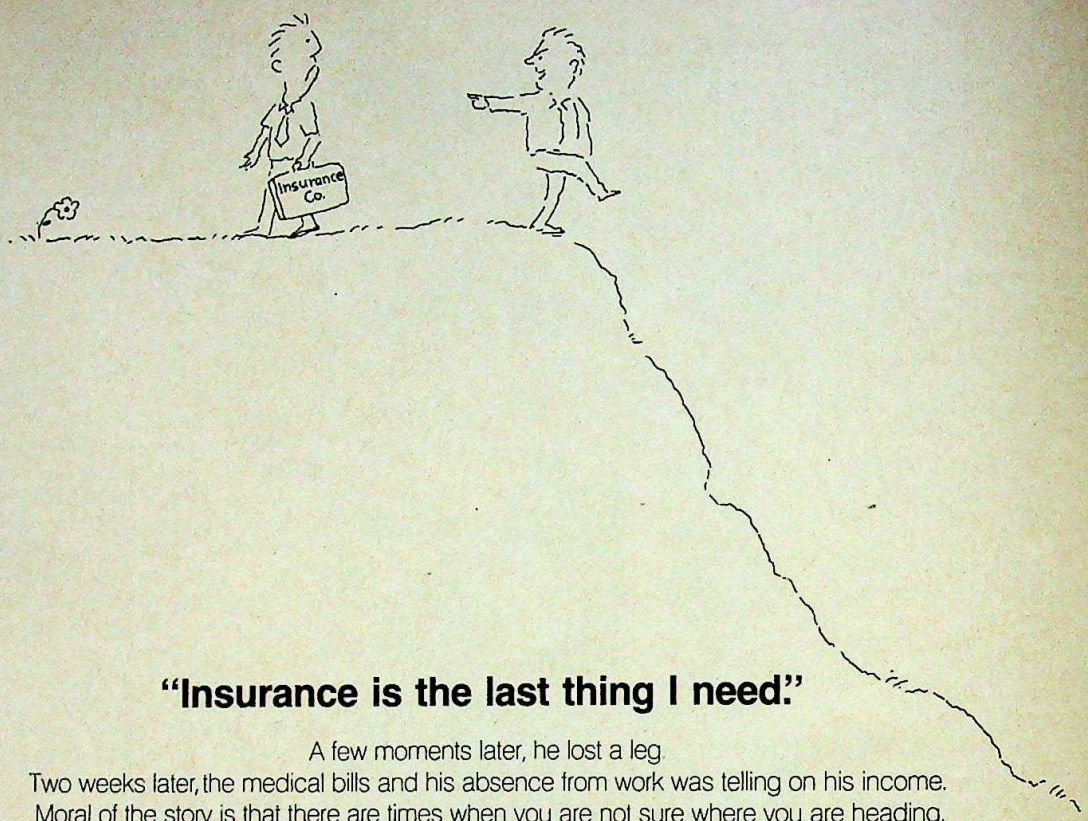
Says Goswami: "It's exhilarating to be able to sense the joy of the *yatris*, to see the area prosper, and see education and hygiene entering the lives of people. This is the true blessing of the shrine."

For the lakhs who have visited the shrine in all its decrepitude and corruption, just the clean, well-provided corruption-free pilgrimage available now is blessing enough. But undoubtedly the greater blessing is the example set: thousands of centres of religious pilgrimage countrywide can now similarly weed out squalor and degradation, and become the abodes of the gods they are meant to be.

—INDERJIT BADHWAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"Insurance is the last thing I need."

A few moments later, he lost a leg.

Two weeks later, the medical bills and his absence from work was telling on his income.

Moral of the story is that there are times when you are not sure where you are heading.

It is for such unforeseen contingencies that New India Assurance provides for with different schemes like the Personal Accident Insurance and others.

New India believes in being more than just an insurance company, it believes in being a loyal friend, philosopher and guide to you in times of distress and otherwise.

More than sixty five years have passed since New India first started helping people help themselves. A tradition which continues. No wonder New India has retained for itself the number one spot over the years.

Pioneers in the field, they have launched various innovative schemes like the Unborn Child Welfare Scheme and Cancer Insurance Policy and even a policy covering kidney failure.

It is New India's firm belief that insurance can be beneficial to every aspect of living and for people from all walks of life.

And New India's agents are more than just insurance salesmen, they reflect the company's commitment to professional but personalised service. So much so that he'll be there wherever and whenever you need a shoulder to lean on.

There are few things you can depend upon in this age of uncertainty.

New India is certainly one of them.

I would like to know more about the schemes offered by New India Assurance.

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____ Tel: _____

Mail this coupon to: New India Assurance Co. Ltd., Publicity Dept., New India Assurance Bldg., 87 Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay 400 023.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU CENTENARY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hospitals. Banking & Financial Institutions. Airlines & Shipping Services. Business Houses. Software Exporters. Libraries. Universities. Construction Companies. Research Organisations. etc. etc.

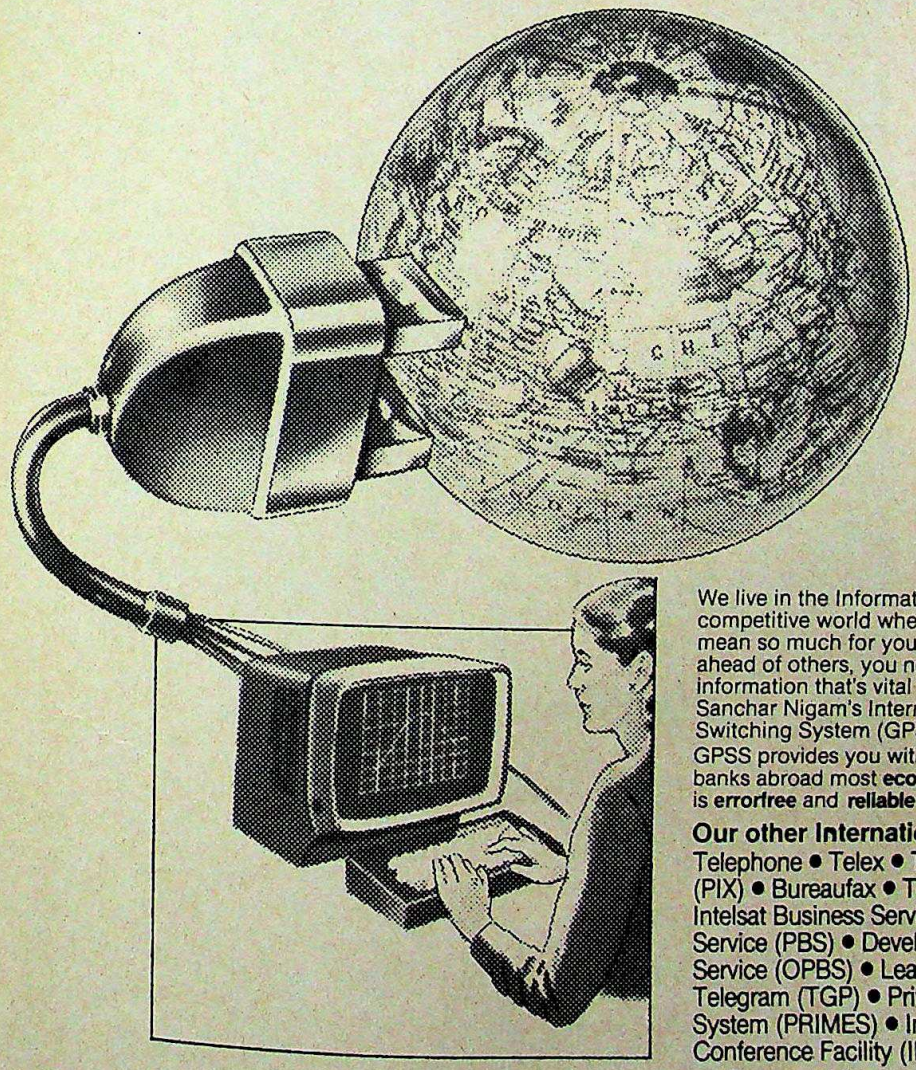
Videsh Sanchar Nigam

puts an entire world of information at your finger tips

Introducing

INTERNATIONAL PACKET SWITCHED DATA SERVICE

for the first time in India!



We live in the Information Age. In a highly competitive world where timely information can mean so much for your business. Naturally, to stay ahead of others, you need instant access to information that's vital for your business. Videsh Sanchar Nigam's International Gateway Packet Switching System (GPSS) does just that for you. GPSS provides you with instant access to data banks abroad most **economically.** This service is **errorfree** and **reliable** too.

Our other International Services

Telephone • Telex • Telegram • Photo Telegram (PIX) • Bureaufax • Television • Voice Cast • Intelsat Business Service (IBS) • Press Bulletin Service (PBS) • Developmental Press Bulletin Service (OPBS) • Leased Data • Leased Telegram (TGP) • Private Message Switching System (PRIMES) • International Telephone Conference Facility (INCOTEL)

For further details, please contact: General Manager (Traffic)

VIDESH SANCHAR NIGAM LTD

(A Govt. of India Enterprises)

Registered Office: Videsh Sanchar Bhavan, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay 400 001.
Tel: +91 (22) 271819 Telex: +81 (11) 2429 Fax: +90 (22) 954321

PRESSMAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHOPAL GAS VICTIMS

A Long Haul Ahead

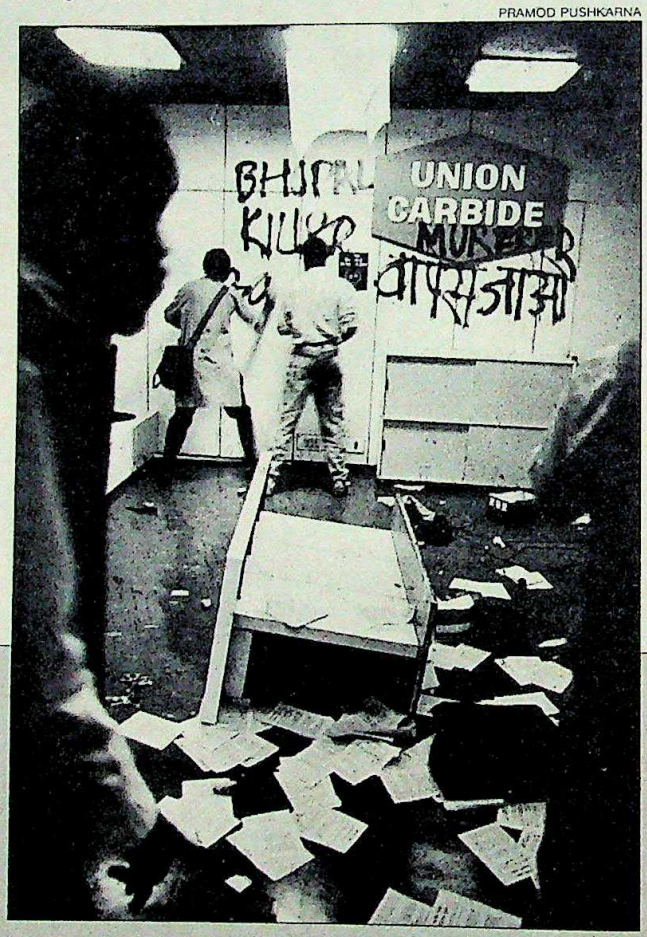
More than four years have passed since the Bhopal gas leak. Yet, the Government's machinery to process claims for compensation has barely begun to roll. So, for the gas leak victims, it's still a long wait for compensation.

FOR the victims of the 1984 Bhopal gas leak, the long wait for compensation is far from over. Union Carbide has indeed deposited the compensation money with the Supreme Court, following the court's controversial order decreeing a settlement. But getting that money to the Bhopal gas victims involves processing countless claims. And the machinery that the Government has so far set up to undertake that stupendous task is totally inadequate.

The modalities of overseeing the welfare of sufferers, deciding individual claims and disbursing compensation have been set out in detail in the Bhopal Gas Leak Disaster (Processing of Claims) Act under which the Union Government is the sole representative of the victims. However, little has been done to implement its provisions. Padmakar Dinkar Mulye, a former judge of the Madhya Pradesh High Court, who was appointed claims commissioner under the Act three years ago, told INDIA TODAY: "We have no infrastructure to start our work."

The sheer volume of work that the commission will have to handle is daunting. The Directorate of Claims set up by the state Government received 5.92 lakh claims

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



Activists deface carbide office in Delhi: angry protest

SUPREME COURT

Rough Recoil

SUPREME Court judgements are supposed to be final, to put the lid on all controversy. But faced with protests inside the courtroom and outside against the $470 million (Rs 715 crore) settlement it had ordered in the Bhopal Union Carbide gas leak case, the Supreme Court last fortnight set the clock back and:

- admitted a writ petition which challenges the Carbide settlement as being violative of fundamental rights
- reopened the question of the constitutionality of the Bhopal Act and
- held up disbursement of the relief money paid by Union Carbide Corporation (UCC) till the challenges to the settlement and the Act have been disposed of.

The first petition challenges the settlement order because it absolves Union Carbide of all civil and criminal liability in connection with the Bhopal gas leak. The Government, it has been argued, cannot sign away the citizen's right to take steps to protect his life, which had been endangered by the multinational UCC. This petition, filed by the Association for Socio-Legal Literacy, is to be heard in late March.

The challenge to the Bhopal Gas Leak Disaster (Processing of Claims) Act, 1985, otherwise called the Bhopal Act, is based on the simple premise that the Government in setting itself up as the sole representative of the gas victims had usurped their right to fight their own case against UCC. The unstated criticism was more severe: most victims felt their interests had been sold out by the Government.

More than these decisions, it was the high drama preceding them that drew attention to the court.

Stung by criticism from the press, Parliament, and by former chief justice P.N. Bhagwati (INDIA TODAY, March 15), the second-ranking judge of the court, E.S. Venkataramiah announced in an open court that he wanted to withdraw from the five-man constitution bench and even dissociate himself from its February 14 judgement in the Carbide case. "You open any newspaper, we are being impeached," Venkataramiah complained.

After Venkataramiah's outburst, a new bench, headed by Sabyasachi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

making it obvious that a lot of people who were not affected had also filed papers hoping for crumbs from the compensation table. Mulye estimates that to process all these claims, the commission will require at least six months. If there are no disputes and appeals against the awards, it should be possible to dispose of the claims within two years. That is too optimistic an assumption. "But, even that is only possible," he cautions, "if we are given facilities to start work right away."

Unfortunately, those facilities are nowhere in sight. And the consequences are sometimes ludicrous. Mulye recently prepared a manual setting out the way in which the claims commission would function. But he had no staff to type it out. Says Mulye: "Barring my appointment and the setting up of a nucleus office, not much progress has been made. And all this while, people who need help fast have been suffering." More than a year ago, Mulye received an intimation sanctioning Rs 50 lakh to start work. But so far, the Centre has only allotted Rs 10 lakh. Given such basic difficulties, the tasks ahead seem well nigh insurmountable.

To adjudicate the 6 lakh-odd cases, the commission will need 56 chief judicial magistrates to act as deputy claims commissioners in different municipal wards of Bhopal, seven district judges to hear appeals and a vigilance set-up apart from its own central office. Official sources reckon that the process of settling claims will cost the state exchequer Rs 7 crore.

Once the infrastructure is created, the commissioner must issue a notification inviting claims from the victims with a time limit of 60 days. That notification has yet to be issued. Says Mulye: "I can issue the notification tomorrow. But what is the use? If people start filing claims I don't have any staff to receive them."

Once the time limit for filing claims ends, the commission will begin looking into their validity. First to be disposed of will be the 3,410 deaths. After that, the commission will examine claims for injuries on the basis of the medical documentation of victims recorded at one of the 18 camps that the Government has been running in different parts of Bhopal for the last two years.

ON the basis of the documentation, the claimants for injuries will be divided into three categories: those suffering permanent disability, those with permanent partial disability, and those with temporary partial disability.

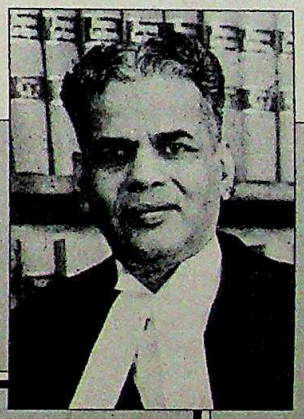
But injuries are not the only kind of claims that the commission will have to decide. There are several other categories: loss or destruction of property of those who fled after the gas leak, loss of business or employment, and temporary dislocation of means of livelihood. The Government too can file claims: for expenses incurred in relief and rehabilitation, for administrative expenditure to cope with the disaster, and for loss of revenue due to damage to flora, fauna and environment.

Another important category of claims deals with "injuries that are likely to be suffered on account of the leak". This provides for paying compensation to people who may suffer in future from the after-effects of methyl iso-cyanate.

Once the different claims have been classified into different categories, the claims commissioner will decide the quantum of compensation to be paid in each category. Says Mulye: "If the Supreme Court issues any directive, we shall abide by that." Individual cases will be heard by the deputy claims commissioners but dissatisfied claimants have the right to appeal to the additional commissioner and finally, the claims commissioner. And since a lot of awards are likely to be disputed, the process of deciding claims is going to be a protracted one.

The disbursement of compensation will be another problem. A vigilance cell will be established to prevent irregularities. And to avoid impersonation and double disbursement of compensation, the fingerprints of each recipient will be taken and compared with those of previous recipients.

How much compensation is each claimant likely to get? The answer depends on how many claims are judged valid. When the Directorate of Claims had invited claims for compensation, it seemed as if the entire town (popu-



Stung by criticism, Supreme Court Justice Venkataramiah said he wanted to dissociate himself from the Carbide judgement.

Mukharji was constituted to decide on the validity of the Bhopal Act. This flurry of unexpected developments left the Supreme Court in seeming disarray.

For one, it had passed the settlement order without validating the Act which empowered the Government to represent the victims. In the course of the hearings, Mukharji also remarked that the questions about the constitutional validity of the Act should have been disposed of before the settlement order was passed. In fact, two petitions challenging the Act have been pending before the court since 1985 and 1986, but were never taken up for hearing.

Second, the Court had failed to give adequate reasons for its controversial $470 million settlement, or pronounce on UCC's liability. The original five-member bench headed by Chief Justice R.S. Pathak is now preparing a detailed justification for the settlement. Chief Justice Pathak remarked after Venkataramiah's outburst that they would "repair any error" they had made. Many said this was akin to locking the stable door after the horse had bolted.

Whatever their outcome, these petitions have delayed the disbursal of the compensation money which UCC and Union Carbide India Limited deposited with the court on February 24. The Supreme Court has to decide how and on what basis the compensation money is to be disbursed. Since the existing claims machinery under Justice Mulye was set up under the Bhopal Act, the Supreme Court will have to wait till the challenge to the Act is vacated.

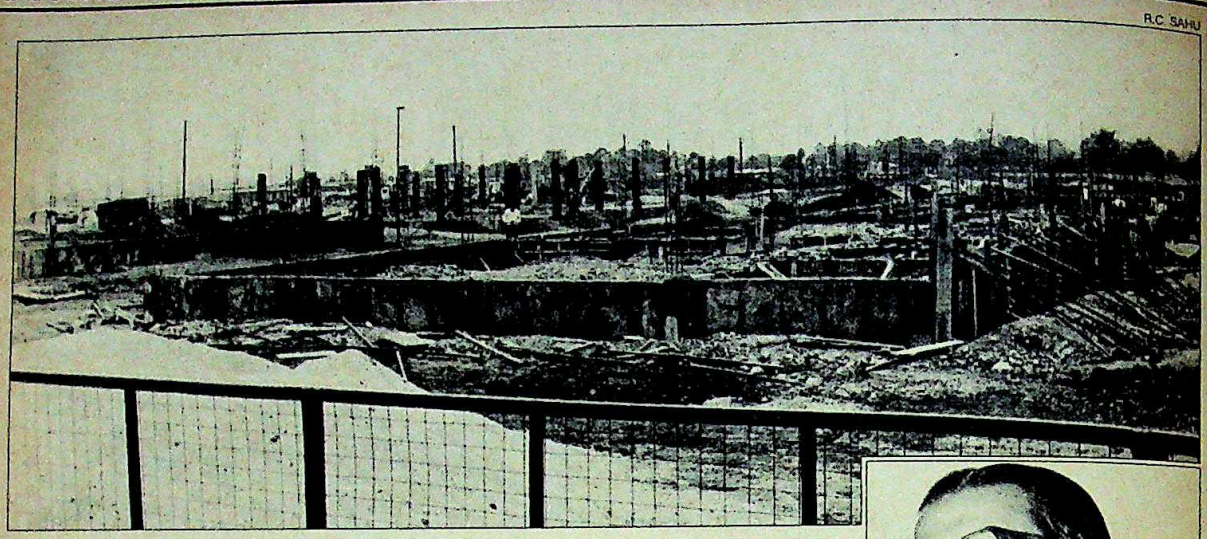
Meanwhile, the protests against the settlement continue. As groups of social workers descended on the Supreme Court with brooms and painstakingly swept the main stairs clean of the "taint" of the Carbide settlement, others went around Delhi with paint brushes defacing all the company's posters. Gas victims and social activists invaded the Union Carbide office in New Delhi, tarred the walls with slogans and broke window panes. The Carbide name has, for many people, become a dirty word.

—RAMINDAR SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R.C. SAHU



Government industrial estate for gas victims

RAJESH JAIN

Even if there are no appeals against the awards, says Claims Commissioner Mulye, it will take two years to dispose of claims.

lation at the time of the tragedy: 6.80 lakh) had responded. A total of 5.92 lakh claims were received. If the compensation money is to be distributed among all these claimants, each would get a paltry Rs 10,000.

But most of these nearly 6 lakh claims would not stand scrutiny. Only 3.15 lakh people have presented themselves for medical documentation. More than 2.50 lakh people have not responded despite three reminders. So the real number of claimants will be far less than 6 lakh. The number of confirmed deaths is 3,410. And latest estimates show that about 10,000 have suffered total permanent disability while those who have suffered partial permanent disability number 30,000. The number of moderately injured persons may exceed 1.50 lakh.

An idea of the compensation that will be paid can be got from the judgement of the Madhya Pradesh High Court last year ordering interim payment. The court had estimated that if the case went to final judgement, the compensation to be paid would be:

- Rs 2 lakh for a death
- Rs 2 lakh for a total permanent disability
- Rs 1 lakh for a partial permanent disability, and
- Rs 50,000 for a temporary partial disability.

Compensation under other categories will be either stipulated by the Supreme Court or by the claims commissioner. According to Mulye, the commission will take the Motor Vehicles Act as a standard, and consider factors such as the probable lifespan of the victim, his earnings, the number of dependents, medical expenditure, severity of injury and mental anguish.

Meanwhile, the Government is perturbed over the socio-economic implications of pouring about Rs 700 crore into a small town with a population of 7 lakh. Among the feared consequences are inflation and social tension.

Administrators recall that when in 1985, free rations and a subsistence grant of Rs 1,500 had been given to people in the lower income bracket, Bhopal had become the costliest town in India. The value of the rupee plunged to an all-time low of 10 paise (1960: Re 1 = 100 paise). By December last year, the situation had improved and the value of the rupee had gone up to 12.6 paise. Nevertheless, the drastic inflation could be an indication of what could happen once compensation is fully disbursed.

OTHERS who won't directly benefit from the compensation are looking forward to getting a share. Soon after the Supreme Court order, the employees of the Directorate of Claims went on a strike demanding permanent jobs, and the field staff employed for gas relief refused to work until they were paid special allowances. The prices of houses in the shanty towns surrounding the Union Carbide factory have already gone up.

Another fear is that those who receive compensation won't invest it wisely. Says S. Satyam, gas relief commissioner of the Madhya Pradesh Government: "The experience has been that wherever large sums have been disbursed, people have squandered it in a short time and become paupers."

Concerned over these possibilities, the state Government has suggested a meeting of legal and financial experts, economists and sociologists to discuss the issue and suggest methods to regulate the flow of funds. One solution is that instead of paying victims a lump sum payment, they be given special bonds carrying a higher interest rate.

Yet this is not the immediate problem. The most urgent task at hand is to get down to processing claims and deciding on the compensation to be paid to each. So far there has been extreme tardiness on this score.

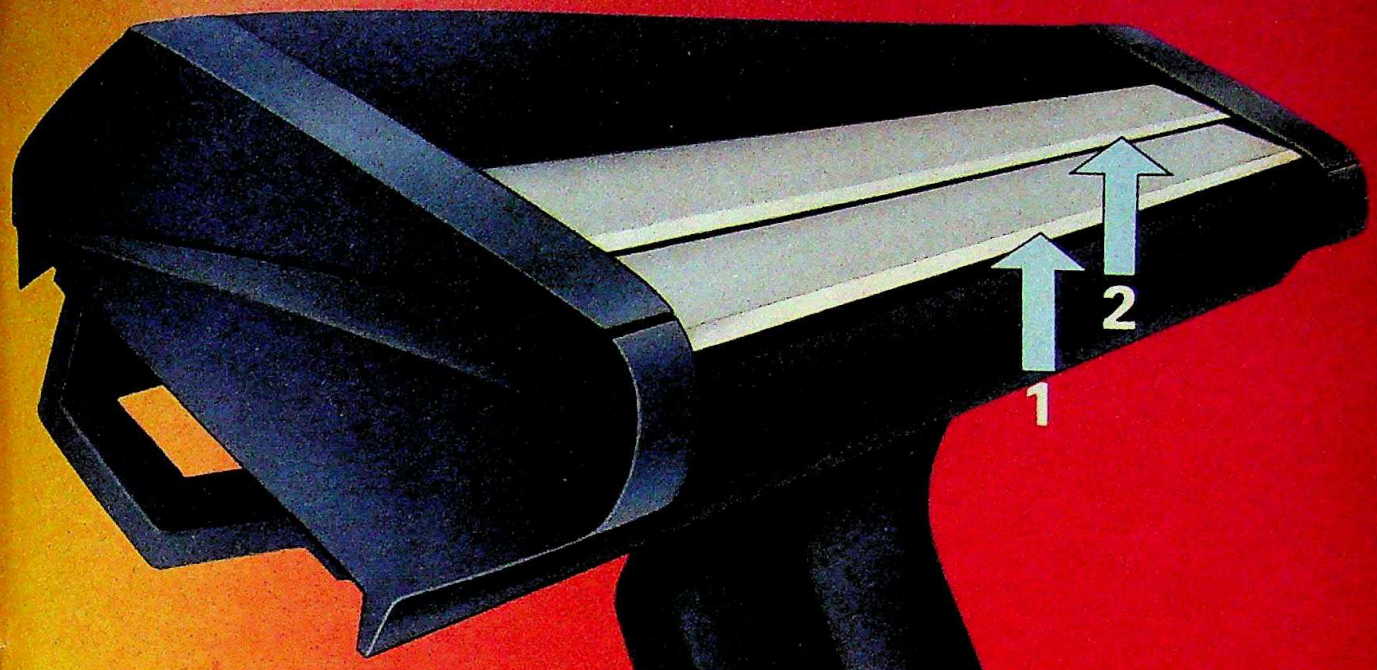
In agreeing to a settlement with Union Carbide the Government exposed itself to charges that it had sold out to the multinational. Yet there were many who felt that a settlement was preferable to a long court battle. If at least their goodwill is to be retained, the Government must end the long wait of the Bhopal victims. Having made itself their sole representative, that is the least it owes them.

—N.K. SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TWIN ACTION SATISFACTION



NEW

7 O'CLOCK EJTEK PII

India's first twin blade shaving system with platinum enriched edges is here—for the closest shaves ever.

When you shave with PII, the two blades together work better than any single blade ever can.

The first blade stretches the hair and cuts it close to the skin.

The second blade, following behind, cuts off the remaining stub.

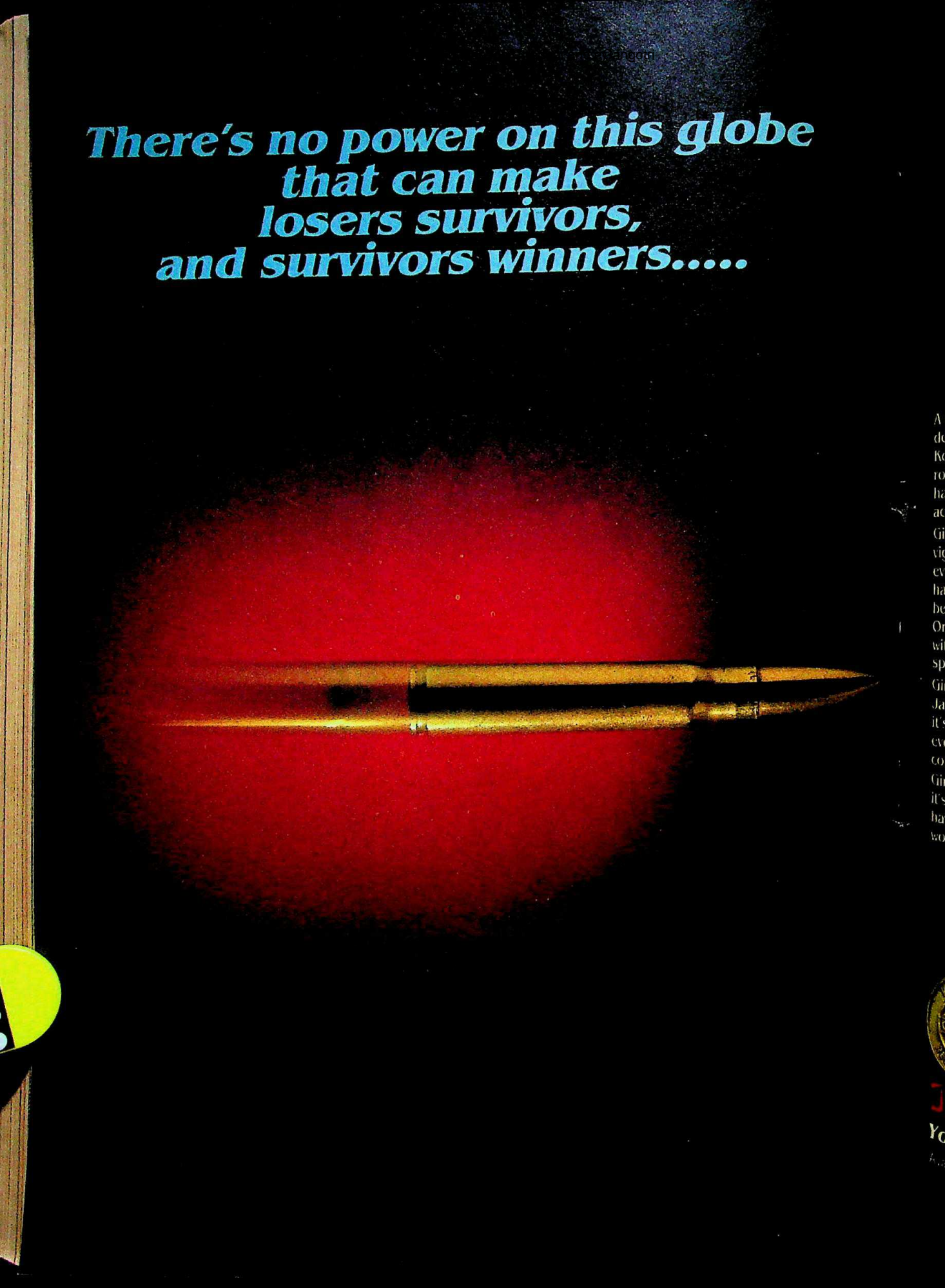
Naturally, your shave is closer and more comfortable than what a single blade razor can give—even with two shaves.

Experience twin action satisfaction. For twice the closeness. Twice the comfort.

7 O' Clock is the Registered Trade Mark of Gillette U.K. Ltd.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

There's no power on this globe that can make losers survivors, and survivors winners.....



but the underworld has always disagreed

A disagreement that stems from the hidden depths of the Orient. From the fertile soils of Korea. From an enigmatic man-shaped miracle root. From a legend that modern day scientists have already put to the test, proved and accepted with awe. A legend called... GINSENG.

Ginseng. Over the years it's come to mean vigour, vibrance, vitality, plain good health or even energy plus. International pop legends have sung its praise. Celluloid giants have become fans. Celebrity authors write about it. Oriental athletes improve their track records with it. And Russian Cosmonauts use it in space to combat fatigue.

Ginseng. Across the counter, in Russia, China, Japan, Korea, West Germany, UK and USA, it's gained total consumer acceptance. And in every form, inspired hard-core medical confidence too.

Ginseng. To many it's the elixir of life. To others it's the key to sexual virility. While the Orientals have believed in it for years, the rest of the world is still waking up to its prowess. And discovering that Ginseng is much more than the aphrodisiac it's reputed to be. ★ It's good for body tone. ★ Protects the liver ★ Great for the heart. ★ Helps normalise blood pressure. ★ Reduces stress ★ Stimulates the nerves. ★ It has known anti-diabetic properties. In short, it's an ideal weapon to fight the rigours of today's demanding lifestyles.

Now, the original; most potent Korean Red Ginseng. In capsule form. Under the brand name JENSHENG, comes to you from Biological E Limited.

JENSHENG. Use it to make flights of imagination, exciting journeys of reality. Use it to open up the frontiers of your mind. Use it too, to surpass your own concept of the ultimate. But use it. Most of all, for your better health.

If you want to know more about JENSHENG do write to us for a complete illustrated booklet.

BE

Biological E Limited

18, 1 & 3, Azamabad,
Hyderabad-500 020.

KOREAN ORIGINAL RED GINSENG

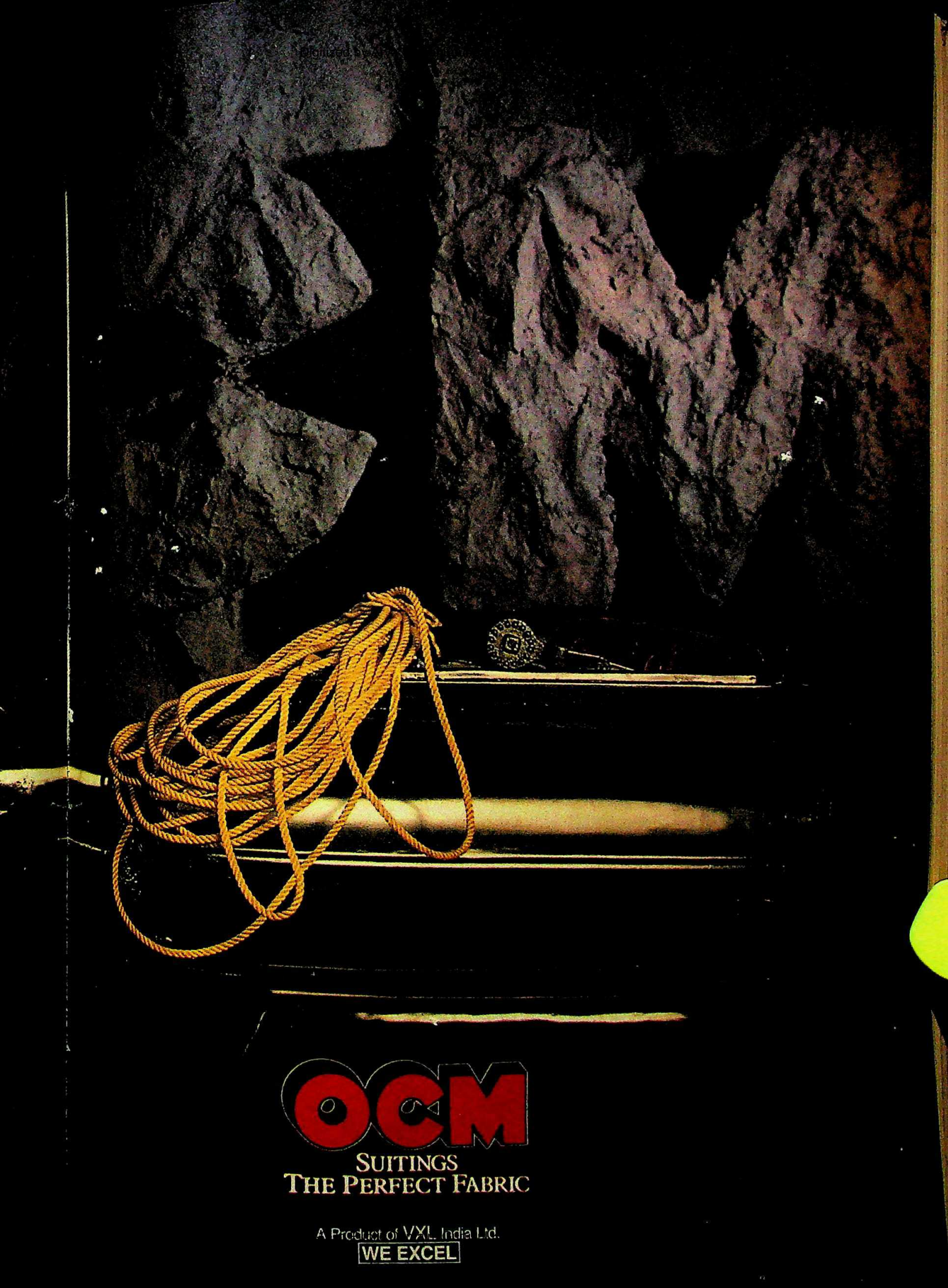
JENSHENG

Your root to better health

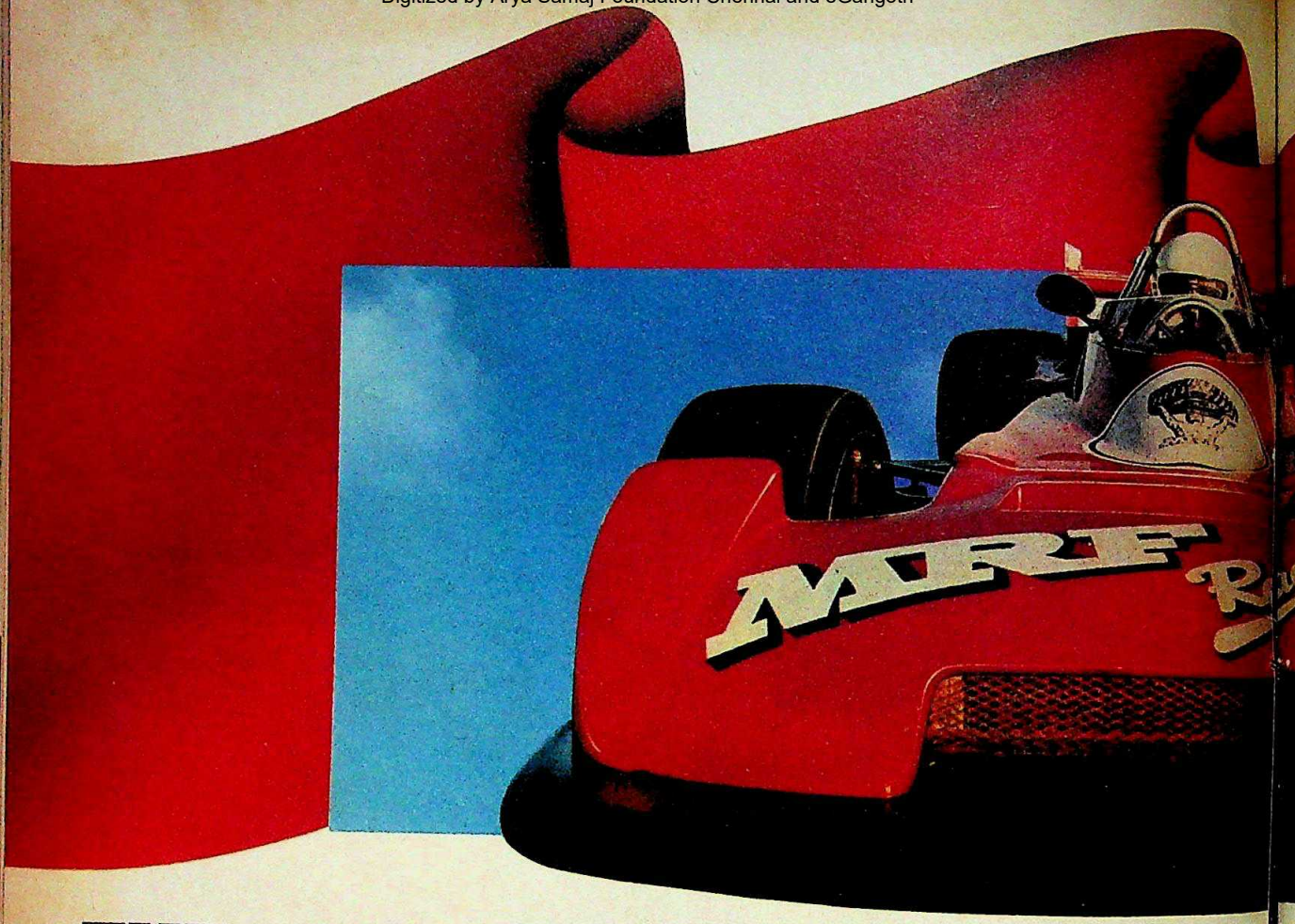
Available with all leading Retail Chemists

Available at Mill's SUMANGAL showrooms and other leading stores.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



THE MRF FORMULA TYRE: IT'LL
YOUR TYRE WOULD BEHAVE

Rubber on the burning ground. Tracking furiously. The man steers around a tricky corner. The tyres respond. Gripping every inch of the tarmac with ferocity.

280 Kmph. The track is reduced to a blazing film of fire. And the tyres singe across unscathed. Keeping their cool.

And that's exactly how your MRF tyres would behave in similar temperatures and speeds. For, the race track is the MRF laboratory. The Formula Car – a high speed tyre test machine. And Racing-MRF's unique R & D programme to test new tyre concepts to build better tyres for you.

That's why MRF raced forward to be the first in India to make a Formula Car tyre.

To PUSH Rubber and Tyre capability to a real-life test. To probe for structural stability in extreme conditions of heat, traction and speed.

And after each Adventure, that brave, solo Formula Car driver will pull off his helmet to discuss the behaviour of his tyres with on-track MRF R & D technologists.

New knowledge is gained on how rubber compounds, tyre structure and technology behave under extreme stresses against gravity.

That Knowledge is then transferred into better materials and processes in the MRF Production-line: to build better, safer, hi-performance tyres for your city car.

Another Race. Another Adventure. A new turn in tyre-technology. For you.

MRF TYRES: Flying solo to new levels

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TELL YOU HOW AT 100°C.

Yes. MRF now makes Formula Tyres in India...
On display here is the high-point in Indian Tyre Technology.
Another First for MRF.

DESIGN HIGHLIGHTS:
- Ultra Low Profile
- Compound Designed to 'Adhere' to the track
- Slick – No Pattern (more contact – better traction)
- Low Weight

OPERATIONAL FEATURES:
- Wide Contact Patch Along the Axis
- High Stability due to Low Side Wall
- Low Inertia – High Manoeuverability

TECHNICAL CHALLENGES IN TYRE DESIGN:
- High Speed Structural Stability of Tyre Components
- Low Weight
- Absolute Traction

SIZE:
- Front Fitment: 9.0/20.0-13
- Rear Fitment: 14.0/23.0-13

TYPE:
- Pneumatic
- Biasply
- Tubeless

SPEED CAPABILITY: Up to 300 KMPH

MRF TYRES
Tyres with Muscle

of technology: for you.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Choose the No.1

When you use the best, you bring out your best.
With every stroke of a Luxor highlighter, your memos, charts, project reports and circulars will project your point with extra emphasis.
And especially for students it's ideal. Marking all important notes and texts with a brilliance that promises brilliant results.
Luxor highlighters. Two years ago they were the first.
Today they are the best. So keep yourself armed,
and highlight your way to the top.

WORLD CLASS FLUORESCENT HIGHLIGHTERS By Luxor®

CLARION D 219

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Fat in the Fire

BIG fish eat little fish is an accepted maxim in the corporate world. But newspapers, unlike factories making soap, fall in a special category. Every democratic country has regulations to ensure plurality of opinions and control expansion of monopolies in the press.

The slanging match between the *Times of India* and *Mathrubhumi*, a Malayalam daily, raises two questions. It could give the Government the handle to propagate restrictive laws on freedom of the press. Second, The *Times of India*'s own conduct in using its news columns for propagating its partisan cause is not above reproach.

The *Times of India* bought 400-odd shares of *Mathrubhumi* (from M.D. Nalapat, one of the founders' grandsons) while negotiations were in progress for printing the Times in the *Mathrubhumi* press in Cochin, in exchange for *Mathrubhumi* starting a Bombay edition with the Times' help. The justification: it would help build a "stable" base for a mutually beneficial arrangement and that the minority interest of the Times would bring in professionalism.

The Times has not given any undertaking that it does not intend a take-over of *Mathrubhumi*. Indeed, its repeated suggestions about introducing professionalism in *Mathrubhumi* would lead one to believe that it has larger aims.

Mathrubhumi Chief Editor N.V. Krishna Warrier and Editor V.K. Madhavan Kutty not only rallied the staff to support the management's stand, but also won the support of the CPI(M) secretariat in Kerala (not for the paper's pro-Congress(I) policies though). The All India Newspaper Employees' Federation (AINEF) sought Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's intervention in the attempt of "a monopoly press to swallow small and medium newspapers". Nearly a dozen editors from Kerala appealed to Bennet, Coleman Chairman A.K. Jain, to desist from effecting the purchase. Over 150 MPs from different parties expressed deep concern over the bid.

The Times counter-attacked in a manner that was hardly professional. A report, published on February 21 under the Times News Service with a Trivandrum dateline called "Outburst against 'Times' decried" quoted the chief editor and editor of *Mathrubhumi* as saying that "North Indian monopolists" were trying to enter Kerala by acquiring shares. It said a former director of All India Radio, V.N. Unni, condemned the whipping up of communal passions. P.N. Panicker, described as founder of the Kerala library movement and a Gandhian, was quoted as suggesting that the *Mathrubhumi* editor was "sectarian".

The report also brought in Nalapat, who was happy that his shares were in the hands of a newspaper with 150 years of tradition, rather than in those of liquor barons and loan sharks.

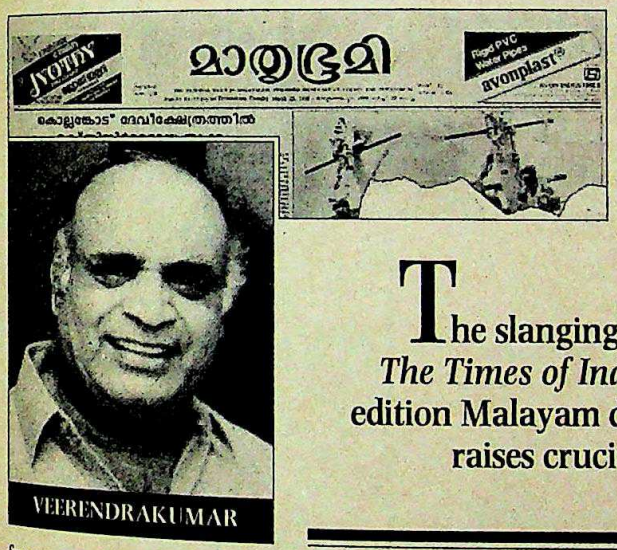
The Times published a denial of the report by Madhavan Kutty in its letters column on February 23 as "A clarification". Kutty said that his stand and that of his chief editor had been distorted. He had said that decisions regarding *Mathrubhumi* would be taken in Kerala by people who had "nurtured *Mathrubhumi* traditions," not by business houses in Bombay, Calcutta or elsewhere.

But the Times remained undeterred. A second Trivandrum-datelined story on March 3 was headlined "Journalists against anti-'Times' stir". It reported that trouble was brewing in the *Mathrubhumi* Calicut unit over the journalist union leadership's support for M.P. Veerendrakumar, chairman and managing director of *Mathrubhumi*. Marxist leader P. Govinda Pillai, was reported as describing the *Mathrubhumi* management as "petty, mean and vengeful". In his view, "no calamity is going to happen if the Times enters *Mathrubhumi*". But he was, of course, against monopoly chains.

On March 6, the Times editorially referred to the *Mathrubhumi* management's "base tactics to fan the fires of parochialism in order to lend a semblance of consistency to its case" even as Nalapat was reported in the news columns as suggesting the conversion of *Mathrubhumi* into a trust which would, of course, include Bennet, Coleman.

Earlier, in a note to the Kerala editors, the Times had been preening its feathers: "In its new columns it seeks to inform the public in an accurate, comprehensive and fair manner."

It is for the ombudsman appointed by the Times to determine for himself whether in reporting these developments, the paper has measured up to its own yardstick.



The slanging match between *The Times of India* and the three-edition Malayam daily *Mathrubhumi* raises crucial questions.

CLARICOND 219

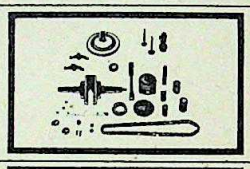
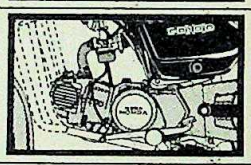
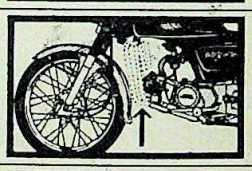
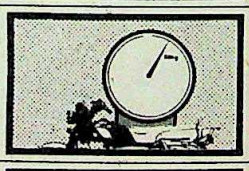
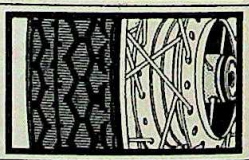
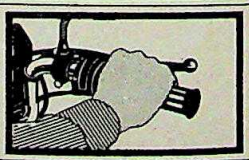
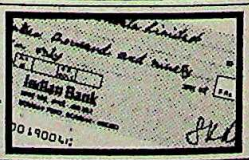
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But can you really afford to forget what they aren't telling you?

A good mobike should give you not only excellent fuel efficiency, but also a whole lot more. Like the redesigned TVS-Suzuki AX 100'R' model. Which gives you 70 kmpl under standard test conditions, and over 57 kmpl under normal riding conditions. And a lot more, as is evident from the table.

The other mobike does give extra fuel economy under standard test conditions (80 kmpl at 40 kmph/130 kgs). To you, for a monthly run of 1000 kms, saving from this extra fuel economy is very little. Hidden behind this are a host of other things, as evident from the table.

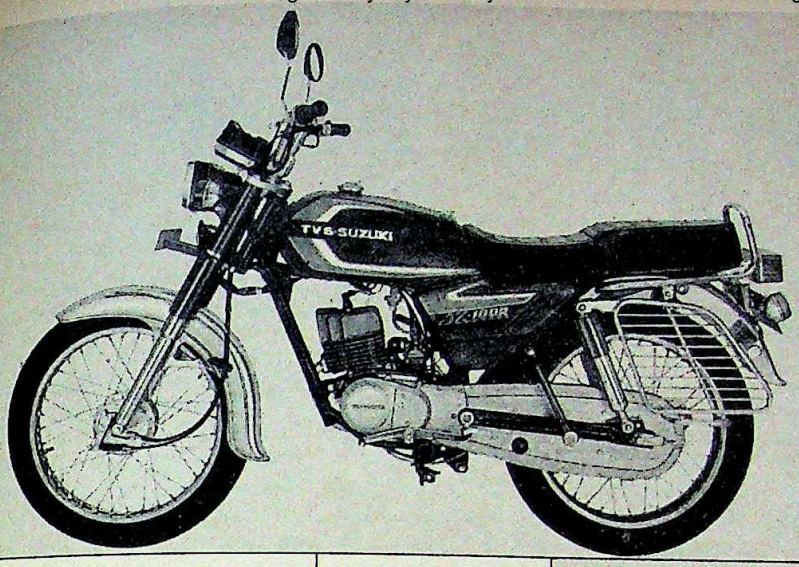
HERO HONDA CD 100		DISADVANTAGES
30 moving parts in the engine.		Complex engine; more parts are subjected to wear and tear;
Highest engine rpm of all Indian 100cc mobikes.		For any given road speed, greater strain on the engine. More susceptible to wear and tear.
Sheet metal frame.		No support in front for the engine. Only crash guard provided.
88kg unladen weight.		Light weight. Suitable for ideal road conditions.
Rim and Tyres: Front – 2.5 x 18" Rear – 2.75 x 18"		Narrower tyres.
Torque: 7.5 Nm at 5000 rpm		Slower acceleration.
Price* (Delhi): Rs 17,797.00 approx.		Rs 645-1911 more on initial investment

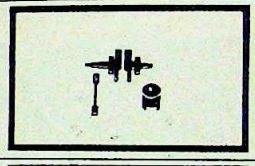
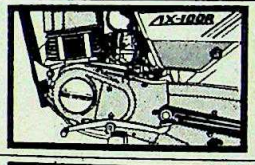
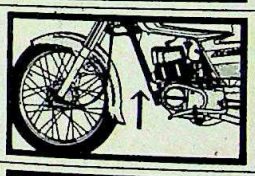
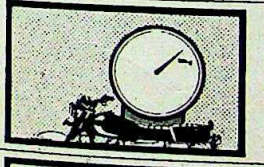
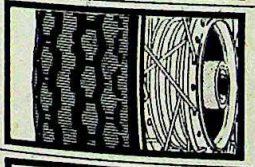
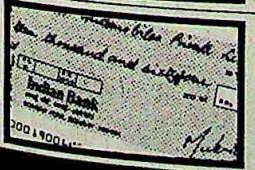
** Ex-showroom. Includes local sales tax only. Registration, road tax, insurance, octrol and localised levies extra.*

TVS SUZUKI **TVS-SUZUKI LIMITED**

Strap up your helmet for safety

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



TVS-SUZUKI AX 100 'R' MODEL		ADVANTAGES
Just 3 moving parts in the engine.		Simple engine; low maintenance; ease of servicing.
Lowest engine rpm of all Indian 100cc mobikes.		Less strain on engine. Less wear and tear.
Tubular cradle frame.		Stronger support for engine.
98kg unladen weight.		Sturdier, more stable under all road conditions.
Rim and Tyres: Front – 2.75 x 18" Rear – 3 x 18"		Broader tyres; better road grip; longer life.
Torque: 9.8 Nm at 5000 rpm		Faster acceleration. Better response.
Price* (Delhi): 'R' – Rs 17,152.00 'R' AC – Rs 15,885.91		Save Rs 645-1911 on initial investment

Drop in at your nearest TVS-Suzuki dealer's. You can see for yourself how the TVS-Suzuki AX 100 'R' model gives you a lot more mobike for your money.

R K SWAMY/TVS-S/4041/BIR

MORE mobike for your money

TVS-Suzuki AX 100 R

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TAMIL NADU

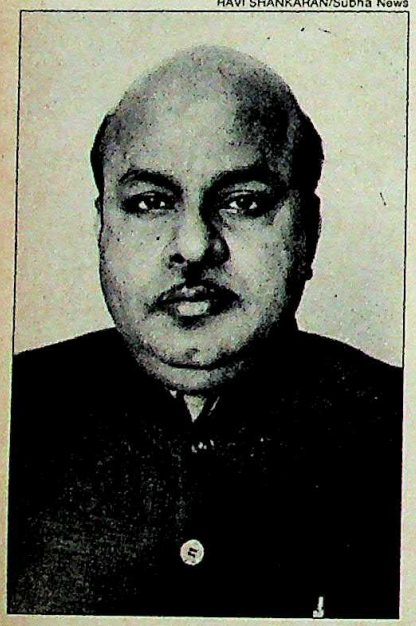
The Bottle Bomb

The Karunanidhi Government in a two-pronged move has initiated steps to take over the liquor industry and at the same time destroy the clout of the liquor barons who had an unholy nexus with the MGR regime.

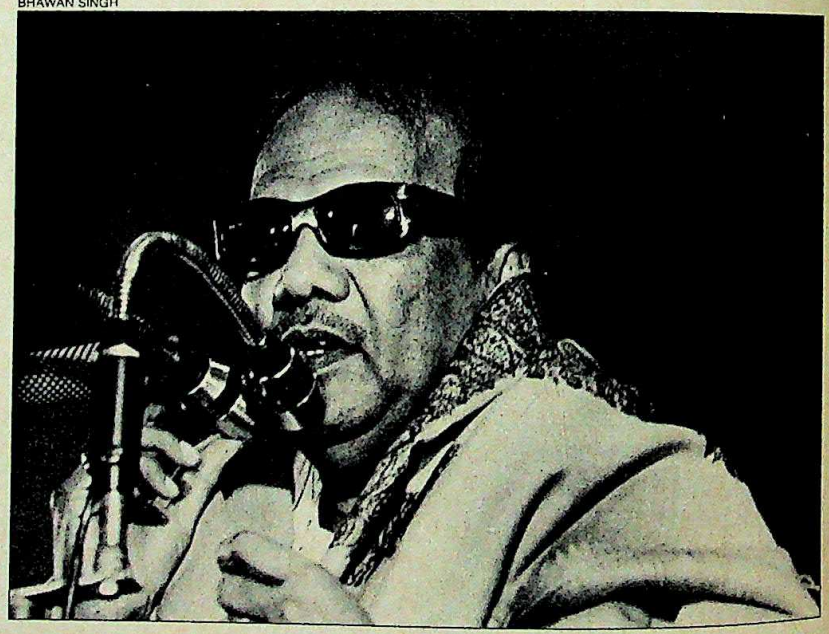
CANDY is dandy but liquor is quicker. That is one adage that Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi seems to have adopted with profitable alacrity. Instead of making sugar-coated promises, the DMK Government has seized on the massive liquor business in the state to kill two birds with one stone.

Faced with a serious resource crunch, Karunanidhi has zeroed in on the lucrative liquor trade to extract additional revenue for the state. At the same time, he has used the liquor business to tarnish the image of his main political rival, the AIADMK. The dual strategy has brewed a potent political mixture.

RAVI SHANKARAN/Subha News



BHAWAN SINGH



Nagarajan (left) and Karunanidhi: taking off the lid

First, in a series of administrative orders, Karunanidhi raised the excise duty on Indian made foreign liquor (IMFL) from Rs 25 to Rs 55 per proof litre, ordered manufacturers to pay excise in advance, decided to auction retail shops and issued a policy statement that the manufacture of liquor will be taken over by the state in a phased manner.

With one stroke, Karunanidhi raised an additional Rs 100 crore in revenue and demolished the liquor mafia which had exerted a powerful influence in the corridors of power during the last six years. But the real master-stroke was the laying of the blame for the state's empty coffers on the AIADMK and its late leader MGR.

In the course of a hard-hitting attack replete with sarcasm and poetry, Karunanidhi threw a bombshell when he disclosed that a nexus between the state's liquor barons and AIADMK politicians had caused a revenue loss of over Rs 1,000 crore to the state in the last seven years.

Declared the chief minister: "The people of the country know about Rs 64 crore being made in deals. But here in our state Rs 100 crore was being siphoned off year after year. There was a conspiracy to deprive the state of its legitimate revenue so that various developmental schemes for the poor suffered badly."

Driving home his point righteously, the chief minister further proclaimed: "What was obviously bribe money will now be used to bridge the deficit in the state's finances."

Karunanidhi's assault was well planned. Before going public, the chief minister had ordered his ministers and bureaucrats to probe every liquor deal concluded by the previous government. Cleverly, he chose civil servants and ministers who had suffered humiliation at the hands of MGR for cracking down on the liquor mafia.

One of these was M. Nagarajan, 51, an upright IAS officer who had been suspended in 1983 by MGR for pointing out administrative lapses in the sensitive departments of excise and home. Nagarajan—who was serving as the managing director of the Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation till Karunanidhi made him excise commissioner—immediately ordered the seizure of all files relating to the state's liquor policy.

In total secrecy, Nagarajan went through over 500 files relating to the excise policy, allotment of brewery licences, selection of arrack bottlers and wholesale procurement of Indian made foreign spirit for local consumption. In fact, the top secret assignment was given to Nagarajan even before the DMK Government was sworn in this January.

Soon after the election results were announced, Karunanidhi summoned

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nagarajan and ordered him to begin a preliminary probe into the liquor trade. Karunanidhi was also operating with an additional incentive. During his election campaign, the DMK leader had discovered that his rivals in the Congress(I) and the two factions of the AIADMK were being financed heavily by the liquor lobby.

As the saga began to unfold through the investigations, it became clear that rules had been twisted and administrative norms flouted with impunity, resulting in heavy revenue losses. In a confidential report to the chief minister, Nagarajan revealed that:

- MGR changed the 42-year-old prohibition policy without even obtaining the approval of the Cabinet.
- The five distilleries and breweries in the state were allowed to manufacture IMFL and beer by the Excise Department without the concurrence of the state Cabinet or the Central Government.
- Arrack and IMFL retail shops were allowed to open without inviting any tenders.
- Excise and sales tax concessions were granted to the liquor manufacturers without obtaining the prior approval of the Cabinet.
- No attempt was made to try and recover tax arrears from either wholesalers or retailers.
- A large number of the retail outlets for both arrack and IMFL were found to be benami and actually owned by wholesalers.
- Despite the low excise duty, liquor prices were the highest in the entire country.
- More than 100 files dealing with the exemption of excise duties and the recovery of arrears involving a sum of over Rs 50 crore were missing from government records.

Armed with all this explosive information, Karunanidhi decided to take the issue to the public. In his reply to the debate on the governor's address last month, he declared with emphasis: "We have liquidated the liquor empire in the state within 20 days of coming to power."

THAT was by no means a small achievement considering the awesome power the liquor lobby had acquired over the years. The rise of the liquor mafia started way back in 1981 when the then chief minister MGR decided that liquor was a major source for raising funds for political activity.

The prohibition policy was then relaxed on the grounds that such a move would not only yield an extra revenue of Rs 150 crore annually, but also help curb the illicit trade in liquor.

In reality, the move ended up giving politicians and pliable civil servants a great deal of licence for corruption. Arrack bottling plants and wholesale distribution outlets for IMFL were handed out on an absolutely arbitrary basis and to select people.

The scandals that ensued created a major political storm in the state, resulting in the appointment of an inquiry commission and then the filing of cases in the Supreme Court (INDIA TODAY, October 15, 1982).

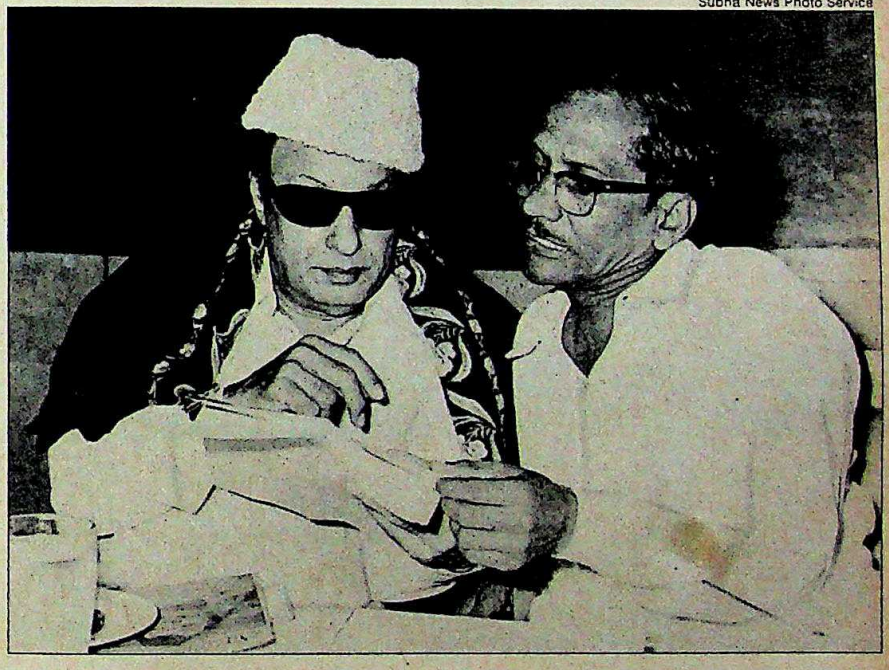
But the scandals had little effect on the politicians or on the Rs 350-crore liquor trade in the state. When the Supreme Court struck down the selection of wholesale dealers of IMFL, the state Government created the Tamil Nadu State Marketing Corporation (TASMAC) to deal with the wholesale trade.

Within the span of the next seven years, the corporation had a turnover of Rs 900 crore. It was headed by a relatively junior bureaucrat, S.R. Karuppanan, who held the rank of a deputy secretary to the state Government, and the then excise and home commissioner T.V. Venkatraman—an MGR favourite—was appointed a member of the three-man TASMAC board.

With its trusted men controlling the trade, the MGR government began obliging liquor barons with all possible administrative and financial help, in contravention of rules.

Karunanidhi chose Nagarajan, a civil servant humiliated by MGR, to unearth cases where MGR and Somasundaram, the then excise minister, had flouted rules to oblige liquor barons.

Subha News Photo Service



MGR with Somasundaram

Tamil Nadu became the first state in which the excise on liquor was to be paid not by the manufacturers, but by a government undertaking—TASMAC.

According to one order dated October 4, 1982, the corporation was made to fork out Rs 5 crore a month as excise duty—an amount which should normally have been paid by the manufacturers.

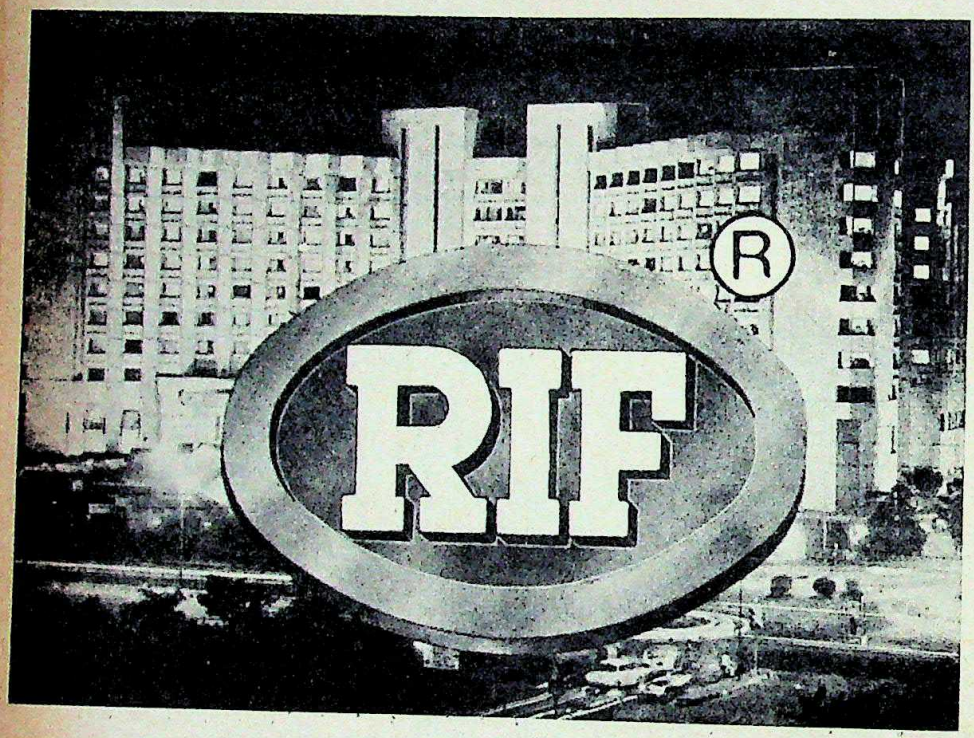
The manufacturers made financial gains in terms of taxes as well. Since excise was passed on to TASMAC, they had to pay less sales tax on their supplies to the corporation. Had the excise been part of the basic price of the liquor, the manufacturers would have had to pay an additional Rs 30 per 12 bottles of IMFL.

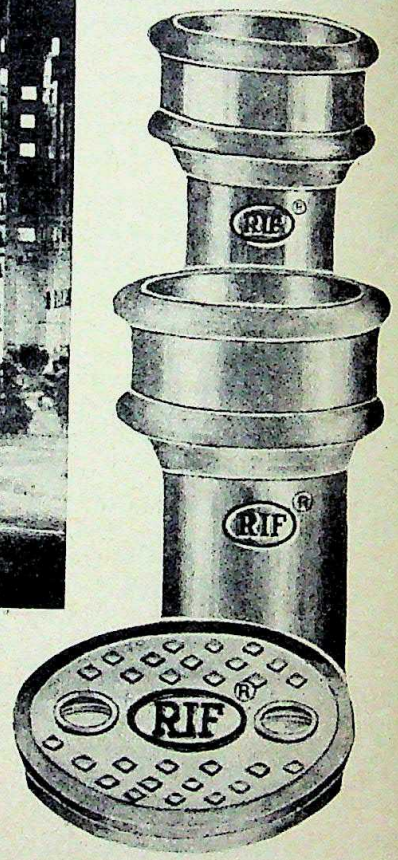
The revenue loss to the Government turned out to be considerable—over Rs 10

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Why the best builders always rely on this seal of assurance





It's obvious.
Because when it comes to choosing cast iron products, there can be no compromise on quality.

Every RIF product goes through stringent quality control. That's why RIF cast iron products are always more dependable. Leak proof, sturdier and able to withstand exacting weather conditions. It ensures hygienic sanitation.

So next time you recommend or buy a cast iron product, be sure it's RIF. Look for the RIF logo embossed on it, to ensure it is genuine.

- CAST IRON PIPES
- PIPE FITTINGS
- MANHOLE COVERS
- FLUSHING CISTERNS

RIF®

RAJ IRON FOUNDRY
Sultan Ganj Agra, 282004
Phones: 76360, 61315

Casting iron into excellence.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

crore annually. Thus over the last six years, the state lost Rs 60 crore on sales tax alone.

The MGR regime then initiated another first: it exempted liquor manufacturers from payment of excise duty on rectified spirit and the vend fee (a tax on the vendor for every bottle of liquor he sold).

In an unprecedented order on September 3, 1983, the state Government granted exemption from the payment of Rs 8 per proof litre as excise fee and Re 1 as vend fee on rectified spirit. As about 6.75 litres of rectified spirit is used for a dozen bottles of IMFL, this resulted in a large benefit for the manufacturers—as much as Rs 56 per case.

IN yet another concession, the state Government fixed the excise duty at Rs 25 per litre—again, one of the lowest in the country. In fact, Tamil Nadu was the only state where excise on potable spirit was less than the excise on spirit meant for industrial use.

At the same time, despite the low excise and other duties, the wholesale prices of liquor were the highest in the country as these were allowed to be fixed, not by the Government, but by the suppliers themselves.

Admitted a senior executive of an IMFL manufacturing unit: "According to trade estimates, the liquor manufacturers were making a clean profit of over Rs 60 crore annually."

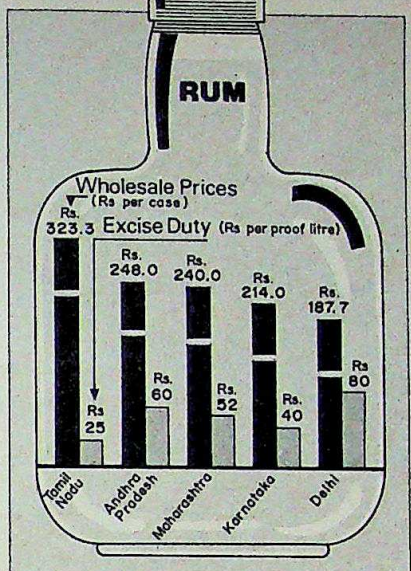
The extent of MGR's backing to the trade can be gauged from the fact that when an audit objection was raised in 1986 about the blanket excise exemption on rectified spirit, the state Government overcame the objection by issuing orders giving them retrospective effect.

Declaring that this was the first time that exemption had been granted with retrospective effect, Karunanidhi said: "The Government suffered a loss of over Rs 5 crore annually on this account alone."

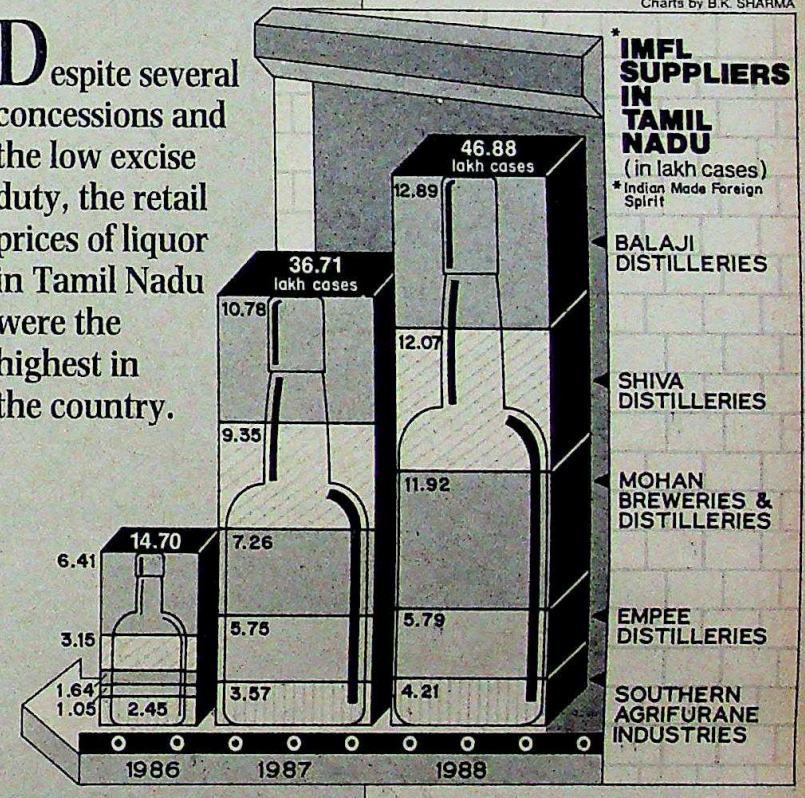
Moreover, since the IMFL was not being manufactured in the state, it had to be procured from outside, resulting in less profits for the local suppliers. So the AIADMK government decided to allow new breweries and distilleries to set up shop in the state.

In doing so, the Government blatantly ignored the ban imposed by the Central Government on sanctioning new production capacity to liquor manufacturers.

To nobody's surprise, the first company to apply was Mohan Breweries and Distilleries, which is controlled by Ramaswamy Udayar, one of the richest industrialists in the state.



Despite several concessions and the low excise duty, the retail prices of liquor in Tamil Nadu were the highest in the country.



Charts by B.K. SHARMA

Udayar was granted permission to set up a distillery with unusual speed. The application, made by one R. Kapanipathy Rao, was filed on December 10, 1981. The then excise commissioner, R. Subramanium, cleared the project on January 11, 1982, after seeking clearance from then excise minister S.D. Somasundaram.

The curious part was that Subramanium had rejected an earlier application by the well-known distillers, Mohan Meakins, for a distribution network in Madras city.

In his order dated August 29, 1981, on the Mohan Meakins application, Subramanium had stated: "They have produced a solvency certificate for Rs 3 crore but it is not a certificate issued by the revenue authorities.... I reject the application of this company as not suitable for the grant of privilege."

But interestingly, only five months later, Mohan Meakins—which had been found unsuitable for distribution—tied up with Udayar and his family members to become the first to open both a distillery and a brewery in the state.

The worst thing of course was that the decision clearly violated Central Government regulations. As is the procedure, Mohan Meakins had also sent an application to the Centre. But the Directorate General of Trade and Development in a letter in December 1982 had rejected it on the grounds that, "the manufacture of alcoholic drinks including beer is completely banned. No fresh capacity is being approved in this field."

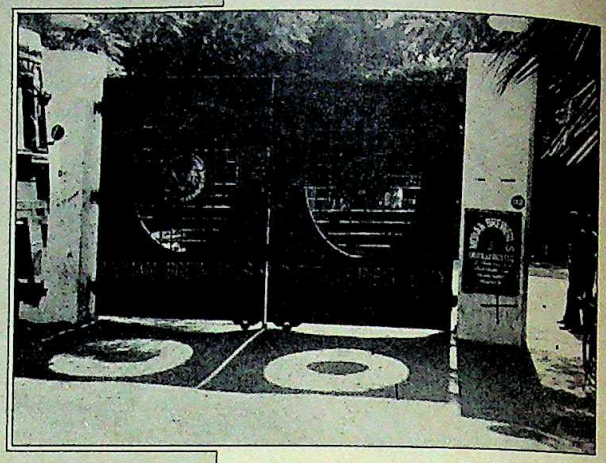
A copy of this letter had been sent to the state Government as well. Despite this, MGR went ahead and gave Mohan Meakins the permission to set up shop. Said a senior executive of the company: "We have been given the licence after all legal formalities were cleared by the state Government."

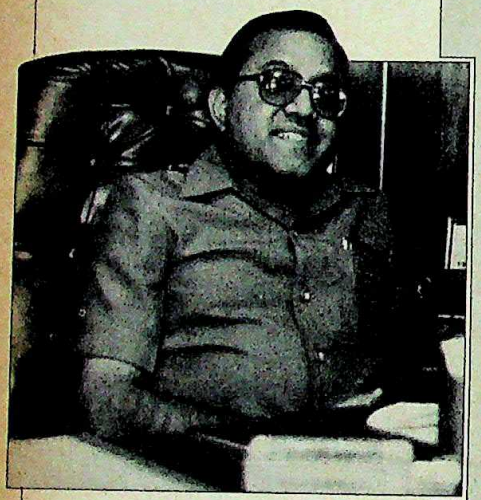
After this there was a virtual deluge. The joint sector Southern Agrifurane,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by SHYAM TEKWANI





Together, five companies have supplied liquor and beer worth over Rs 800 crore to the state, and have dictated its prices.

Balaji Distilleries (top); and A.C. Muthiah: political contacts

Mohan Breweries (top); and Ramaswamy Udayar: wielding clout

owned by the state Government and A.C. Muthiah, a local industrialist well known for his close contacts with the Congress Party, was the next to set up a distillery in the state.

Agrifurane was making huge losses till the late '70s when it entered into an agreement with Shaw Wallace for producing liquor in the state. Three more companies, Shiva Distilleries, Empee Distilleries and Balaji Distilleries, were later added to the list of manufacturers in the state.

The result was predictable. During the last six years, the liquor manufacturers and distributors have dictated the price of liquor sold in the state. Together, the five companies have supplied liquor and beer worth over Rs 800 crore to the state *(see chart)*.

The retail business was equally shady. Rejecting the normal practice of auctioning retail outlets, the MGR government decided to allot licences to favourites of the party.

The Government fixed a paltry fee of Rs 20,000 per annum for a retail outlet, and the not unexpected result was the opening of over 2,000 shops. According to Nagarajan, had the shops been auctioned, the state would have got additional revenue of over Rs 25 crore. Expectedly, the DMK Government has now decided to auction retail outlets.

RETAILERS also owed the AIADMK government Rs 20 crore as tax arrears. According to preliminary investigations, most retail outlets were *benami* and gave fictitious addresses in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh as the then excise commissioner had waived the condition of being a native.

Now it has been discovered that over 100 files relating to the grant of exemption from paying licence fee are missing. And when former excise commissioner Venkatraman was asked about these files last month, he gave a written statement saying he had personally delivered 52 files to MGR in 1986 and none of the files was ever returned.

Naturally, the AIADMK has charged the Karunanidhi Government with embarking on a political vendetta. While the leader of the Opposition Jayalalitha maintained a cryptic silence, her deputy Thirunavukkarasu castigated the DMK for defaming MGR's regime. Said he: "Do not try to discredit the mass leader M.G. Ramachandran who was held in high esteem by the people of Tamil Nadu."

The AIADMK even went further and made counter-charges. It attacked the investigations undertaken, alleging that the exposes were being initiated at the behest of a liquor baron operating from outside the state.

But even so, as the skeletons come tumbling out of the liquor cabinet, the high esteem that the people of Tamil Nadu hold MGR in, could plummet more than a peg or two.

—PRABHU CHAWLA
with LALITA DILEEP in Madras

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGa

Your executives can now fly to work. At ground level.

Also available with airconditioning

Presenting the luxury of the new Tempo-Traveller

Tempo-Traveller is the new executive perk

It offers senior personnel the comfort and status that ordinary company buses can never match – and a car-pool could never give.

A spacious interior offers the luxury of upto 15 ergonomically designed seats and large, airy windows.

There's ample room for baggage. And a high curved roof allows for greater freedom of movement.

And it has been specially built for Indian roads by Bajaj Tempo – in collaboration with Daimler-Benz, the creators of the classic Mercedes range.

As cost-conscious as it is status-conscious

The new Tempo-Traveller is equipped with the advanced 72 BHP Mercedes OM 616 diesel engine, which functions like a built-in accountant. It stretches your company's every rupee – delivering the highest level of fuel economy with the lowest level of noise.

The Tempo-Traveller even minimises other maintenance costs. Spares are cheaper and more readily available. And regular service is close at hand. Because you are backed by the 150 experienced dealers established by Bajaj Tempo over a period of 25 years.

So before you stake business capital on company buses or corporate cars, give the new Tempo-Traveller serious thought.

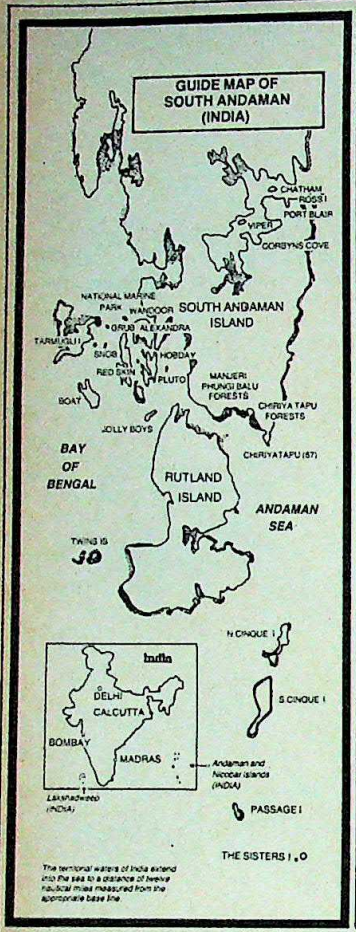
And let your executives 'arrive in better shape'.

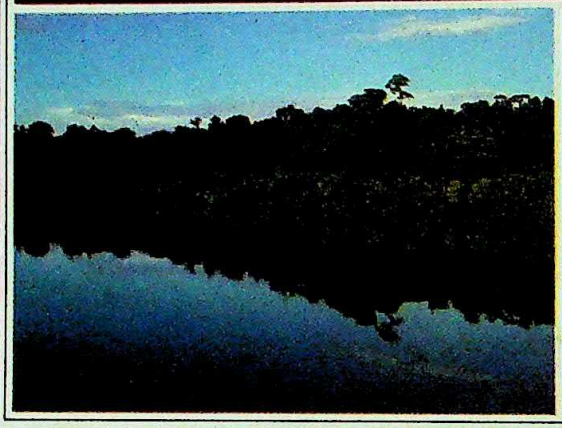
BAJAJ Tempo LTD.

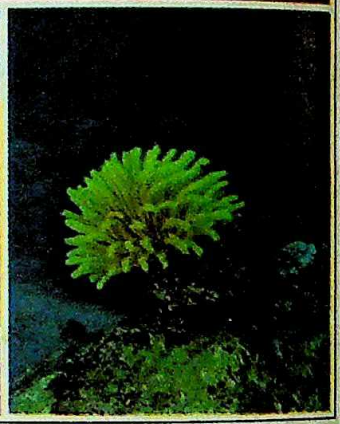
The new Tempo-Traveller. Anywhere else, they'd call it a Mercedes Transporter.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Ha

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri







Anthropologist
Zoologist
Marine Biologist
Entomologist
Ornithologist

A trip to the Andamans is like a sci-fi adventure. But this time machine hurtles backwards, way back into prehistoric time, when nature reigned supreme.

Over 350 raw rugged islands where time stands still. Steep jagged hills rise. Dense primordial tropical forests steam with millennia old vegetation. Saline creeks stab the coastline deep inside the islands. Littoral forests compete with the lashing sea for the possession of the beachline.

Nearly 2000 km long coastline where dolphins gambol and dugongs visit. The beautiful coral reefs in the world are here, where brilliantly coloured fishes shimmer through the scraggy reefs – 350 kms of those!

But tread gently, visitor. This is an ecosystem so fragile and unique, it needs such understanding to appreciate its ambience that the Andamans attract only a very special kind of tourist. Tourists who only observe and enjoy without damaging the environ. For instance, noisy tourists and their water sports scare away marine life, often permanently.

Andamans await you. The special tourist with that sensitive awareness to appreciate this unique world of ecological wonder. The serene tranquillity is extra!

The fragile ecology here needs all our care

How to get there

By ship	:	From Calcutta and Madras
By air	:	From Calcutta and Madras to Port Blair

Helicopter service available for inter island travel.

For further details contact:
Your nearest Government of India Tourist Office

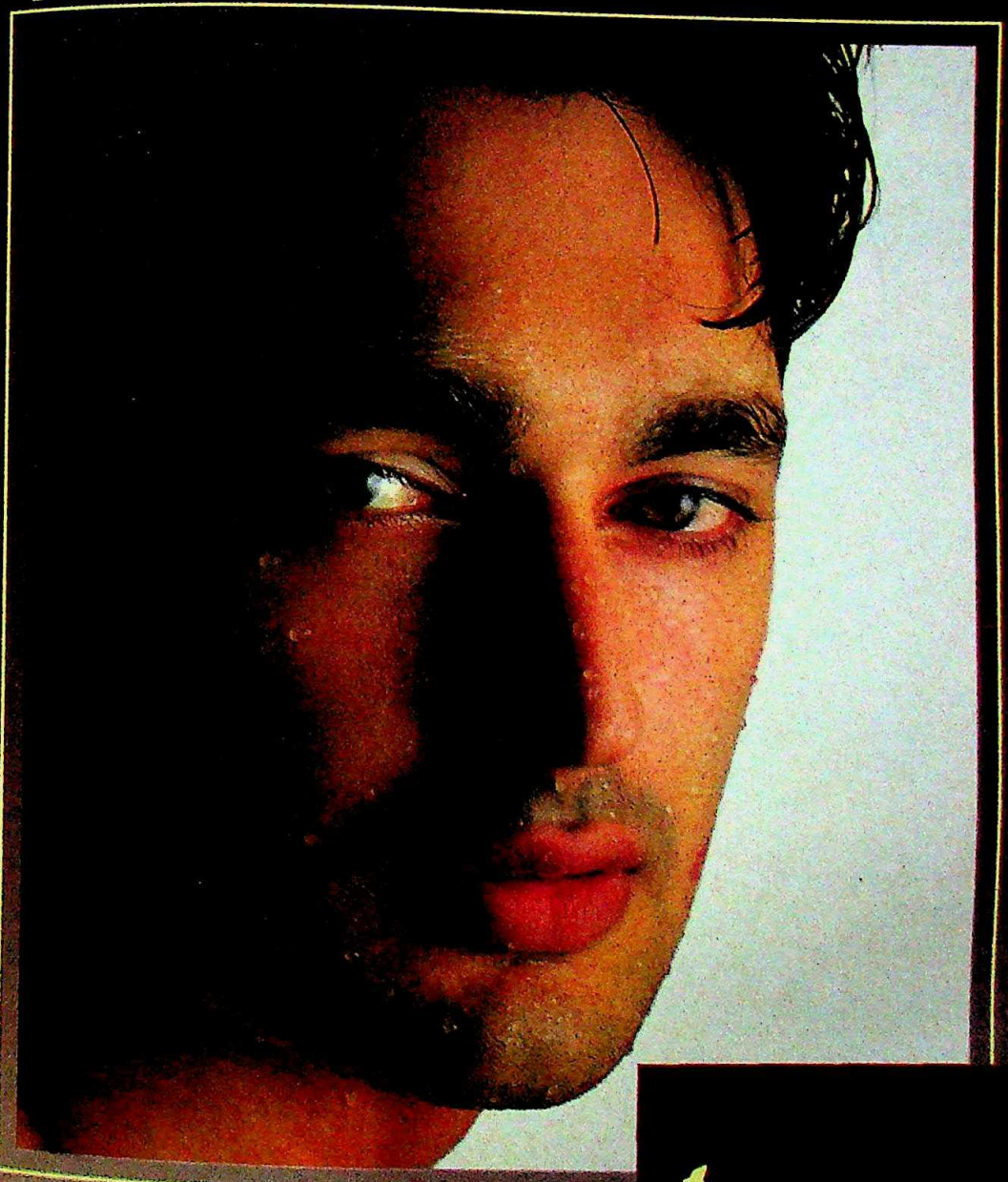
Department of Tourism
Government of India

VC/DOT/1054/89

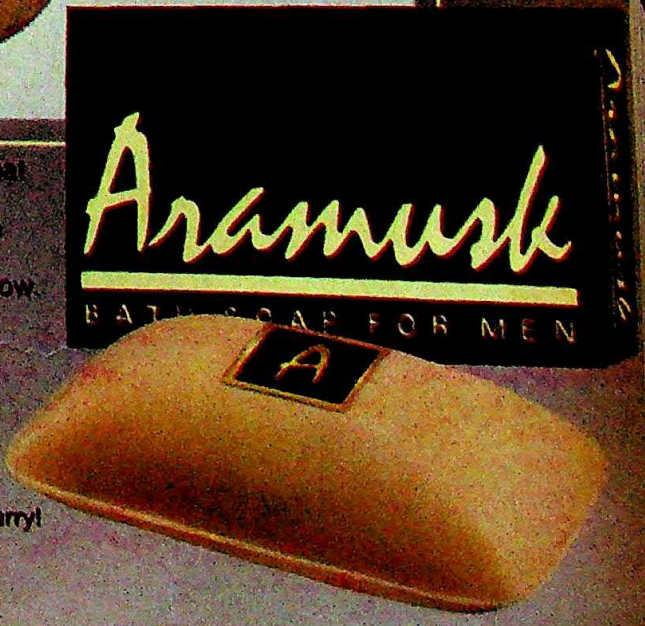
That's you! on holiday in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Once an Aramusk man always an Aramusk man



Bath for men will never be the same again, now that Aramusk gifts it with its own special magic. Legendary musk with its timeless appeal plays the lead role, supported by the soap's thick, creamy, man-size lather and a most refreshing afterbath glow. Try Aramusk once and you are likely to want a permanent key to the club.



Exclusive Gift Box
A truly stylish and refreshing gift: a 4-cake gift box. Hurry! It is on limited offer.

EXTRAVAGANTLY MALE

Aramusk is brought to you by Shaw Wallace

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ed by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NOW GET TWO WORLD LEADERS TO WORK IN YOUR FACTORY

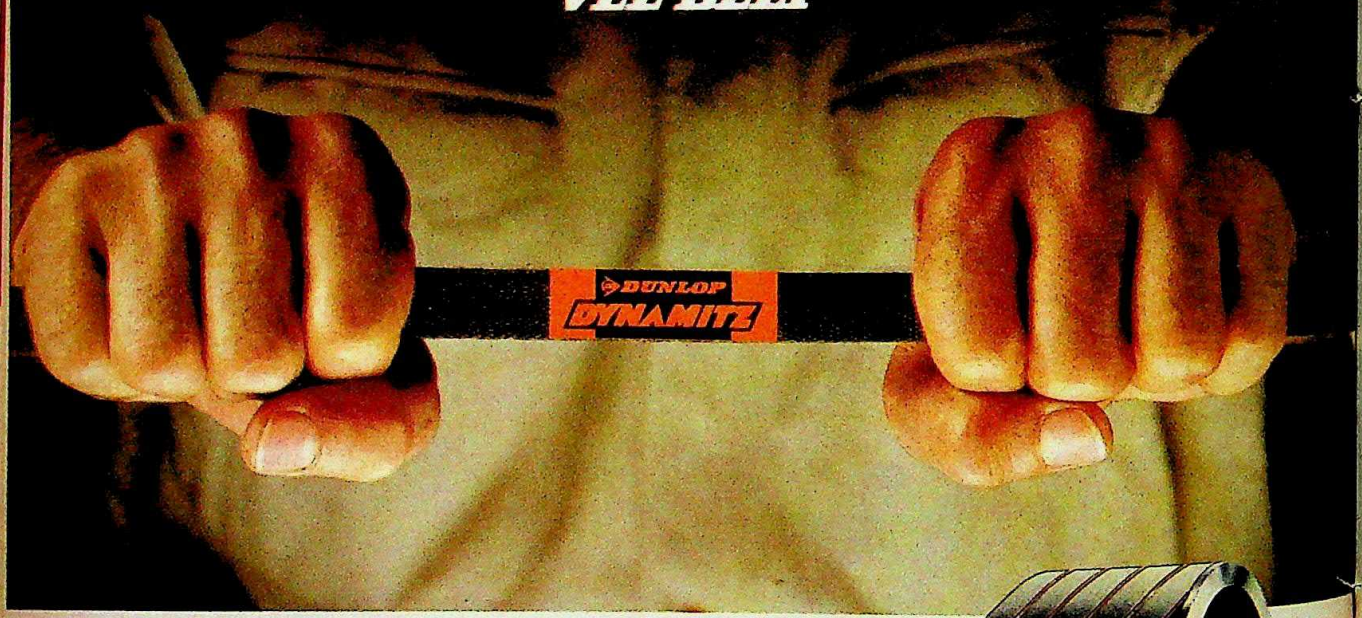
Dunlop India in collaboration with Mitsuboshi of Japan presents

NEW

DUNLOP

DYNAMITZ

POLYESTER CORD VEE BELT



The signature of leadership

New Dunlop Dynamitz Vee Belt is engineered by Dunlop India with state-of-the-art technology from Mitsuboshi of Japan. World-renowned for power transmission technology.

Torture-tested for matchless performance

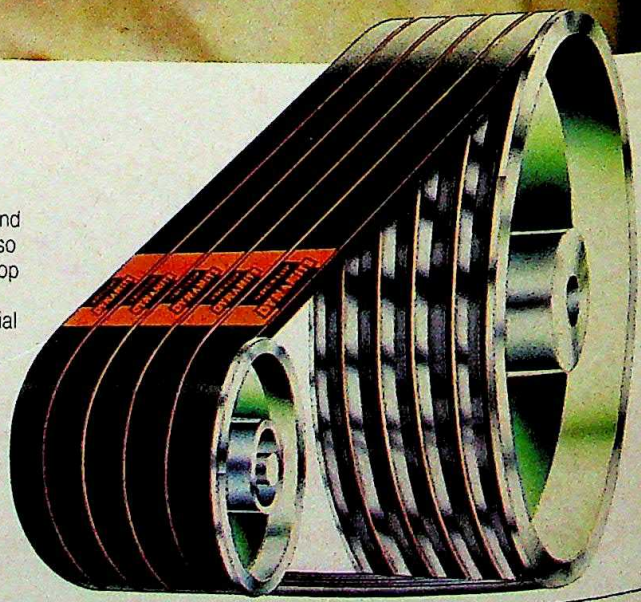
Dunlop Dynamitz has been subjected to extensive field trials as well as rigorous tests under simulated operating conditions in Japan and in Dunlop's most sophisticated Vee Belt Testing Centre, the only one of its kind in the country.

Setting a new pace for the future

Dunlop has set the pace in belting development in India. Equipped with the latest plant and machinery from Japan, it will also storm Indian markets with Dunlop Dynamitz Cut Edge Belts for automotive and specific industrial applications.

The new power pact

With the coming together of the best in the business, Dunlop Dynamitz represents the new-generation Vee Belts that spell more power for your money.



CLARION C-DIL DVB-1

Dunlop is Dunlop. Always ahead.

MORE POWER FOR YOUR MONEY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LOSING CLOUT

NON-RESIDENT Indian Manohar Chhabria and brother Kishore are known to have influence in New Delhi's corridors of power. But if the Gammon India story is any indication, the Chhabria brothers seem to be losing their clout. Last month, the Finance Ministry is believed to have issued a circular to the financial institutions asking them to back existing managements against raiders. So at the Gammon India annual shareholders' meeting last fortnight, the Unit Trust of India (UTI) seems to have cast its 7 per cent equity muscle in favour of the management (UTI officials, however, decline to confirm this). The Chhabrias have been seeking to wrest control of the construction company, with the management fighting them all the way. The outcome of the battle may show exactly how much the Chhabria brothers count in New Delhi.

FALSE ALARM

THERE is now some doubt about whether International Data Management (IDM) was a raider's target or not. A month ago, the computer company's share price shot up to a high of Rs 31, before settling around Rs 26 last fortnight, fuelling speculation of a takeover. The Chhabrias were reported to be buying into the company, but they say that it is not on their shopping list. In fact, over 53 per cent of IDM's equity is controlled by its employees and directors. The balance is dispersed among small shareholders.

The company's management believes that a few employees could have hawked some shares. What seems certain, however, is that the IDM puzzle may only be solved when buyers lodge their shares for transfer.

CLIMBING THE BANDWAGON

IT looks as if virtually every big business enterprise is leaping into the high-growth area of petrochemicals. The latest to do so are industrialists Raunaq Singh and the Kanorias. Raunaq Enterprises is scouting for a foreign collaborator who will invest in up to 40 per cent of the equity of a Rs 700-crore plus petrochemicals venture. Talks are on with several German, US as well as British companies.

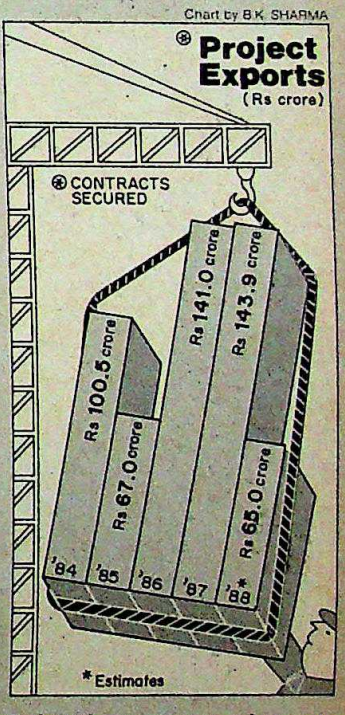
The Kanorias, on the other hand, have already tied up with Belgium's Solvay and Cie to promote Polypropylene India Ltd. The Belgian company will hold 11 per cent of the polypropylene project's equity. The Rs 80-crore project is to be set up at Mathura in Uttar Pradesh.

FORAYS INTO STEEL

AFTER building up an impressive position in the cycles and motorcycles market, the Munjals (better known as the Hero group) are diversifying into steel and sponge iron. Both ventures offer the Munjals the advantage of backward integration. They'll be assured of steel, a basic raw material for two-wheelers. They have signed a memorandum of understanding with the Punjab State Industrial Development Corporation to put up a 1.5 lakh tonne hot rolling mill in Punjab. The Rs 130-crore project will also meet the state's shortage of steel. The Hero group has applied for government permission to put up a coal-based sponge iron project in Madhya Pradesh. And with ambitious plans to make 3 million bicycles this year and to unveil a new motorcycle model, the group is also investing about Rs 20 crore in modernising and expanding the Ludhiana-based Hero Cycles and the Hero Honda factory on the outskirts of Delhi.

POOR PROSPECTS

STATISTICS on project exports often diverge widely, with figures provided even by official sources not tallying with each other at all. This does not, however, seem to detract from a dismaying conclusion: although more and more Indian companies are bidding for overseas contracts, their success rate continues to be poor.



In 1988, Indian companies bid for turnkey projects valued at around Rs 900 crore, a dramatic rise from the Rs 50-crore figure of three years ago. Despite this, however, Exim Bank numbers show that Indian companies actually bagged just 15 contracts, which were worth Rs 65 crore, last year. This is sharply down from Rs 144 crore in 1987 (*see chart*).

Project exports have not fared well because the construction business in West Asia took a dive following the oil bust. The Iran-Iraq war also took its toll, apart from the inability of Indian companies to extend credit. Business prospects could brighten now that the war is over, but not everyone is sanguine. Indian companies still suffer from several cost and other disadvantages in the international construction market.

CHANGING PLACES

A Thapar project to manufacture pre-cast concrete bricks from fly ash—a waste material from thermal power plants—on the outskirts of the capital has run into stiff opposition from the Delhi administration. The administration opposed the venture's location on the ground of pollution. The result is that the Thapars have now decided to relocate the Rs 20-crore venture—to the neighbouring state of Uttar Pradesh. The proposal involves a collaboration with West Germany's Ytong and represents perhaps one of the first forays by big business into the area.

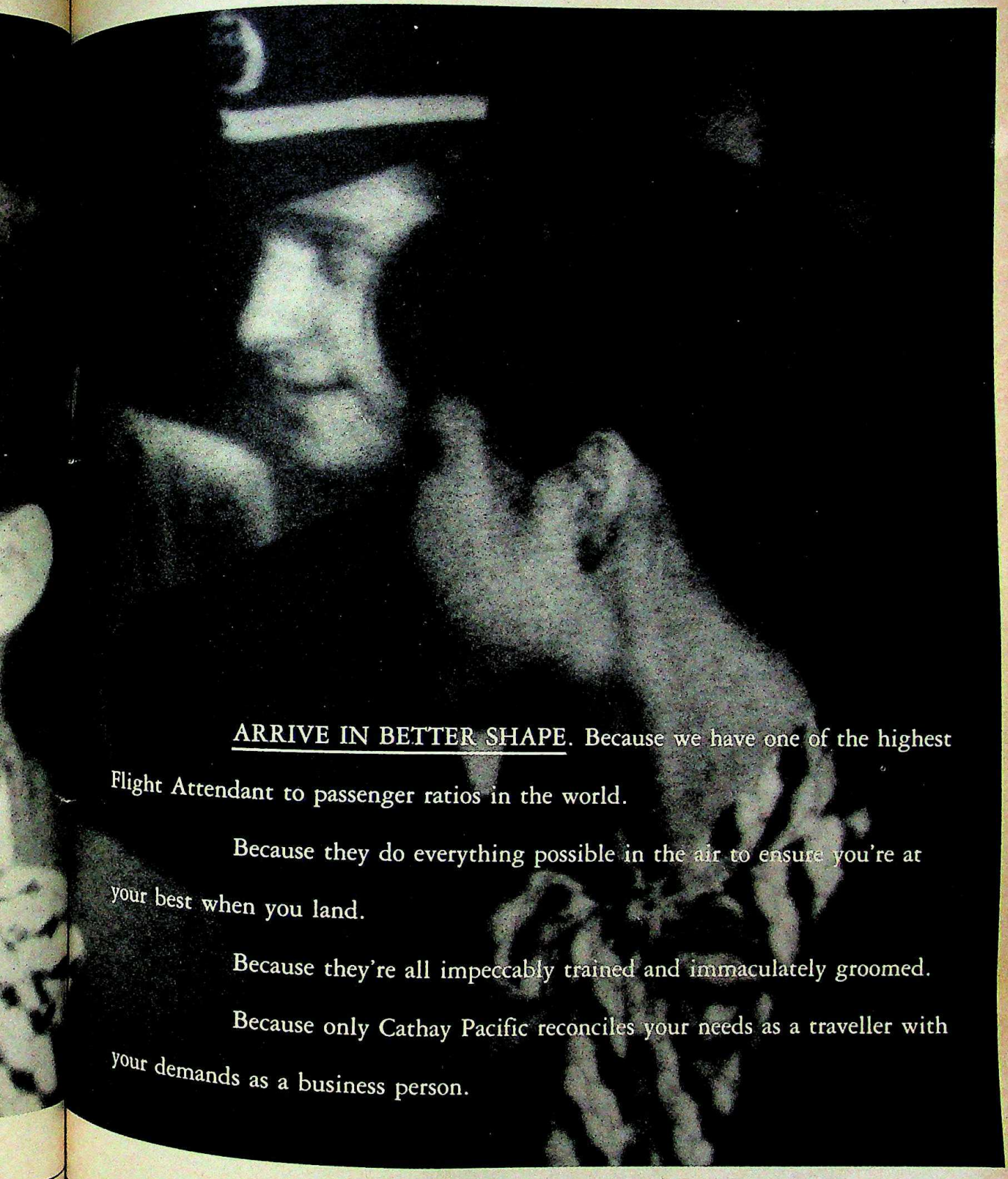
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Flight crew and cabin attendants. Kai Tak Airport, Hong Kong.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



ARRIVE IN BETTER SHAPE. Because we have one of the highest Flight Attendant to passenger ratios in the world.

Because they do everything possible in the air to ensure you're at your best when you land.

Because they're all impeccably trained and immaculately groomed.

Because only Cathay Pacific reconciles your needs as a traveller with your demands as a business person.

Arrive in better shape

CATHAY PACIFIC

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BUDGET

A Balancing Act

Highest taxes in ten years and fiscal prudence mark budget

IT caught virtually everyone by surprise. A nation that had been confidently expecting handouts for all and sundry in an election year was presented with the stiffest dose of taxation in the decade. Far from coming up with a soft budget, Finance Minister S.B. Chavan sharply raised taxes in a manner that has been rarely witnessed in recent years.

And yet Chavan took care to balance the requirements of a government readying to go to the hustings, and the dictates of fiscal prudence. He announced higher taxes for high salary-earners, cigarettes, pan masala, cars, computers, television sets and other consumer durables—nearly all of them symbols of affluence. Driving the point home were a hike in the foreign travel tax, a new inland air travel tax, and an increase in the tax on expenditure in hotels. Strikingly, virtually all the additional revenue raised comes from excise duty and the new income tax surcharge. A good chunk of the money is to be spent on a new rural employment programme named after Jawaharlal Nehru.

It was a clever effort. Trimming its sails to the political winds, the Government tried to distance itself from its pro-rich image and show concern for the rural poor. At the same time, Chavan sought to tackle more fundamental problems.

In a bid to contain the burgeoning government expenditure, spending on defence is proposed to be cut from last year's Rs 13,200 crore to Rs 13,000 crore—a move that has drawn applause. "Hardly any budget has done this before," notes Brij Mohan Munjal, president of the Confederation of Engineering Industries. "This is a step forward to containing expenditure."

Whether spending will be confined to the numbers projected remains to be seen, the Government has shown a long overdue fiscal maturity. The revenue deficit—the excess of expenditure on items like running the administration over tax and other revenues—is proposed to be pegged lower than at last year's level, even if this is partly helped by an accounting change. "The fact that the Government has taken note of the fiscal imbalance is welcome," says A. Bagchi, director of the National Institute of Public Finance. "It has to go a long way." There is no denying either that the budget attempts to provide more incentives to save, as for instance in the tax deductions provided for deposits in the National Housing Bank's home loan account scheme.

But fiscal issues do not impress the stock-markets, that index of the economic mood. After taking one look at the spate of announcements on higher excise duties for industry, they dived for cover. Also, as Bombay Stock Exchange President G.B. Desai puts it: "The capital markets had high expectations about the budget. Yet there were no direct proposals to boost the markets." Leading share price indices nose-dived, only to sheepishly recover days later. The market's initial disappointment was plainly premature. The Government has announced an equity-linked savings plan whose details are still being worked out, but the scheme may eventually funnel sizeable sums of money into the market through the Unit Trust of India and mutual funds.

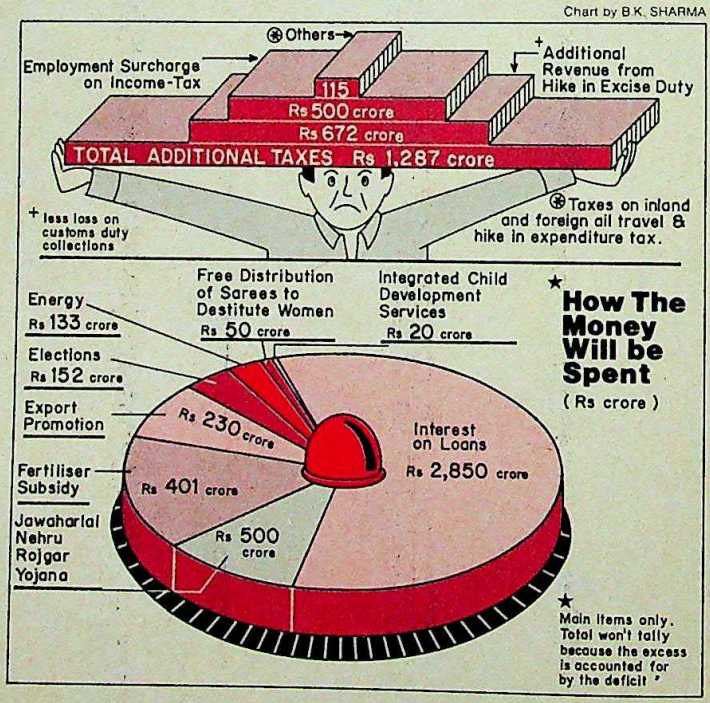
Quite predictably, representatives of not a few industries complained that nothing had been done for them. Synthetic fibre manufacturers, for instance, had been lobbying with the Government for lower taxes on the ground that raw material prices had soared.

What cannot be gainsaid however is that the budget has tried to help some industries. Aluminium and cement prices have been decontrolled (*see box*), customs duties on machinery have been lowered by 10 per cent (this was done to help domestic equipment suppliers who couldn't afford imports), food processing units are now entitled to bring in more machinery at soft rates, and ready-to-cook items such as idli and vada mixes are fully exempt from excise.

Perhaps because of the Government's failure to highlight this, the tax exemption on a third of the income from the poultry business has escaped the attention it deserves. "For years, the industry has been starved of fresh investments. Perhaps entrepreneurs will now look at poultry as a major new growth area," says B.V. Rao, chairman of the Pune-based Venkateshwara Hatcheries, an industry big daddy. An added attraction: the customs duty on two amino-acids, a major raw material for poultry feed, has been more than halved. "This will help improve the breed of chicks," acknowledges Vinod Kapur, managing director of the Delhi-based Kegg Farms.

If much of the good news was overlooked, it was partly due to the chorus of criticism from industries whose bottom-lines will be badly bruised by tax hikes. One example: electronics. Even as angry businessmen closed ranks to protest the tax increases, they charged the Govern-

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ment with unfairly fettering the new growth areas. Said Wipro Chairman Ashok Soota: "The 5-per cent excise hike on computers is not much if one considers it in isolation. What is worrying is budgetary policy over the last couple of years—the duty on components and input costs have gone up by almost 90 per cent. This is not fair on any industry which is growing rapidly."

Electronics men are not the only ones who are sore. Five-star hotels chains are unhappy too. Warns Y.C. Deveshwar, chairman of ITC's Welcomgroup: "The additional tax will have a punitive effect on domestic tourism. It will have an adverse impact on our ability to earn foreign exchange from hotels as people will not be keen on investing in hotels. It will also lead to a lot of unethical practices because many will not register sales and income."

The question here is: has the Government changed its economic outlook and dumped liberalisation? Government officials insist that this is not the case (*see box*) and they may be right. But a senior official of an industry association said that the Government was sending the wrong signals to industry by raising tax rates.

Meanwhile, the higher taxes are bound to lead to major changes in markets. Certainly, this applies to two-wheelers and TVs (*see box*)—and cigarettes. The duty changes in cigarettes will fetch the exchequer an extra Rs 101 crore. The industry is heavily taxed—the excise revenue from cigarettes in 1987-88 was Rs 1,446 crore—but cigarette production has dropped by an estimated 20 per cent over the last four years. Indeed, downmarket smokers have switched to beedis. In a move that cigarette manufacturers believe will expand the duty base, the Government has now introduced a lower excise slab for smaller cigarettes. "We, like everyone, will have to go in for smaller cigarettes as it is here that the duties are lower," says ITC Chairman J.N. Sapru. Adds P.P. Bhandari, managing director of GTC Industries: "The 60 mm cigarette will be cheap. We hope it attracts attention."

The Government of course would much rather attract attention to its rural employment and anti-poverty programmes. The rural emphasis has been visible right from Rajiv Gandhi's 1987 budget, better compliance with the tax laws and resulted in higher revenue collections insisted that the rich could cough up more. The stock-markets plunged before pulling out of their tailspin.

Clearly, the Government has travelled a long road since those heady days of 1985. Somewhere along the way, did it switch from the liberalism of the past to an avowedly socialistic stance? Officials said publicly that the rich were being taxed to provide jobs for the poor.

Some in industry are convinced that the Government has done a flip-flop. "The 1985 budget and, to a lesser extent, the one that followed heralded a bold new approach to economic decision-making. Since then, all budgets have been sending wrong signals to industry," says a spokesman of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Industrialist L.M. Thapar asserts: "The liberalisation trend has been reversed."

This viewpoint cannot be entirely dismissed. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's 1987 budget represented a shift in stance. Tax concessions on TV sets, computers and Marutis were no longer forthcoming and the Government attempted to rid itself of its pro-rich image. Tax expert Nani Palkhiwala, who had lauded the 1985 budget, described the 1987 budget as the bureaucrat's revenge. The pendulum had started swinging.

N.D. Tiwari's budget in 1988 had a sharp rural bias. Outlays on anti-poverty programmes were stepped up further. Political messages were read into the budget proposals.

"This year's Budget is better than the previous four budgets. It does not offer any further concession to the affluent," says economist and former Planning Commission member C.H. Hanumantha Rao.

Not everyone buys the shift-in-stance argument, including some industrialists. Says K. N. Modi: "The Government couldn't have done very much better." And government officials argue that a policy continuity is being maintained. Referring to this budget, Montek Singh Ahluwalia, special secretary in the Prime Minister's Office, says: "It's a continuation of the Government's basic economic thrust. It strengthens the anti-poverty and employment programmes and continues the momentum for growth."

The approach has not substantially changed: only the style has. However, after paying limited heed to the long-term fiscal policy of 1985 for more than three years, the Government seems to have realised belatedly that it cannot continue to live beyond its means.

—PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

NEW REALITY

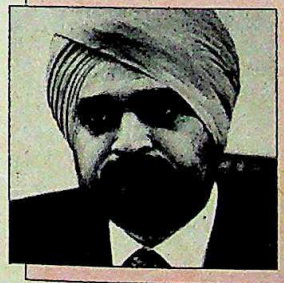
Past Budgets

FOUR years ago, the Rajiv Gandhi Government slashed personal and corporate income tax rates, abolished estate duty and effectively freed a number of big enterprises from the shackles of monopoly laws. Amidst the euphoria over that budget presented by V.P. Singh, share prices went through the roof.

Last fortnight, Finance Minister S.B. Chavan hiked the excise duty on a range of products such as cars and television sets and stepped up income tax rates by imposing an employment cess. A government that had then argued that lower tax rates ensured

"The liberalisation trend has been reversed in this budget."

L.M. THAPAR
industrialist



"It's a continuation of the Government's basic economic thrust."

M.S. AHLUWALIA
special secretary, Prime Minister's Office

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and this one is no exception. The problem is that anti-poverty and rural employment programmes don't work very well, quite simply because the money often doesn't reach those for whom it is intended. There is widespread scepticism on this count. Says Govind Hari Singhania, vice-chairman and managing director of JK Synthetics: "In an election year, it is to be expected that more benefits will be given to poor people. I have no objections to that but I hope that the funds spent actually help the poor."

"We've tried to raise revenue without touching essential items. It is a very responsible budget."

NITIN DESAI
chief economic advisor, Finance Ministry

"The rise in price in the coming year will be higher than what the Government has projected."

GOVIND HARI SINGHANIA
vice-chairman & managing director JK Synthetics

What is more, even if rural development gets top billings in the Government it doesn't quite show in expenditure terms. The total Central Plan outlay on it is being stepped up by a paltry Rs 3 crore, from Rs 1,759 crore this year to Rs 1,762 crore next financial year.

There's quite some concern too that the budget will prove inflationary, despite Government assurances to the contrary. Argues Singhania: "The likely rise in prices in the coming year will be higher than what the Government has projected." The pre-budget levies in the shape of higher railway freight rates and the coal and steel price increases mopped up over Rs 1,200 crore. Inevitably, some of this will increase costs—and prices—down the line. Last fortnight, at least one cement company was readying to raise prices in a fiercely competitive market, citing the freight burden.

And for all the attempts at setting its financial house in order, economists argue that the Government hasn't gone far enough. Says D.T. Lakdawala, former deputy chairman of the Planning Commission: "There has been some attempt to curb Government expenditure. However, the Government has not been equally rigorous in curbing subsidies. The growth in expenditure cannot be curtailed if subsidies continue to move up."

The real questions that have to be addressed are, as Finance Minister Chavan admitted in Parliament, whether

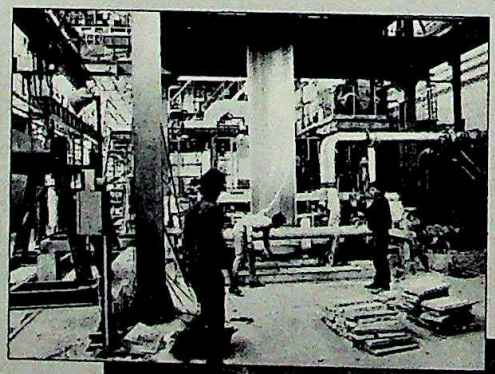
DECONTROL

Mixed Bag

IT had been in the air for months. The market was awash with cement, and aluminium production was on the upswing. Last fortnight, the Government lifted price controls on both products. That brought whoopee to a stock-market that was otherwise disappointed by the budget.

Nevertheless, the move met with a mixed reception from the cement industry. "This is positive. The industry's long-term prospects are good," said Narotam Sekhsaria, managing director of Gujarat Ambuja Cements. But Modi Cements Managing Director Y.K. Modi said: "In principle, it's good. But some units could face problems."

The Government partially lifted price controls on cement in 1982, and huge production capacities were set up. Result: a cement glut, with open market prices dipping below the Government's "levy" price in some states. In 1989, companies will produce about 48 million tonnes of cement, some 4 million tonnes more than the demand. One ray of hope: demand is expected to outpace supply in a few years because investments in the industry have slowed down in recent years.



Cement bag and aluminium factory: private gains

Decontrol could take its toll on high-cost aluminium producers. Manufacturers had to sell their output to the Government, which paid them varying prices based on their production costs. These differed among units because of the different power rates in states—power accounts for 50 per cent of production costs. The Government then averaged out prices and sold aluminium to consumers. From the proceeds, it compensated high cost units. As a result, there was little incentive to modernise.

The gainers of decontrol will be private companies like Indian Aluminium and Hindalco, and the state-owned National Aluminium Company (Nalco). Their production costs are lower than those of the public sector Bharat Aluminium and the privately-owned Madras Aluminium Company.

In the short run, companies will make a killing by jacking up prices. Over the long haul more capacities will go on stream—and decontrol may be vindicated.

—PALAKUNNATHU G. MATHAI
with bureau reports

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GUEST COLUMN BY L.C. JAIN

The Numbers Game

THE Government would like us to believe that its budget represents a change in tack. Indeed, government officials have announced that the rich have to pay for the employment of the poor. Yet it's a pretension that official policies have taken a radical turn.

Consider the 8-per cent surcharge on annual incomes above Rs 50,000. It replaces the 5-per cent drought surcharge imposed last year on the same set of people. Clearly, the Government has not discovered a new urge to tax the rich.

The surcharge is meant to fund a new Rs 500-crore employment programme named after Jawaharlal Nehru in 120 backward districts where drought relief employment was provided last year. Under the new programme, one person in a poor family will be employed for 100 days a year. But this is precisely the aim of the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme, which has been in operation for the last six years. So what's new in terms of where money is to be collected from, the schemes on which it is to be spent, or the additional employment it is to provide?

To create an impression of a massive boost to poverty alleviation, the finance minister has grouped food and cloth subsidies, education, health, and the Integrated Child Development Services Programme under poverty alleviation. Last year's budget provided Rs 8,652 crore for all these. The provision for them now is Rs 9,374 crore, or an extra Rs 722 crore. Subtract Rs 500 crore for the Jawaharlal Nehru scheme, Rs 50 crore for distributing saris to destitute women and the additional allocation of Rs 20 crore for ICDSP. What's left is Rs 152 crore.

The number is important because it exposes that the budget has provided more money for the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). The provision for food and cloth subsidies (Rs 2,200 crore) is the same as for last year. The actual sums spent on food and cloth subsidies have been rising every year. If they increase by even 5 per cent this year, that means an additional Rs 120 crore.

Remember the Rs 152-crore figure? Well, if food and cloth subsidies claim an extra Rs 120 crore, what's left is just Rs 32 crore—a step-up in outlay that also covers education, health and drinking water. So the apprehension that less cash will be forthcoming for NREP and IRDP seems valid.

> "The Government argues that inflation this year is less than last year....That is equivalent to puting a 10-inch knife into the public, and taking out one inch."

As for providing work for 100 days in a year, most of these schemes are implemented through contractors at a time when there is no agricultural slack. Then, the labourer for whom these programmes are meant doesn't get in time the foodgrains component of his wage (which is paid both in cash and kind). This is especially true after the country's food stocks dipped. The Government as always gave priority to providing food for urban centres. If the Government can't tackle unemployment through sustained productivity schemes, why waste this money?

Like his predecessors, the finance minister promises to improve the implementation of employment programmes. But the Government has shown little interest in improving the performance of the relatively more manageable public sector. More than Rs 60,000 crore has been invested in state-owned units, and the Ministry of Programme Implementation reports that the capital cost of 124 big projects has risen by as much as Rs 14,500 crore owing to implementation delays. When Rajiv Gandhi presented the budget in 1987, he promised a White Paper on the public sector. That is still awaited.

What's laughable is the Government's claim that prices will not rise because essential commodities have been kept out of the tax net. Similar assertions in the past have proved baseless. This budget's 5 per cent excise duty increase must be seen along with the pre-budget increases in coal, steel and railway freight rates. A record agricultural output is expected this year. But foodgrain stocks are low and the Government is trying to import grains. Meantime, prices could spiral.

The Government argues that inflation this year is less than last year, although this year's inflation comes on top of last year's price increase. That is equivalent to putting a 10-inch knife into the public, and taking out one inch. And then asking, don't you feel any relief? When the public complains about inflation, it's talking about additional inflation—which erodes the real incomes of the poor.

Some may argue that the fresh taxes on consumer durables, hotels and air travel demonstrate a shift in the Government's position. But the items selected for taxation do not bolster the point. The extra airport tax on international travel will hardly pinch. We have a balance of payments problem. At present, foreign exchange is available once in two years. The Government could have made it once in five years.

A few years ago we were asked to applaud the Government for lowering taxes. Now we're asked to applaud it for raising them. If the tax levels had remained, the budget deficits we're facing would have been greatly moderated. What the current tax effort shows is that, in an election year, the Government has realised that it's been seen in the company of the rich and not in the company of the poor.

L.C. Jain is a member of the Karnataka Economic and Planning Council

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

these subsidies and programmes provide value for money and whether the same results can be achieved at less cost. Chavan promised that the Eighth Five Year Plan's programmes would be rooted in such assessments.

Unquestionably, the Government has made a small beginning in this budget, keeping in mind a few goals. According to Nitin Desai, secretary and chief economic adviser in the Finance Ministry, one of them was to provide for additional employment programmes. It also was keen on furnishing incentives for indigenisation in the automobile industry, he says. "What's been attempted in the budget is to direct revenue raising efforts at upper income groups and certain durables. We've tried to do this without touching items of essential consumption or affecting the growth process. It's a very responsible budget."

Those who've been squeezed probably wouldn't share that assessment, but he's quite right. The Government has shown a bit of courage. Last fortnight, it looked as if broad swathes of industry were swinging round to the same view, with a few singular exceptions. In the ultimate analysis, all budgets are political documents. That this one has managed to remain firmly rooted in economics too is a testimony to the Government's tightrope walk act.

—PALAKUNNATHU G. MATHAI with S.N. VASUKI and SURAJEET DAS GUPTA

Winners

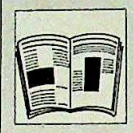
Scooter manufacturers: "There may be a shift in demand from motorcycles to scooters," Hero Honda Managing Director Raman Kant Munjal says gloomily. Reason: the excise duty on most motorcycles and some mopeds has gone up by 5 per cent, but the duty on scooters with engine capacities of 100cc to 150cc remains unaltered.

Clearly, scooter companies like Bajaj Auto, LML and Kinetic Engineering stand to gain. In fact, Bajaj is probably the biggest beneficiary. Accounting for about 55 per cent of the scooter market in 1988, Bajaj's 150cc scooters are the cheapest in the market. But Rahul Bajaj points out that the excise on mopeds under 50cc has not been raised, and some companies can downgrade their engines to escape the extra excise. "It's a fallacy to suggest that Bajaj Auto has received a windfall from the Government," says he. A senior Finance Ministry functionary's explanation for leaving scooters unscathed: "They're family vehicles." Which means that mobikes are for the brash young men only.

Sodium vapour lamp producers: The excise has been cut from 15.5 per cent to 10 per cent. The major beneficiary: Peico Electricals and Electronics, which controls over 55 per cent of the Rs 15-crore market. Peico is now heading for a loss this year. The lower duty could mean an annual gain of Rs 2.5 crore for manufacturers. But Peico Director R.B. Putatunda says that the company will cut prices to pass on the benefit to the customer. He also points out that the 150 per cent customs duty on a major component for sodium vapour lamps remains.

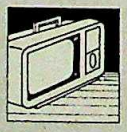
Wimco Ltd: The match company's bottom line has been under pressure ever since Charan Singh's budget jacked up the excise on matches produced by mechanised units (Wimco is the only one). In 1987, Wimco incurred a loss of Rs 5 crore. The budget has cut the excise on mechanised units by Rs 1.35 per gross boxes of 50 matches. The difference between the duty on machine made and hand made matches has narrowed too. The industry will have to fork out Rs 11 crore less to the Government, but Wimco Managing Director Bengt Nordman reckons that much of it will be passed on to traders. As for Wimco, Nordman says: "There's definitely a positive effect, but a limited one." The stock-markets may not fully agree: Wimco's share price climbed significantly.

Losers



Magazine publishers: "I am apprehensive of the future," says a spokesman of Bennett, Coleman & Co, publishers of *The Times of India*. "If we don't use glazed paper, advertisers who want colour might shift to television."

It's a common fear. The Government has steeply hiked customs duty on imported glazed newsprint, used by leading magazines, from Rs 550 per tonne to 30 per cent *ad valorem* (now equivalent to Rs 3,000 a tonne)—a net increase of 26 per cent, which is higher than for any other product taxed in the budget. Publishers have described the budget as "crippling". Bennett, Coleman faces a cost escalation of around Rs 2 crore due to the tax. Living Media, which publishes INDIA TODAY and other magazines, will have to foot an extra Rs 1.70 crore bill. Publishers can raise magazine prices or jack up advertisement rates. "The Rs 6 price of *Business India* will go up by a couple of rupees," says Ashok Advani, the magazine's publisher. Magazines can use inferior newsprint, but poor colour reproduction will discourage advertisers. Indian Newspaper Society President Pravinchandra Gandhi says: "The Government is indirectly helping Doordarshan." Or is it picking on selected publications?



The television industry: Alarmed by the stiff increase in excise duties, manufacturers plan on an advertisement campaign to explain their problem. Says Arup Chaudhuri, president of the Indian Television Manufacturers' Association (ITMA): "The total tax revenue from televisions is Rs 124 crore. Black and white sets account for Rs 95 crore. This has absolutely shocked us." The industry is sore that taxes on key components have pushed up the cost of portable black and white sets, a hot selling item.

Maruti Udyog: Partly stilling the criticism that the Government favoured Maruti, the budget has imposed a uniform duty rate of 35 per cent on all cars. So Maruti will pay 10 per cent more excise, or Rs 77 crore more to the exchequer. While Maruti's rivals are pleased, Maruti Udyog Managing Director R.C. Bhargava says: "The Government put this on Maruti because it feels that the vehicle can bear the load. But if there's no distinction between fuel-efficient vehicles and non-fuel efficient ones, it will be a hindrance to subsequent import of newer models with higher fuel efficiency." Despite the hike, sales might be steady.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Retail business opportunities you cannot afford to miss !

Together, we sell

Bangalore's first large department store will offer an enjoyable shopping experience to its customers. And to you, a great opportunity to sell.

Brigade Towers: A Prime Location

Brigades will be located in the basement, ground and first floors of Brigade Towers

Consider the incomparable advantages of its location:

• Situated in Bangalore's most important shopping area. • On the broad stretch of Brigade Road that allows 2-way traffic; and accessible from 6 roads • Ample space for parking, both on the road and in Brigade Towers.

The 14-storey Brigade Towers, nearing completion, will house the elegant offices of top-flight companies, consultants and businessmen; a business centre and a restaurant.

With the setting up of Brigades department store, Brigade Towers will be the shopping focus of Richmond Town, Langford Town, Koramangala, Indiranagar and the rest of fashionable Bangalore.

Unique Selling Features of Brigades, the One-Stop Shop

Brigades will be a large department store covering 10,000 sq. ft of multi-level space.

Bright and cheerful, spacious and futuristic, Brigades is being designed to provide the same enjoyable shopping experience as in Singapore, Europe and the U.S.A.

Innovative layout; visible and convenient displays; self-service counters; trolleys and baskets; computerised billing network; express check-out; assured quality and fair prices; courteous, cheerful and helpful staff, convenient location, easy parking – these winning features will make Brigades a department store of international standards.

A never-before Retail Business Opportunity: An Invitation to Participate in this true One-Stop Shop

In addition to groceries, toiletry, appliances & kitchenware, gifts & novelties, cosmetics, and bakery & dairy products, Brigades will have several sections selling a wide range of products and services:

COFFEE SHOP; VEGETABLES; FRUITS; FLOWERS AND NURSERY; COLD-STORAGE; WINES & SPIRITS; PHARMACEUTICALS; DRY-CLEANING; QSS; OPTICALS; WATCHES & CLOCKS; BOUTIQUES; SPORTS GOODS & ACCESSORIES; LEATHER PRODUCTS; VIDEO LIBRARY; ETC.

As a retail businessman or businesswoman, if you would like to run one of these sections, please get in touch with us. We at Brigades – with its refreshingly new ambience, professional infrastructure, modern security systems and well-targeted advertising and sales promotion – will help you sell. And grow with us.

In short, while you're busy selling, we'll manage the store.

For Retail Business Opportunities at

Brigades
The One-Stop Shop

please contact:
Executive Director
Brigade Marketing Co. Pvt. Ltd
Brigade Towers
135, Brigade Road
Bangalore 560 025
Phone: 566841/ 210841
Telex: 0845-8601 BRIN IN

RESOURCE/ BMC/ 162

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDAL

requires

CHIEF EXECUTIVE

For power projects at Orissa and Karnataka

THE JOB

The incumbent will be responsible for executing the power projects planned at Hirakud (Orissa) and Belgaum (Karnataka). He will report to the Senior Vice President and will guide and co-ordinate all aspects of project management—selection of technology, consultants, etc., liaise with appropriate authorities for clearance of various approvals and ensure completion of the projects within the timeframe. He will be incharge of operations after completion of the projects.

THE REQUIREMENTS

The incumbent must be a graduate in Electrical and/or Mechanical Engineering with about 20 years' experience in the execution of projects and operations and maintenance of power plants.

Qualities of leadership, the ability to motivate a team of professional managers and liaise and interact with government, statutory, financial authorities etc., are essential.

THE REMUNERATION

Will not be a constraint for the right person.

Perquisites will include Housing, Leave Travel Assistance, Car, Medical Benefits for self and family, Provident Fund, Superannuation Benefit, etc.

Please apply within 15 days, stating age, qualifications, experience, present and expected emoluments to:

Chief Staff Manager

Indian Aluminium Company, Limited

1 Middleton Street
Calcutta 700 071

3623

General Manager – Advertising

Hawkins Cookers Limited need a General Manager – Advertising, based in Bombay, reporting to the Vice President – Marketing. Hawkins regards advertising as a key success factor.

The job carries prime responsibility for formulating advertising strategy and overseeing its execution in cooperation with the advertising agency. It involves commissioning and analysis of marketing research, collaboration with Sales personnel in the design, execution and evaluation of sales and consumer promotions, collaboration with Technical personnel in the design of packaging, and working closely with top management. The current advertising and sales promotion expenditure is around three crores of rupees a year.

The successful candidate will be 28 to 35, graduate or post graduate, with at least 5 years' solid experience in the marketing department of a reputed consumer products company or a reputed advertising agency or both. An open, cultured mind, analytical and administrative abilities and a high order of application are essential. Creative flair would be a big plus – and would guarantee an exceptional career.

Total starting remuneration including deferred benefits will be negotiated with the successful candidate around Rs 10,000 per month. Apply in confidence to the Vice President – Marketing, Hawkins Cookers Limited, P.B. No. 6481, Bombay 400 016, enclosing your c.v. and an essay on your suitability for the job.

Hawkins

- OVER ONE MILLION PRESSURE COOKERS SOLD IN A YEAR
- THE ONLY INDIAN PRESSURE COOKER SELLING IN TOP DEPARTMENT STORES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA
- BUILDING OF BRAND STRENGTHS – DEVELOPING AND MARKETING NEW PRODUCTS
- HIGHEST ETHICAL AND PROFESSIONAL MANAGEMENT STANDARDS
- SATISFYING WORK ENVIRONMENT – EXCELLENT RECORD OF INTERNAL PROMOTIONS

HC/4005

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

STC-MMTC

Facing Heavy Weather

Growth of the trading giants falters

THEY are the colossi, the state-owned trading giants that operate in the global commodities market. Over the years, their sales have leaped impressively, thanks to the Government canalising trade through them. But the State Trading Corporation (STC) is now in deep trouble, while the Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation (MMTC) has a problem on its hands.

At STC, sales and profits have slumped—and are likely to drop further because the country is reducing its dependence on imported edible oils. STC's new Chief Executive Bhupinder Singh exclaims: "STC is in danger of turning sick." MMTC's problems are slightly different, though no less irksome: its performance hinges on the import of metals and fertilisers. Metal prices have skyrocketed, and the Government is unwilling to fork out the extra foreign exchange. And amidst a fertiliser glut in the country, imports have shrunk.

STC's imports of edible oils fell from nearly 20 lakh tonnes (value: Rs 2,200 crore) in 1987-88 to 11 lakh tonnes (value: Rs 550 crore) this year. And these figures may get halved in 1989-90. Its total turnover is down from the 1987-88 peak of Rs 3,646 crore to around Rs 2,600 crore and may drop by another Rs 400 crore next year. Between 1986-87 and 1987-88, trading profits declined from Rs 62 crore to Rs 55 crore. Minus profits from edible oils, STC will end the current year with a Rs 28-crore surplus—barely equal to overhead expenses on 2,500 employees in 21 offices in India and 16 abroad. But it is hardly desirable to step up edible oil imports. So what's the way out?

Should STC be wound up, having outlived its utility? Some would agree, arguing that businessmen pay for its inefficiencies. The ideal state trading organisation would act as a pathfinder. Though STC is no ideal company officials counter that most countries have state trading corporations, and that it is virtually impossible to curtail operations and trim the work force in India.

So last fortnight, Singh urged the Commerce Ministry to canalise imports of wood pulp, polyvinyl chloride (PVC) and certain chemicals through STC for three years. This, he argued, could boost its 1989-90 turnover by Rs 400 crore.

There is a paradox here. At one level, Singh concedes that import canalisation has the disadvantage of causing a sense of complacency. Yet, he feels that till the company can trim its fat and increase exports without government props, import canalisation is the only way to prevent STC from sinking into the red.

On the export front, the corporation's plans are rather ambitious. Exports are slated to jump from Rs 570 crore this year to Rs 1,500 crore two years hence. To achieve this, STC is planning overseas investments—in a garment factory in Poland, a rice bran oil extraction unit in Vietnam and a newsprint plant in the Soviet Union. Also, the emphasis has shifted from "counter-trade", where additional earnings are often negligible, to "third country" trade.

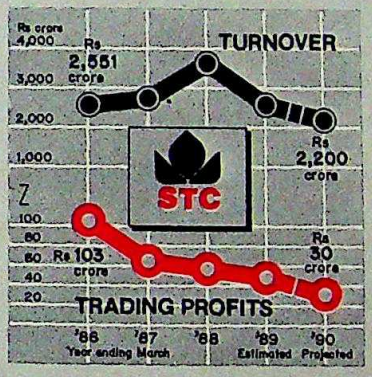
Last month, STC capitalised on economic liberalisation in east Europe to start buying edible oil from Rumania and the German Democratic Republic though they do not produce it. The idea: cut the outflow of foreign exchange since trade with them is in rupees and linked to Indian exports.

MMTC's plans to improve its performance are somewhat similar. The corporation is considering investing in a potash unit in one of three locations: two in Canada and one in Thailand. Investment in a sulphur mine in Costa Rica or Iraq is also planned. "Such plans have been on the anvil for some years now," says Chairman I.P. Hazarika, "but I expect the decision on investing in a potash project to come through within a year."

Hazarika explains that MMTC handles some 30 million tonnes of cargo a year: "We can take ships on lease and place them at the disposal of the Shipping Corporation of India. This way we not only save foreign exchange, but also pay less on freight."

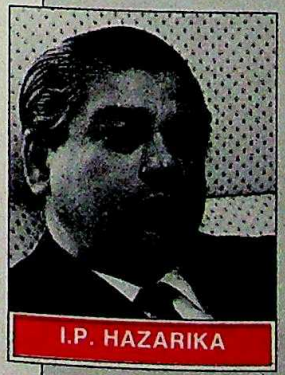
MMTC is already India's largest export organisation.

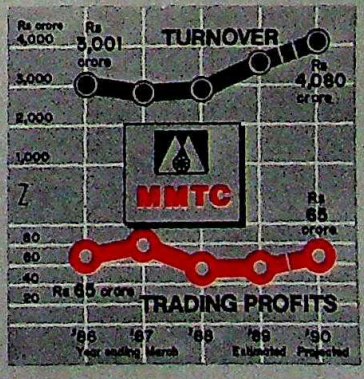
STC's sales and profits have slumped and are likely to drop further because the country is reducing its dependence on imported edible oils.



Charts by B.K. SHARMA

MMTC's problems are that world metal prices have skyrocketed, and the Government is unwilling to fork out the extra foreign exchange.





CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and the idea is to enlarge the scope of its operations—step up exports from Rs 800 crore plus this year to 1,100 crore in 1989-90. The biggest rise has been in chrome ore exports: from Rs 14.6 crore in 1987-88 to a projected Rs 56 crore this year. This should more than double next year.

Unlike STC, MMTC's turnover has risen steadily and the trend should continue. Gross sales are expected to go up from Rs 2,894 crore last year to over Rs 3,570 crore this year. Next year's target: over Rs 4,000 crore. However, trading profits, which declined from Rs 77.4 crore in 1986-87 to Rs 53.2 crore in 1987-88, are likely to stagnate this year. Says an MMTC official: "The lower imports resulting from the foreign exchange squeeze have upset profit projections." Between last year and this year, the volume of nickel imports is expected to fall from 6,230 tonnes to 4,400 tonnes. In value terms, they're up from Rs 93 crore to Rs 154 crore. The rise in railway freight will cost MMTC Rs 35 crore and erode future profitability.

As if all this were not enough, dithering continues about whether or not to

APPOINTMENTS

Transit Lounge

ON the night of December 28, the chairman of the state-owned Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation (MMTC), S.K. Agrawal, returned late to Delhi from Tokyo, with fellow directors Bhupinder Singh and I.P. Hazarika. The next morning, he was pacing the corridors of the Commerce Ministry. His tenure was to expire the next day and Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh was in Belgrade. That afternoon, Commerce Secretary A.N. Varma told him that his term was not going to be extended. Singh and Hazarika were being appointed "acting" chairmen and managing directors of State Trading Corporation (STC) and MMTC, respectively.

It's not new. First, a chief executive is selected, after months of going through the motions. He begins familiarising himself with the tasks ahead. Next, colleagues start taking pot-shots at him. A flurry of allegations ensue—anonymous letters, leaks to the press. The ubiquitous Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) comes in. Finally, the harried man is hounded out. Here we go again.

While this happens in government-owned companies time and again, it's thrown into relief when it happens at MMTC and STC. With a combined turnover of around Rs 6,200 crore, they control about 15 per cent of the country's foreign trade. In the last 20 years, the Rs 2,600 crore-STC has seen 15 chief executives, barely half a dozen of them on "regular" tenures and one who lasted just 28 days. As Singh said in a January 23 letter to Varma: "It will not be wrong to say that the STC chief executive's office, during the past three years, has been more like a transit lounge." At MMTC, the position is only marginally better; eight chief executives have come and gone in as many years.

But government spokesmen never tire of complaining how difficult it is to find the "right" person for the top slots in crucial enterprises like STC and MMTC. "When a choice is made after much deliberation, the Government suddenly starts having second thoughts—this peculiar malaise of self-doubt seems to have become endemic," says P.L. Tandon, who had a record tenure of four years (1969-73) as STC chief.

The latest to have put their reputations on the line are Singh and Hazarika. Their tenures have still not been specified; they will run the two trading giants "until further orders"—a polite way of saying that they will remain in their posts so long as they don't displease the ministers and bureaucrats who matter. Their appointments highlight yet again the capricious manner in which heads are chosen for public undertakings.

> In the last eight years, a chief executive has put in eight months at STC and 12 months at MMTC, on an average.

In November 1987, the Public Enterprises Selection Board (PESB) interviewed candidates for the two top slots. Said one candidate: "I was interviewed for a few minutes. It was no different from a schoolmaster asking a child to recite a nursery rhyme. The whole thing was a farce." Later events proved just that.

S.K. Agrawal and Steel Authority of India Director S.K. Ahluwalia were empanelled for MMTC, STC Director R. Kuppuswamy and Singh for STC. It took the Government nearly 15 months to appoint Singh. He was the PSEB's second choice, but it is not clear why he was chosen over the heads of five STC executive directors when the official policy is to promote internal candidates unless an external candidate is "markedly" better.

Hazarika's name was not even recommended by the PESB, but the Appointments Committee of the Cabinet ignored that. But neither was Hazarika superfluous at MMTC: till last fortnight, four of the five executive directors' posts were vacant. "The decision indicated that the PESB panel's report was not worth the paper it was written on," says A.C. Bose, former MMTC finance director.

In December '87, the CBI filed a charge-sheet against Kuppuswamy in Ranchi about some of his actions as general manager, Hindustan Copper Limited, in 1986. Kuppuswamy says the charges are frivolous and borne out of "personal vendetta", but on result was that

BIRDS OF

STC

T. Prakash	27 days
M.Y. Priolkar	7 months
P.G. Muralidharan	8 months
S.J. Mulji	11 months
R.K. Dang	8 months
S.V.S. Raghavan	7 months
P.C. Luthar	23 months
P.K. Dasgupta	15 months
Abid Hussain	10 months

Last nine chief executives

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

merge STC and MMTC and their subsidiaries and form a holding company. This was mooted by an official committee way back in 1968. A report by the Hyderabad-based Administrative Staff College of India in mid-1987 also favoured a merger.

The argument for restructuring is that combined buying power will give the mega-giant more muscle in world markets. It is also necessary to redefine their relationships with their subsidiaries. STC, for instance, hawks tea, cashew, handicrafts and handlooms. So do its subsidiaries. Obviously, the operations overlap.

Union Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh says that the Government is still considering the proposal to have a common chairman for the two corporations, but other officials said that "the concept of a holding company is on hold". As for the problems of both, a Commerce Ministry spokesman said: "The individual interests of STC and MMTC have to be subservient to the country's interests." In other words, the Government probably won't bail them out—and STC and MMTC are in for tough times.—PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

PASSAGE

MMTC	
S.K. Agrawal	15 months
S.V.S. Raghavan	48 months
Anand Swarup	3 months
D.K. Dhaon	6 months
C. Venkataraman	3 months
D.K. Dhaon	28 months
C.S. Swaminathan	34 months
A.S. Gill	3 months
C.R. Das	15 months

First, a chief executive is selected. Then there is a flurry of allegations and the harried man is hounded out.

he was out of the count (though he continues as an STC director).

Enter N.D. Tiwari as commerce minister. He decided that bureaucrats should be given a chance at the top slots. So, in June last year, the PESB interviewed five IAS candidates and empanelled three, plus those already short-listed. Exit Tiwari, and Dinesh Singh, who replaced him, thought it was better to have internal candidates as managing directors. He wanted former Canara Bank chairman B. Ratnakar as common chairman of STC and MMTC. Enter the CBI again: a rash of charges, Ratnakar was investigated, and is out of the reckoning.

The new executive heads, like those before them, have political clout. Singh does not conceal his 40-year-long friendship with R.K. Dhawan, now aide to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. And Hazarika's father had been jailed by the British for 12 years. He was the president of the district Congress committee, north Lakhimpur, Assam, for two decades. Both their cases were actively backed by Union Minister of State for Commerce Priya Ranjan Das Munshi and both had support in the Prime Minister's Office.

Despite the patronage, Singh and Hazarika realise that insecurity comes with the territory. The Government's trading arms have proved to be graveyards for the reputations of a galaxy of high-fliers. S.V.S. Raghavan, P.C. Luthar, D.K. Dhaon, S.J. Mulji and P.K. Dasgupta—they all had to quit their jobs amidst a welter of allegations, some of which may never be substantiated.

Raghavan was MMTC chairman for four long years till September 1987. He remained in the good books of successive commerce ministers and survived a controversy over a Jordanian road-building contract involving Som Datt Builders. But this did not stop his detractors from alleging that he favoured agents in Hong Kong, Bulgaria and Rumania. What probably went against him was that he was seen to have a close association with V.P. Singh; the "official" reason involved MMTC's dispute over payment of rent arrears for the space it occupied in New Delhi's Express Building. The CBI investigated the charges, to little effect.

"When the Government needs a stick to beat a man, it can always find it," says a former MMTC director. The CBI investigated allegations against former STC chairman P.C. Luthar in an abortive *basmati* rice deal with Abu Dhabi. Nearly four years later, Luthar is still bitter: "One day ministers were publicly showering praises on me as a 'model' public sector manager. The next day, I was thrown to the dogs. What still hurts me is that the then commerce minister (V.P. Singh) did not even give me a chance to explain my side of the story."

Agrawal was held responsible for a North Korean rice import deal which failed to materialise. This contract was opposed tooth and nail by two of his colleagues on the MMTC board—Singh and Hazarika. Though Agrawal insists that there was no hanky panky in the deal and that the CBI "has not levelled any charges against me", he was summarily jettisoned in favour of his two detractors who were promoted.

The case of Sudhir Mulji, a well-heeled businessman, was slightly different. He was brought from London to head STC at the instance of Rajiv Gandhi and then found the going rough. Ill-health plagued him before he quit in August 1987. He concedes that the job was an "extremely high-pressure" one.

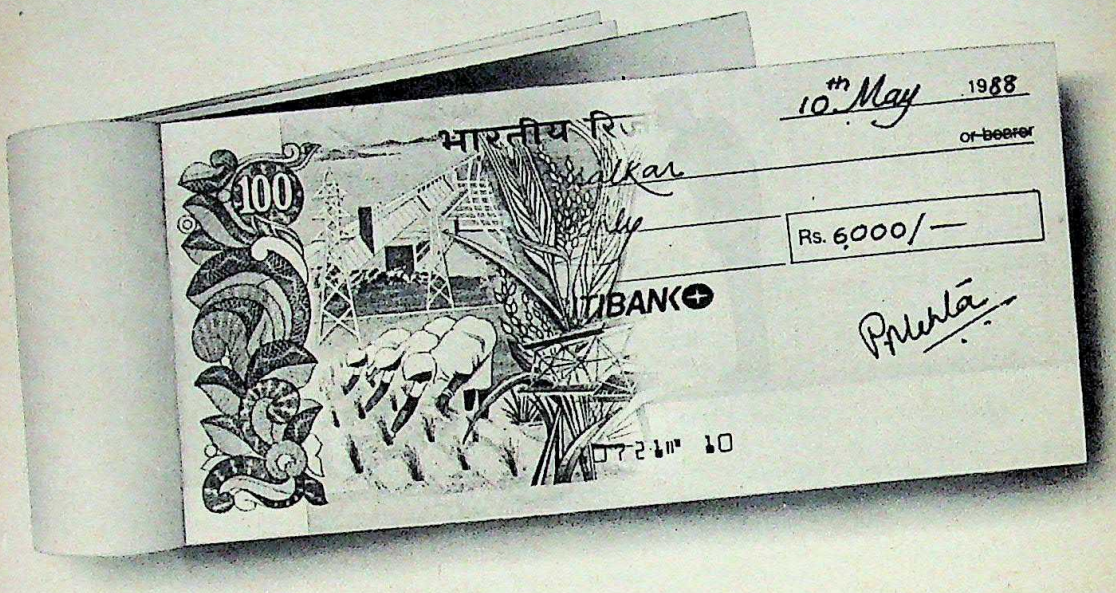
Mulji explains that leading a trading organisation is more difficult than managing a production company since "anyone can question any decision at any time". A fractional price difference in import-export contracts or in the agency commission payable may make a difference of crores of rupees.

Meanwhile, the relationship between chiefs of public sector organisations and their political and bureaucratic masters remains as nebulous as ever. One point of view is articulated by a former director of a state-owned enterprise: "Once a person reaches the top, his ambition knows no bounds. He makes tall claims to please his bosses and eventually ends up becoming a prisoner of his words." The other opinion, as expressed by a former chief executive: "We have to please everyone in the ministry from the section officer to the secretary. The ability to manage the secretariat is more important than the ability to manage the company." The truth probably lies somewhere in between. —PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Don't let your money lie lazy in a savings or current account.



Earn higher interest
and the freedom to withdraw.
With

Citibank's Un Fixed Deposit.

Citibank's UnFixed Deposit doesn't let your money laze around. It earns interest as high as a Fixed Deposit. While you continue to operate it like your savings or current account.

All you have to do is deposit a minimum of Rs. 10,000 with us. And we'll give you a chequebook with which you can withdraw up to 75% of your deposit, anytime.

You pay only 2% over the fixed deposit rate for the period you use your money.

For deposits of 91 days—364 days we'll give you interest at 8% p.a. And of course for long-term deposits, a much higher interest.

So put your money into Citibank's UnFixed Deposit and get the double advantage of high returns and liquidity.

Come, get in touch with your friendly Banker today. Or, if you can't, fill in the coupon and mail it now.

Yes, I am interested in Citibank's UnFixed Deposit. IT
☐ I would like your representative to phone me.
☐ Please send me details of the Citibank UnFixed Deposit.

Name: .....

.....

Address: .....

.....

Tel: (Off) ..... (Res) .....

CITIBANK
Consumer Services Group

We'll give you a banker, not just a bank.

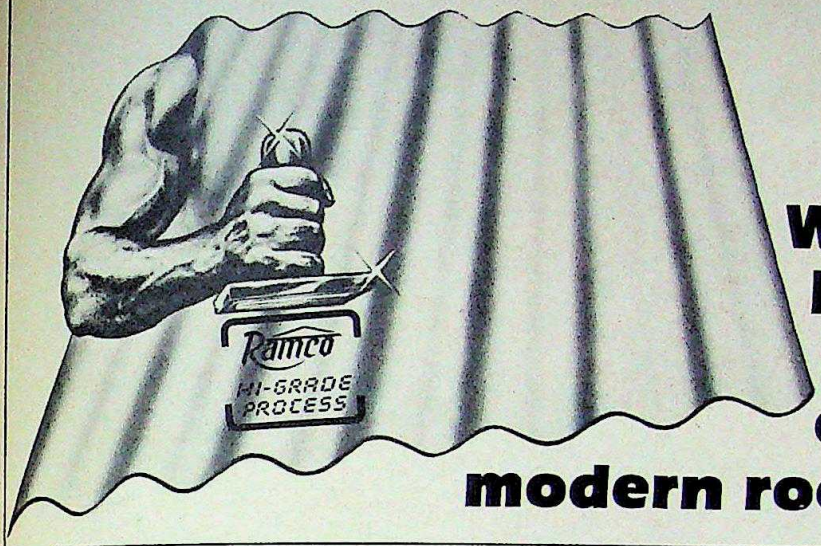
Bombay: Nariman Point, Tel: 2028884, 2870871 • D.N. Road, Tel: 2860871. **Calcutta:** Chowringhee Road, Tel: 299220, 293843 • Brabourne Road, Tel: 263575, 267366. **Delhi:** Connaught Circus, Tel: 3325918, 3328989. **Madras:** 768, Anna Salai, Tel: 860856.

HTA 2978

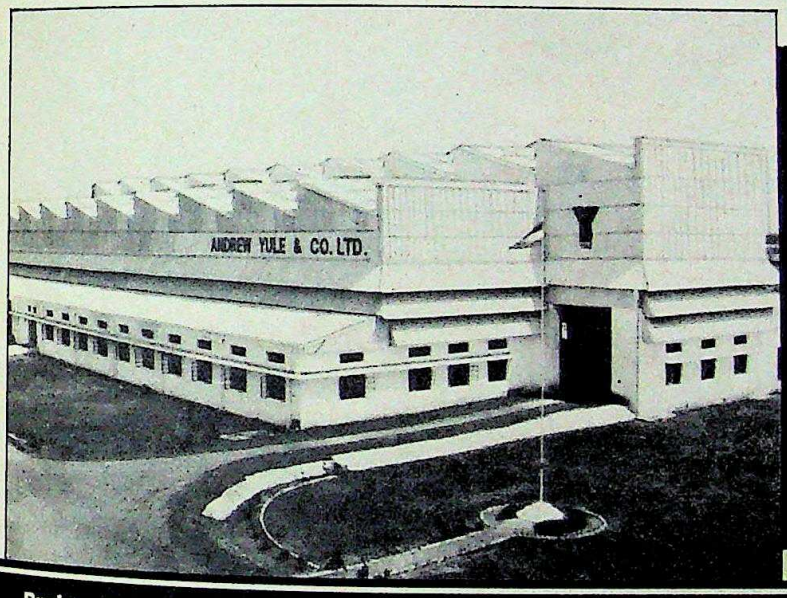
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Ramco Hi-grade Process Advantage-I



Why Ramco meets the technical complexity of modern roofing systems



"Andrew Yule's transformer factory needed a building to house heavy machinery and overhead cranes which moved constantly on a combined roof and crane column. The roof had to be strong to withstand the vibrations. Ramco withstood this tensile stress admirably."

– C.R. Narayana Rao, Architect.

Project: Transformer Unit, Electrical Division, Andrew Yule & Co.

Ramco. It has the strength, the durability and the consistency in quality, essential to meet high performance standards set by architects and professional builders. Because it uses the world's most technologically advanced process of production.

The finest portland cement and imported chrysotile fibres are mixed, blended, formed, cut and corrugated into high quality sheets using a totally automated process – the 'Ramco Hi-grade Process.' It's given Ramco strength that's unsurpassed, even corrugation and a breakage rate that's amongst the lowest in the world.

It's also made Ramco the name that's specified by professionals all over India. Every time you specify a sheet, do the same. Make Ramco your automatic choice.

Ramco

Advanced technology reaches the roof.

Ramco Industries Limited

"Apex Plaza", 3, Nungambakkam High Road, Madras 600 034.

Sales Offices/Depots:
Delhi • Indore • Raipur • Surat • Ahmedabad • Bombay • Mira (Bombay) • Kolhapur • Nasik • Pune • Vijayawada • Hyderabad • Yanam • R.Sumandi • Bangalore • Madras • Palghat • Ernakulam • Quilon

FOUNTAINHEAD/RLA 1/89

HTA 2978

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PROPERTY TAX

Hits the Roof

Stiff tax for Delhi homeowner

STRANGE are the ways of the Government. What the right hand gives, the left hand tries to take away. Since each *sarkari* arm has only its own narrow ends in mind, one sometimes ends up defeating another. In Delhi, for instance, a furore erupted last fortnight as it became known that municipal bodies were trying to use recent concessions to upmarket house owners as an excuse to fleece them.

Discovering an opening created by amendments to the Delhi Rent Control Act, municipal authorities promptly drew up fresh guidelines to up property tax revenues. From late February, notices began to arrive around the city to announce that assessments had been raised. Not just raised, in many cases they had gone through the roof.

No wonder, thunderstruck house owners were talking of being left altogether roofless. Residents of high-priced Chanakya Puri were the first to get notices. One annual assessment rocketed from Rs 4,000 last year to a whopping Rs 2,29,662. A widow with no income except a rent of less than Rs 1,000 from the first floor of her house found her assessment up from Rs 1,009 to Rs 46,000. Calling it "absurdity of the highest order", H.D. Shourie, director of the consumer protection organisation, Common Cause, petitioned the National Consumers Disputes Redressal Commission, asking that the guidelines be struck down and a rational assessment system be developed instead.

Hundreds of agitated house owners despatched letters to the consumer rights commission, the Central Government and municipal authorities. While others were preparing to contest the new assessment system in courts, the rent control amendment itself had been challenged in the Supreme Court by the Handloom House of Connaught Place. The plaint is that the amendment is arbitrary, since it puts tenants paying more than Rs 3,500 beyond the protection of the Delhi Rent Control Act.

That is the moot point of the amendment, the point which the municipal corporation used to jack up assessment levels, hoping to raise its Rs 100 crore property tax pickings by about Rs 15 crore (its budget is Rs 269 crore). To achieve this, the municipality would completely reverse the objective of the amendments—to encourage house construction. Brokers also predicted that many more transactions would be done in cash so that house owners could fudge rental values.

Galvanised by the flood of criticism, the Home Ministry was working overtime last fortnight to formulate fresh legislation on property tax in the Union territory. While this held promise of undoing at least some of the damage, municipal authorities continued to implement their new assessment system.

Property in Delhi is taxed at a percentage of its value in the rent market. Under a Supreme Court ruling, this 'rateable' value could not exceed the standard rent, calculated under the rent act as a percentage of the building's cost. The standard rent, particularly for buildings built before the price of land skyrocketed in this decade, was nominal, generally far below the market rent.

Now that properties fetching more than Rs 3,500 are beyond the purview of the Act, there is no statutory standard rent for them. Therefore they may be assessed on the actual rent. Since the law speaks of 'rent received or receivable', the municipality decided to go by the second option and value buildings according to prevailing rents in the vicinity—which spiral every year.

The cruellest cut was for those occupying their own houses. They too would have to pay according to the prevailing market rent. And in sought-after south and New Delhi colonies like Jor Bagh or West End, current rents are easily Rs 50,000 and more. The municipality annually fixes the 'comparative rent'—often at Rs 10 or more per sq ft for such colonies. Says Brigadier Anant Singh, former president of the Institution of Evaluers: "At best they should have gone back to the precedent of what was done before the Supreme Court ruling, when they went by the actual rent being received."

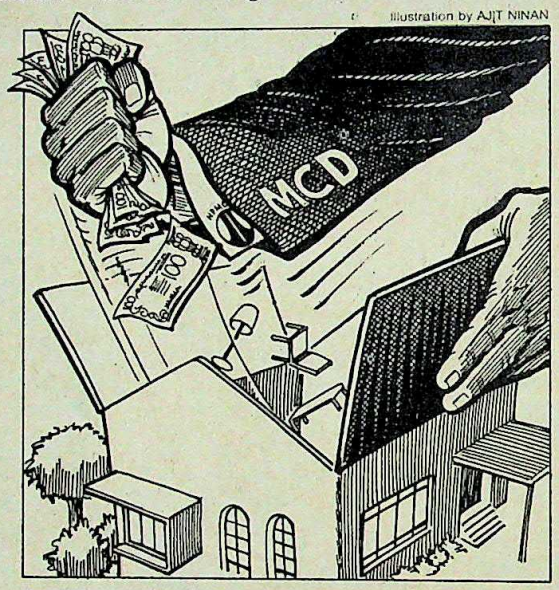
While even some municipal officials agree in private that the new assessments are "absurd", they explain that the amendment forced them to issue new notices but that the rates are not finally decided yet. Says V.C. Chaturvedi, the assessor and collector of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD). "This is only the preliminary stage. We will get the answers and then decide what to do."

Faced with the barrage of criticism, he added that "for the moment we aren't touching self-occupied houses" in MCD areas. But the New Delhi Municipal Committee (NDMC), which governs the capital portion of the city, had already sent notices even for self-occupied houses. NDMC officials, even more confused than MCD ones, could only refer to the latter's guidelines.

Issued on November 30, 1988—the day before the amendments took effect, these make it clear that as many as possible were to be squeezed. Not only properties worth more than Rs 3,500 on the rent market, even houses rented for less were to be assessed according to current market rents. The only rented houses taxed on standard rent would be those whose owners or tenants specifically got the rent fixed by courts—something few do. Otherwise, only self-occupied houses worth less than Rs 3,500 on the rent market would be unaffected—until, of course, the spiralling rent market caught up with them. At the rate Delhi's rents are galloping, that's a frightening prospect for a lot of house owners.

—DAVID DEVADAS

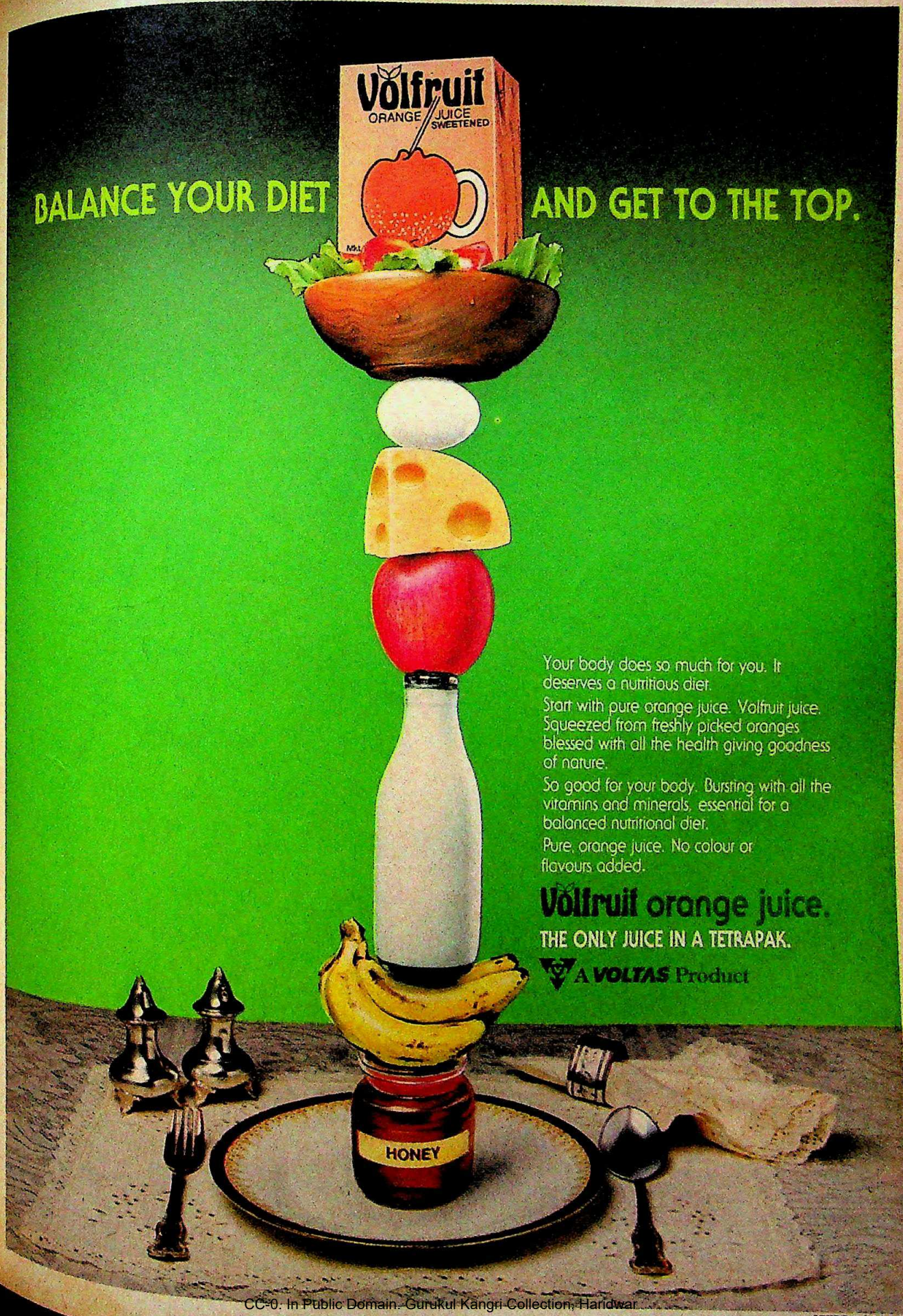
Illustration by AJIT NINAN



The municipality used the recent rent control amendments to up property tax assessments—by as much as 50 times in some cases.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PARK AVENUE PUTS YOU TOGETH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OGETHER...PIECE BY STYLISH PIECE

The Park Avenue Collection.
Readymade for you:

Suits, Jackets & Blazers
Safaris
Trousers
Shirts
Kurtas
Jeans
T-shirts
Woollen Knitwear
Ties
Scarves & Cravats
Handkerchieves
Socks
Belts & Leather Articles
Men's Toiletries

Park Avenue

Style...
it never goes out of fashion.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What did the Skypak Man say to Mount Rushmore?

"When it comes to matters more current and time-sensitive, two legs are better than even four heads!"

We'll deliver. Wherever on earth. SKYPAK The worldwide couriers.

Skypak House, Off M. Vassanji Road, Marol, Andheri (E), Bombay 400 059.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Avenues:SC:489:89

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE YEN

Paying the Price

Exchange rate cripples tie-ups

IT'S not new, but it's getting worse. Last month, Indian manufacturers with Japanese collaborations were plunged into gloom once more. Reason: the yen-rupee exchange rate had climbed to 8.25 yen to one rupee—a record that has been topped only once in the last five years.

The latest rise mirrors a 60-per cent increase in the yen's value in rupee terms between 1984 and 1989. Quite simply, this has meant that Indian firms fork out more rupees to buy Japanese raw materials and components.

The outcome, predictably, has been soaring product costs and bruised bottom lines. For example, colour TV manufacturers like Weston and Onida, both of which buy 30 to 60 per cent of their components from Japan's Hitachi and JVC, respectively, had to pay an extra Rs 400 per picture tube last year.

Five years ago, Escorts Ltd set up a plant to turn out two lakh motorcycles a year in partnership with Yamaha Motors. The cost was then estimated at Rs 45 crore. But Escorts has had to pay Rs 55 crore—although the production capacity has been trimmed to one lakh.

The yen has had a ruinous impact on light commercial vehicle (LCV) projects: Swaraj Mazda, DCM Toyota, Eicher Motors and Allwyn Nissan. They've struggled to drive out of the red for years, after the yen chewed into profit margins. Eicher—which has a technical collaboration with Mitsubishi—suffered a production cost increase of Rs 24,000 per LCV between May to November 1988. This fortnight, Eicher will increase LCV prices by Rs 12,000. Says Chairman Vikram Lal: "We have no alternative. Our losses will double from Rs 1.8 crore in 1987-88 to about Rs 3 crore this year." The state-owned Maruti Udyog Limited too increased car prices by over Rs 2,000 last January to cover higher costs.

Even more serious is the problem of repaying yen loans. Carrying about 6 per cent interest, these were once very attractive but are today major burdens. Says Satish Kaura, managing director of Samtel India Limited which has tied up with Mitsubishi to make colour TV picture tubes: "My yen loan has become a serious liability. In actual terms I am paying nearly 38 per cent interest."

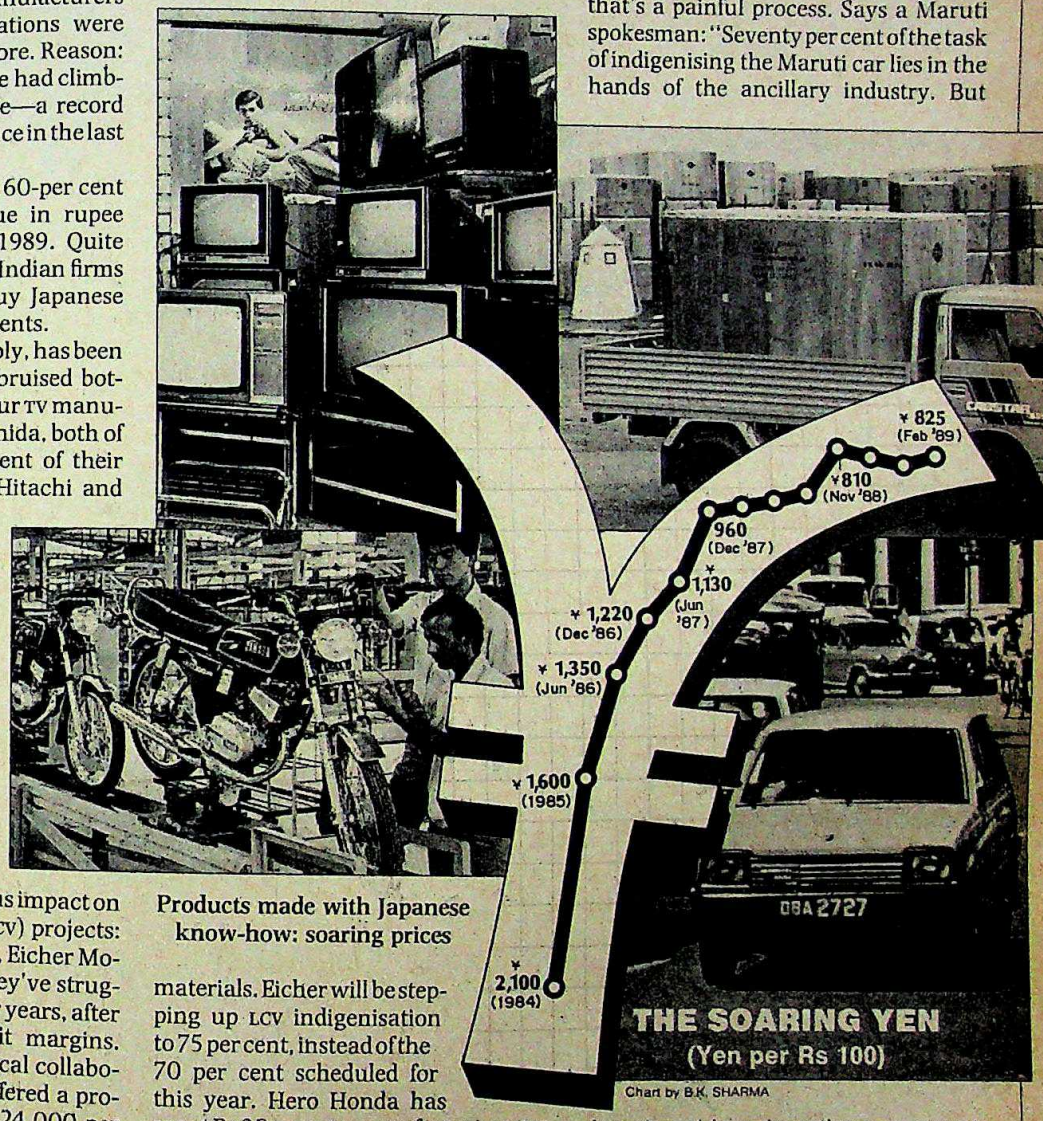
Companies have responded to the problem by hastening the process of indigenous manufacture, by launching ancillary units, and by placing orders in countries other than Japan for raw materials. Eicher will be stepping up LCV indigenisation to 75 per cent, instead of the 70 per cent scheduled for this year. Hero Honda has spent Rs 30 crore to manufacture motorcycle engine components. Maruti has set up six ventures with private companies (total investment Rs 80 crore) to manufacture steering gears, fuel tanks and glass sheets. And battery manufacturer Williard India (which has a technical tie-up with Japan Storage Battery) is buying chemicals from Austria and Yugoslavia. Says Chairman K.K. Bajoria: "Poly-vinyl chloride comprises 10 per cent of the raw material cost for our batteries. By buying mostly from Austria and Yugoslavia rather than Japan, we save nearly Rs 10 per kg."

Others complain that Japanese companies have not exactly helped their Indian partners prune costs. Says Escorts Chairman H.P. Nanda: "The appreciation of the yen against the dollar has made Japan's raw material imports cheaper. Their costs have gone down by at least 50 per cent. Yet they haven't reduced prices of their components."

The solution is indigenisation, but that's a painful process. Says a Maruti spokesman: "Seventy per cent of the task of indigenising the Maruti car lies in the hands of the ancillary industry. But investment in automotive components is low because the cost and risk of investment are going up." Some reckon Rs 200 crore has been put into new automotive component units; Rs 800 crore is needed to indigenise completely.

The Government is aware of this. The budget has reduced the duty on capital goods used to manufacture automobile components. The Industrial Development Bank of India is also supposed to float a foreign exchange fluctuation fund to help manufacturers face the problem. But the modalities of the fund are still hazy—as is the future of Indo-Japanese business tie-ups.

—SURAJEET DAS GUPTA



Products made with Japanese know-how: soaring prices

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OPHTHALMIC INDUSTRY

A Change in Vision

Foreign tie-ups bring hi-tech products to India

AFTER decades in the dark, the Rs 200-crore ophthalmic industry is finally emerging into the glare of new ideas and technology. At least half a dozen Indian firms have entered into foreign collaborations to turn out a variety of hi-tech products. Companies are franchising outlets, and more big boys are entering an arena long dominated by small businessmen. The days of the bumbling optician dispensing ungainly, poorly-focused lenses seem numbered.

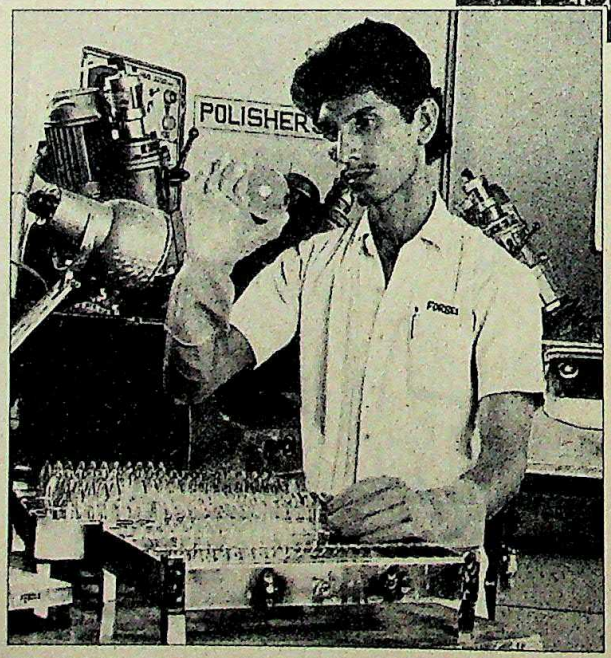
This was evident from the spectacle at the ambitious Indoptica-89 trade fair in Bombay last fortnight, with several companies demonstrating new products and processes. With the change of vision, and with demand rising by 15 per cent annually, the industry has received a boost as the Government has allowed production of contact and hard resin plastic lenses by large companies.

Forbes, Forbes Campbell, the Hyderabad-based Macrolens, and camera company Photophone Industries, have entered the field of plastic hard resin lens; Harvin Hydron, also in Hyderabad, is manufacturing soft contact lenses; Montari Industries, a Ranbaxy company, is to collaborate with Bausch and Lomb to make soft contact lenses and possibly the famous Ray-Ban sunglasses; and the Bangalore-based UB Group's tie-up with Scandinavian biotech company Pharmacia will initially involve the import of state-of-the-art aids like introcular lenses used by cataract patients.

Nor is this all. Laboratories with sophisticated equipment have sprung up in several cities for processing both glass and plastic lenses. The Goa-based GKB Ophthalmics and Forbes have pioneered the franchise concept, setting up well-equipped eyecare centres in major cities. Says Forbes Chairman Freddie Mehta: "India is at the threshold of an ophthalmic revolution."

The Indian ophthalmic industry dominated by small-scale units has lagged far behind the rest of the world. Hard resin and contact lenses constitute a fraction of the estimated annual sales of Rs 200 crore. Worse, over half the 25 million pairs of lenses sold every year are made not out of ophthalmic but out of window-pane glass. India is the only country in the world besides Egypt to use ordinary sheet glass, which is far less accurate than the ophthalmic variety.

GKB Ophthalmics and Forbes have pioneered the franchise concept in the business by setting up eye-care centres.



Making plastic lenses at Forbes (left); a GKB eye-care centre

More than 10 years ago the Union Government drafted an ordinance banning window-plane glass for ophthalmic use, but it was never passed. Reason: there was no alternative source of cheap glass. The ophthalmic glass project of the public sector Bharat Ophthalmic Glass Ltd (BOGL), set up with much fanfare 30 years ago, had failed to take off. So imported ophthalmic glass 'blanks' are still used for spectacle lenses.

India has the largest number of people with eye problems—9 million are blind while an estimated 45 million suffer from serious ailments like cataract. Yet the ophthalmic industry, in which glass lens production is still reserved for the small-scale sector, remains neglected. Only one in eight Indians wears spectacles, against half the population in the US. Spectacles are also changed less frequently—once in perhaps 10 years, against every two years in the US and every five years in Pakistan.

But two years ago the Indian ophthalmic industry skipped several decades as Forbes, a Tata company, set up a modern, Rs 15-crore plant near Aurangabad to manufacture hard resin lens, the hi-tech substitute for glass. Almost simultaneously, an NRI optometrist, S.I.H. Razvi, set up the Rs 2-crore Macrolens hard resin factory near Hyderabad. Now Photophone is coming up with a Rs 6-crore plant near Bombay in a joint venture with Australia's Sola, a subsidiary of the giant Pilkington Vision Care of the US. Hard resin lenses, made out of a monomer first used for the cockpit canopies of World War II fighter planes, now have a three-quarter share of the US market, but are still a new concept in India. But as Photophone's Abdullah Fazalbhoy puts it: "Hard resin is a sunrise business—it's going to get brighter and brighter."

An indication of the changing scene

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Sa... Chennai and eGangotri

P E R F E C

In collaboration with TODAGRES Spain

CC-0. Panini Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

F L O O R S

Kajarias. The only ones, to bring home internationally acclaimed Spanish ceramic tile technology.

Come. Choose from the widest range of plain, printed, decorated tiles. Even special effect designer tiles.

Available in sizes 8"x4", 8"x6", 12"x12".

TILES BY

Kajaria

Kajaria Ceramics Limited

Regd. Office: New Delhi - 110 065

Systems/631/85

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection

CALL US

We offer the latest in total rock drilling technology

Being a part of the world-famous Atlas Copco Group, we have access to the very latest technology and experience of the entire group. This means that you get the advantages of international technology adapted to your requirements. In mining, construction, water-well drilling and industry.

Anticipating and catering to customer needs has kept the Atlas Copco Group a step ahead for over half a century. That's why we have now extended our range to third generation rock drilling tools. They will improve performance by up to 15% and reduce costs.

Technology isn't the only advantage we offer. Our comprehensive drilling package includes recommending the right product, training customer personnel and a country-wide spares and service network of 50 sales outlets and 16 service centres.

Atlas Copco's complete range offers you reliable and trouble-free equipment under one roof.

I am interested in Atlas Copco products. Please send me more information on:

☐ Rock drilling tools ☐ Drilling equipment ☐ Compressors

Name: _____

Address: _____

Atlas Copco

Atlas Copco (India) Ltd.
Registered Office:
Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Building,
Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay 400 002.
Phone: 315623 Telex: 2364

Regional Offices: **Bombay:** Bonanza Industrial Estate, 'E' Wing, Ashok Chakravarty Road, Kandivli (East), Bombay 400 101. Phone: 6883037/47 Telex: 71697. **Delhi:** 22A, Shivaji Marg, New Delhi 110 015. Phone: 530151/52 Telex: 63351. **Calcutta:** 522/524, Budge Budge Trunk Road, P.O. Maheshtala, 24 Parganas 743 352. Phone: 7760807/76284 Telex: 8147. **Madras:** Race Course Road, Guindy

CC-0. Panini Collection, Haridwar.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

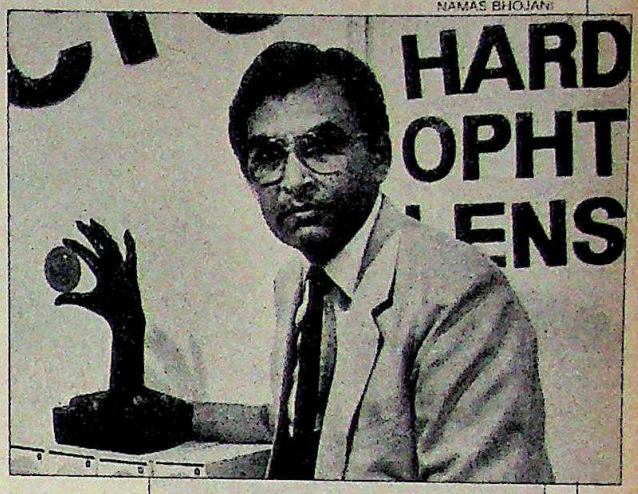
in the ophthalmic business is the number of foreign firms interested in a piece of the action in India. Besides Photophone's tie-up with Sola and Montari's with Bausch and Lomb (a Rs 10-crore project), Forbes has agreements with West Germany's Rodenstock, Japan's Osaka and Fukui Optical Companies, the American Signet Armorlite and Brain Power Incorporated; GKB has linked up with French giants Essilor and Corning France; and Harvin Hydron with the US Hydron Corp.

"India is one of the priority markets we've identified. We think it is going to grow rapidly now," says Philippe Gautier, product manager of Corning France, which caters to half of India's demand for ophthalmic glass. Adds Sola's Operations Executive Chris Schutze: "We feel the time has come to develop the Indian market."

And despite the poor initial response from Indian consumers, the multinationals are confident. "Don't forget that even the US took 15 years to switch to hard resin lenses," says Essilor Export Manager Marc Alexandre.

Barring the upmarket establishments, the quality of service in the estimated 5,000 optician firms in India is often said to be very poor, though retail margins on lenses are very high. Government policy has made the situation worse. No qualifications are necessary for dispensing opticians, while the standard of courses for sight-testing opticians in the six government and municipal optometry schools in the country was brought down in the '70s to produce more diploma-holders. "Optometry has been watered down in India. The schools produce cheap labour for government hospitals," complains Naval Baliwalla, former chairman of the Indian Optometrists' Federation. Adds S. Devarajan, vice-president of Forbes' optics division: "India is the only country in the world where an illiterate person can set up an advanced optician's shop and sell the most sophisticated lenses to the most complicated patient."

NAMAS BHOJANI



HARD
OPHT
ENS

Two years ago, Razvi set up the Macrolens factory near Hyderabad, one of the first to manufacture hard resin lenses.

Since production of ophthalmic glass lenses is reserved for the small sector, many opticians have set up units of their own to convert imported glass 'blanks' into powered lenses. Some even import defective seconds without a qualm. "Ophthalmic lens production methods have changed enormously with time, but in India a vast majority of the lenses are still ground and polished using a simple 'poker arm' machine," observes Razvi of Macrolens. "Even though eye-care is so crucial to people's well-being, there is hardly any incentive for a quality manufacturer to enter the market," complains K.G. Gupta, chairman of GKB Ophthalmics, a pioneering Rs 1.2-crore turnover processing laboratory in Goa which exports its products. For Gupta, the success of the GKB franchise, backed by Essilor and Corning France—with nine outlets in Bombay and 100 planned for the whole country—is the first clear indication that the Indian consumer is finally becoming less dim-eyed about the quality of his spectacle lens.

But there is still consumer resistance to hard resin lenses, which are more expensive and prone to scratching. Forbes has added an anti-scratch coating to its Resilens, and has launched an advertising blitz to highlight the health advantages of hard resin lenses—unlike glass lenses, they do not shatter easily, saving the eye from injury; and they provide protection from ultraviolet rays, the main cause of cataract in India.

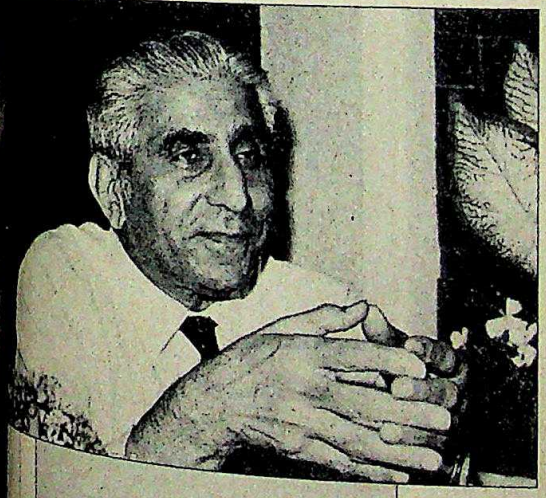
The demand for spectacles, no doubt, is closely tied to literacy and income levels. A Forbes survey in 10 major cities showed that people who earn more than Rs 2,500 a month changed their spectacles every two years. Already, the demand for spectacles in states which have higher literacy rates like Kerala, West Bengal, and the North-east is very high. In Kerala, an estimated half of the population wears spectacles, the same as in the US.

Though regional and income disparities will continue, most industry observers expect the Indian market to grow rapidly. "The rise in literacy levels and the ageing of the population will lead to an increase in demand," points out Devarajan. "In the next five years, 10 per cent of the population—that's more than 80 million people—will move into their mid-40s, when spectacles become necessary. If you assume the literacy level to be 40 per cent, then 30 million people will come into the market."

Clearly, even if the ophthalmic industry in India suffered from tunnel vision in the past, with rising demand and new technology, there is new light visible now at the end of the tunnel.

—M. RAHMAN

MAHENDRA PARIKH



Freddie Mehta, chairman of the Tata-owned Forbes, believes India is on the threshold of an ophthalmic revolution.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MARKETS

Budget Blues

Temporary dip in share prices

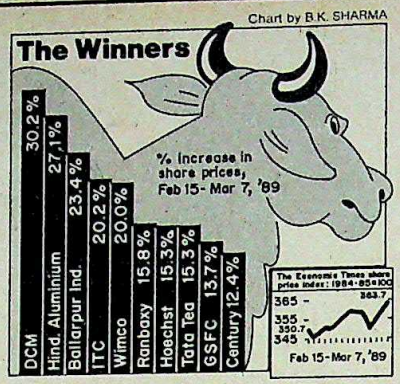
THE stock-markets had banked on the budget. But the expectations of incentives for investment in shares didn't quite materialise.

The result, predictably, was that a broad range of share prices plunged in post-budget trading, the exceptions being aluminium and cement company scrips. Hindustan Aluminium shares shot up from Rs 191.25 before the budget to Rs 230 three days later, which was only to be expected with the decision to do away with industry price controls.

Still, the overall mood was gloomy. *The Economic Times* all-India index of share prices dropped by nearly eight points, from the budget day figure of 357.3 to 349.5. Other share indices also plunged. The 100-scrip Bombay Stock Exchange national index fell by over 14 points, from 344.88 on February 27 to 330.77 on March 1. Indeed, many leading brokers privately forecast a slump.

Yet the Cassandras seem to have overlooked the financial institutions.

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



They stepped in to stem the slide, buying an estimated Rs 6 crore worth of stock. The Bombay Stock Exchange authorities also did a rescue act by slapping a 25-per cent margin on share transactions. This meant that buyers would have to immediately pay 25 per cent of the share price (payments are normally delayed).

Evidently, the Government is determined that the budget's impact on the stock-markets will not prove to be an embarrassment. How long the financial institutions will continue to shop for shares is not clear, but they may have to prop up prices in the market for quite some time. If that happens, they could switch to buying a variety of shares, instead of just those of market leaders as they have been largely doing so far. The implication for the punter: some scrip prices may perk up in the weeks ahead.

Still, it's not a healthy sign when the financial institutions intervene each time the stock-market has a hiccup. Their defence is that the lower share prices represent an opportunity to pick up equity at a bargain.

But there's no denying that the stock-market is underpinned by the good economic showing. The Government expects the gross national product to grow dramatically by 9 per cent this fiscal year. A record agricultural harvest is on the cards. And company profits are on the upswing once more.

As for the budget, all the industries hit by the new levies won't be squeezed: some have begun passing them down the line. Steel prices have increased, and aluminium producers were readying to follow suit late last fortnight. On the plus side too is the new equity-linked savings scheme, whose details have yet to be announced. This will provide tax incentives for investment in equities through a mutual fund or similar agency, and is bound to push more money into the market. On balance, marketmen may have reacted a trifle hastily—as some have begun to realise.

ACTIVE STOCKS

	1989 HIGH	LOW	CLOSE 7.3.89	Change in Fortnight
Ashok Leyland	72.00	61.00	70.00	2.50 +
Associated Cement	345.00	285.00	307.00	13.00 –
Asian Paints	226.25	200.00	215.00	1.25 +
Atlas Copco	51.00	41.00	45.00	nil
Bajaj Auto	417.50	352.50	366.25	15.00 –
Baroda Rayon	347.00	285.00	342.50	23.75 +
Bata India	82.00	68.00	72.50	0.50 –
Bayer	835.00	580.00	810.00	35.00 +
Bharat Forge	202.50	182.50	186.25	1.25 +
Birla Jute	49.25	41.50	43.00	0.50 –
Bombay Dyeing	128.00	104.00	120.00	2.50 –
Britannia Ind.	108.00	89.00	90.00	nil
Brooke Bond	135.50	98.50	135.50	19.50 +
Century Spinning	1685.00	1230.00	1680.00	130.00 +
Chloride India	78.00	72.00	78.00	3.00 +
Colgate-Palmolive	340.00	281.25	323.75	5.00 –
Cyanamid	81.25	55.00	72.50	5.00 –
DCM	48.00	31.00	40.37	5.87 +
Dunlop	86.00	75.00	77.00	0.50 –
E.I. Hotels	60.00	50.00	55.00	1.00 –
Escorts	71.00	58.00	62.50	3.50 +
Finolex Cables	430.00	362.50	371.25	3.75 –*
Food Specialities	207.00	161.50	207.00	17.00 +
Garware Nylon	46.00	36.00	40.00	1.00 +
G.E. Shipping	42.00	34.00	35.75	0.25 –
G.S.F.C.	155.00	123.75	145.00	12.50 +
Grasim Ind.	107.00	75.00	107.00	7.00 +
Hind. Aluminium	240.00	155.00	239.00	49.00 +
Hind. Ciba	875.00	600.00	865.00	55.00 +
Hind. Cocoa	117.50	98.75	105.00	3.75 –
Hindustan Lever	78.00	69.50	74.50	1.50 –
Hindustan Motors	33.70	26.75	33.70	1.20 +
IEL	47.50	39.00	43.00	0.50 +
Indian Organic	46.50	30.00	31.00	1.50 –
Indian Rayon	93.00	76.50	87.00	1.00 –
Indrol	300.00	218.75	292.50	15.00 +
Ingersoll-Rand	395.00	315.00	355.00	10.00 –
ITC	61.00	46.25	61.00	8.00 +
J.K. Synthetics	88.50	72.00	74.00	3.00 –
Kinetic Engineering	395.00	200.00	200.00	190.00 –**
Kirloskar Cummins	88.75	68.75	75.00	2.50 +
KSB Pumps	365.00	305.00	350.00	32.50 +
Larsen & Toubro	128.00	94.00	98.00	4.00 –
Lipton	79.00	67.00	77.50	8.50 +
LML Ltd.	16.00	12.50	13.50	0.25 –
Madura Coats	97.00	92.25	94.00	nil
Mahindra & Mahindra	95.50	76.50	89.00	2.50 –
Milk Food	242.50	185.00	220.00	22.50 +
Motor Industries	620.00	560.00	600.00	nil
Mukand Iron	98.00	75.00	84.00	3.00 +
National Organic	835.00	710.00	765.00	15.00 –
Nirlon	14.00	10.75	12.00	0.50 +
Orkay Silk Mills	29.00	20.25	24.50	2.00 +
Peico Electronics	28.00	20.50	21.75	0.75 +
Pfizer	79.50	62.50	74.00	2.00 –
Ponds	185.00	157.50	170.00	5.00 +
Premier Auto	50.00	40.00	46.50	2.00 +
Raymond	75.50	65.50	74.00	0.50 +
Reliance Industries	155.00	117.00	129.00	9.00 –
Siemens India	95.00	74.00	80.00	nil
Shaw Wallace	103.25	75.00	81.00	4.00 +
Shriram Fibres	76.00	64.00	74.62	4.62 +
SKF Bearings	2350.00	1760.00	2227.00	30.00 +*
SPIC	56.50	39.00	51.50	5.75 +
Tata Steel	1253.75	1062.50	1227.50	30.00 +
Telco	797.50	657.50	770.00	6.25 –
Vam Organic	172.00	136.00	161.00	1.00 –
Videocon Int.	88.75	55.00	76.25	3.75 –
Voltas	625.00	470.00	600.00	5.00 –
Wimco	27.00	15.75	19.50	2.75 +

*Ex-dividend **Ex-bonus

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

COUNTRY	CURRENCY	UNIT	TT Selling Rates Rs	TT Buying Rates Rs
Australia	Dollar	1	12.5857	12.4525
Austria	Schilling	100	1.1953	1.1789
Bahrain	Dinar	1	39.7620	39.6122
Bangladesh	Taka	100	47.9001	47.8060
Canada	Dollar	1	12.9292	12.7953
Denmark	Kroner	1	2.1548	2.1312
Egypt	Pound	1	5.9028	5.8016
France	Franc	1	2.5063	2.4450
Hong Kong	Dollar	1	1.9797	1.9598
Indonesia	Rupiah	100	0.0800	0.0700
Iran	Rial	100	21.5760	21.5000
Italy	Lira	100	1.1300	1.0900
Japan	Yen	100	12.2850	11.9760
Kenya	Shilling	1	0.8000	0.7000
Kuwait	Dinar	1	52.4065	52.0000
Malaysia	Dollar	1	5.6256	5.5682
Mauritius	Rupee	1	1.0000	0.9500
Nepal	Rupee	1	0.6183	0.5728
Netherlands	Guilder	1	7.4375	7.3585
Pakistan	Rupee	1	0.7500	0.7160
Singapore	Dollar	1	8.0000	7.9172
Spain	Peseta	1	0.1300	0.1100
Sri Lanka	Rupee	1	0.4580	0.4110
Sweden	Kroner	1	2.4483	2.4182
Switzerland	Franc	1	9.8150	9.7113
Tanzania	Shilling	1	0.1150	0.1000
Thailand	Baht	100	59.7530	59.6820
UK	Pound	1	26.5816	26.4375
USA	Dollar	1	15.4440	15.2905
UAE	Dirham	1	4.0000	3.9001
USSR	Rouble	1	24.1528	24.1060
W. Germany	Deutschmark	1	8.5251	8.3126

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo Limited, New Delhi and quoted between the banks on 7.3.89.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ORIENT FANS
A lifetime of refreshing air.

It takes three wings to carry the outdoors to the indoors.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Finolex gets people

Sparkling
rejoinder
news or
from plac
together
Yes.Fino
Telecomm
Finolex.

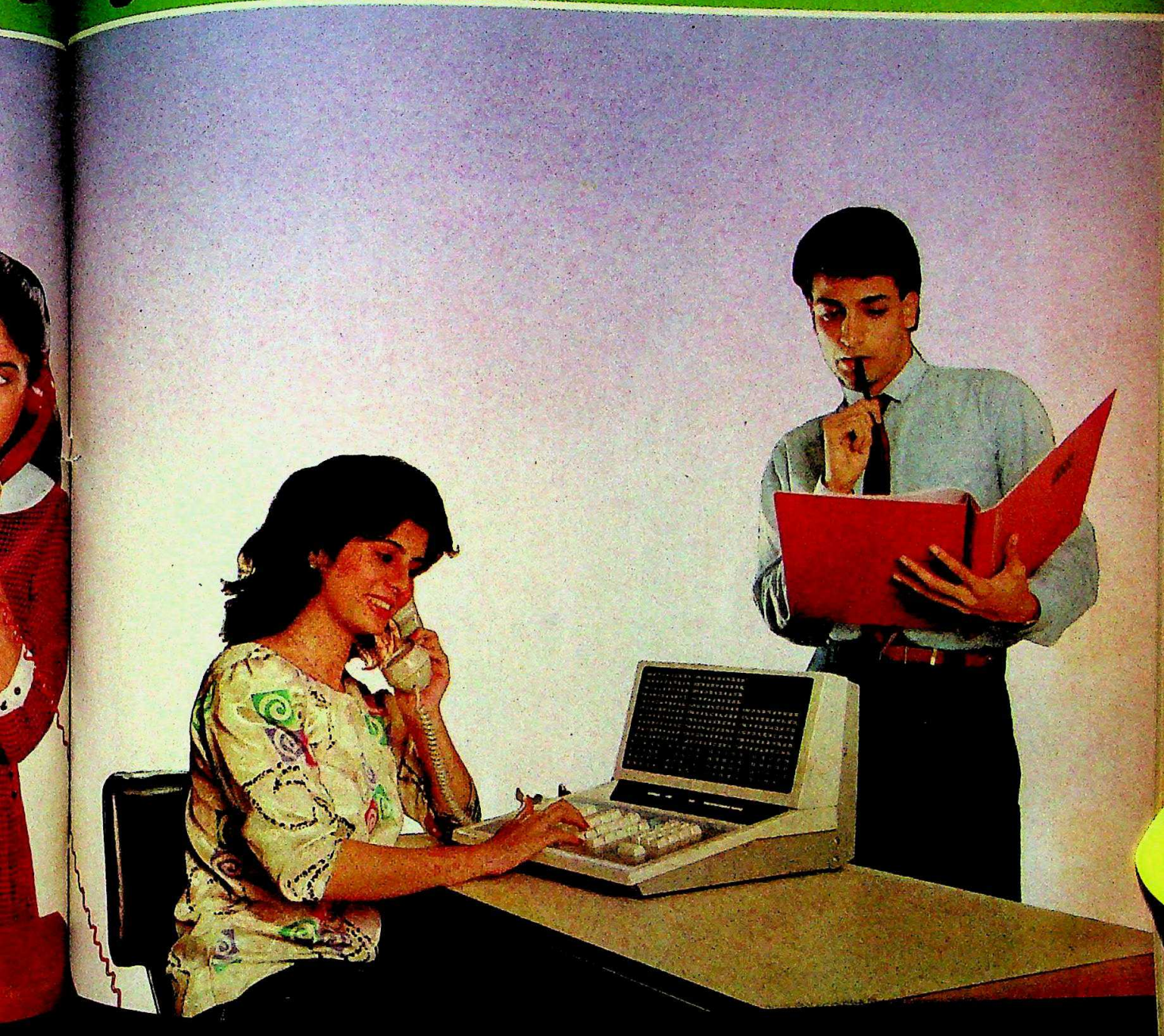
TELECOMMUNICATION

JELLY FILLED TELEPHONE CABLES AND PVC CABLE DUCTS

PRATIBHA-89-036

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ogether



Sparkling laughter and sunny surprises... reminders and rejoinders... an appointment... a deal... a Yes... a No... good news or... Finolex has carried them from person to person, from place to place, for years, binding the lives of millions together by the spoken word.

Yes,Finolex Cables and Pipes are as much a part of Telecommunication in India as excellent quality is a part of Finolex.

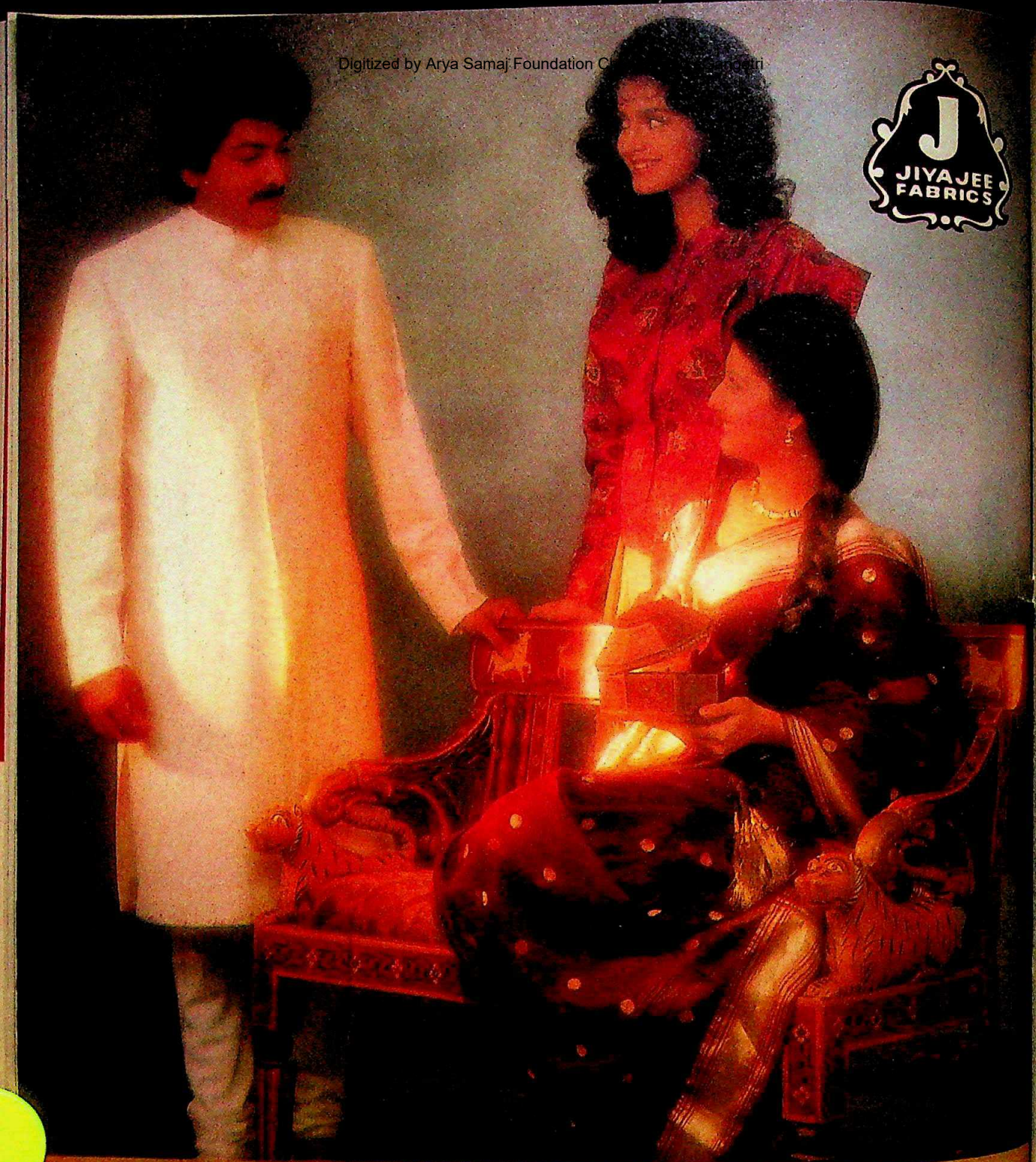
Finolex Cables Limited
26-27, Bombay-Pune Road,
Pimpri, Pune-411018

Finolex Pipes Pvt. Ltd.
Block D1, Plot No. 10, M.I.D.C.
Chinchwad, Pune-411019

Finolex

...on, Hari...wa...

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation C... Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



SYMBOL OF QUALITY & STYLE

JIYAJEE

SUITING-SHIRTING

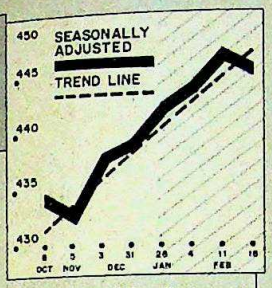
Available at Mill's SUMANGAL showrooms and other leading stores.

In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

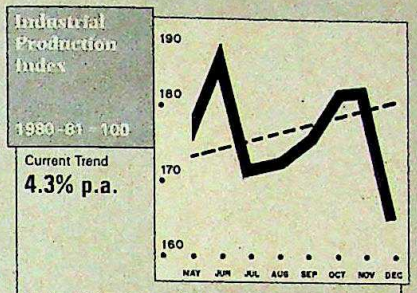
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IT was an election year budget which was meant to signify an end to the pipedreams of the upper and middle classes. The bears had a field day and share prices did not respond positively. Moreover, bullion prices dropped sharply. In December, the rate of growth of industrial production was disappointingly low. And this will undoubtedly be a major cause of consternation for the Government's policy makers in the months to come.

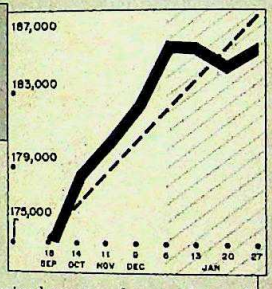
All data are seasonally adjusted. Current trends are computed on the basis of six months' (weekly data) or two years' (monthly data) figures.



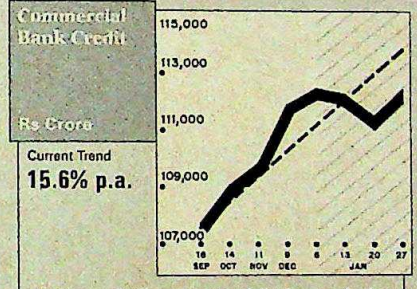
Prices declined slightly last week but the impact of the budget is yet to be felt on the rate of inflation.



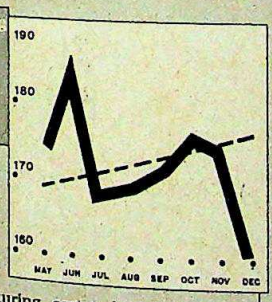
Industrial output did not show the normal December peak mainly because of poor manufacturing output.



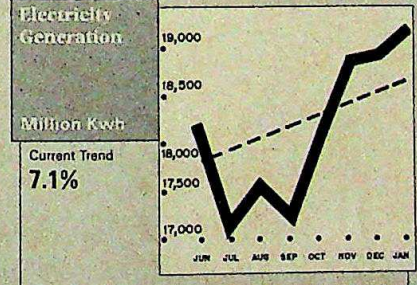
Conditions remained more or less unchanged last fortnight but the overall growth of money supply needs pruning.



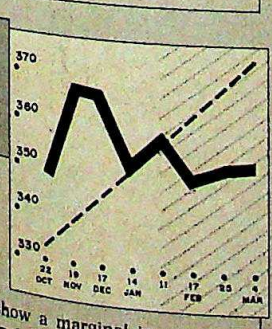
Credit conditions remained fairly steady last fortnight and the long-term trend seems to be on target.



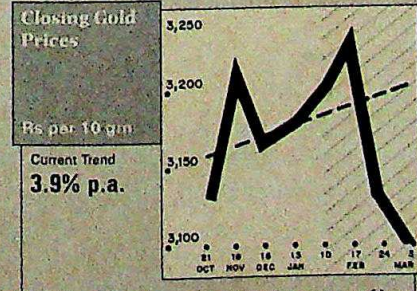
The manufacturing sector has had a disappointingly low rate of growth of output in December.



Electricity output last month showed a healthy increase—improving the infrastructural sector.



Share prices show a marginal increase after the budget—mainly because of institutional buying.



Gold prices fell once again in the course of last week—the budget failed to add cheer to the bullion market.

WHOLESALE PRICES

Growth of items in the 1st fortnight of February 1989

	% Growth
Onions	27.25
Mustard Oilcake	7.84
Linseed Oil	6.34
Rape & Mustard Seeds	4.94
Electricity	4.66
Gram	4.64
Coconut Oil	3.95
Moongs	3.65
Mustard Oil	3.63
Copra	3.58
Masoor	3.16
Khandsari	2.54
Linseed	2.53
Woollen Cloth & Woollen Khadi	2.33
Gingelly Seed	2.32
Pete Crude & Natural Gas	2.10
Gur	1.88
Eggs	1.73
Maida	1.54
Cotton Seeds	1.54
Solvent Extracted Oil	1.45
Groundnut Oilcake	1.32
Cotton Cloth	1.30
Tapioca	1.27
Jowar	1.17
Ball Bearing	1.05
Fish	1.01
Bajra	1.00
Cement	0.96
Transformers	0.96
Cables & Wires	0.94
Machine Tools	0.92
Copper & Alloys	0.92
Tubes	0.90
Nitrogenous Fertilisers	0.90
Pesticides & Insecticides	0.83
Sugar	0.83
Aluminium	0.81
Trucks	0.81
Jute Textile Machinery	0.81
Power-Driven Pumps	0.79
Tyres	0.76
Tin Containers	0.73
Sewing Machine	0.72
Industrial Instruments	0.72
Petrol	0.72
Caustic Soda	0.71

Of the 138 series considered 83 of them with a total weight of 54.726 had a positive growth and 55 of them with a total weight of 31.765 had a negative growth.

SELECTED INDICATORS

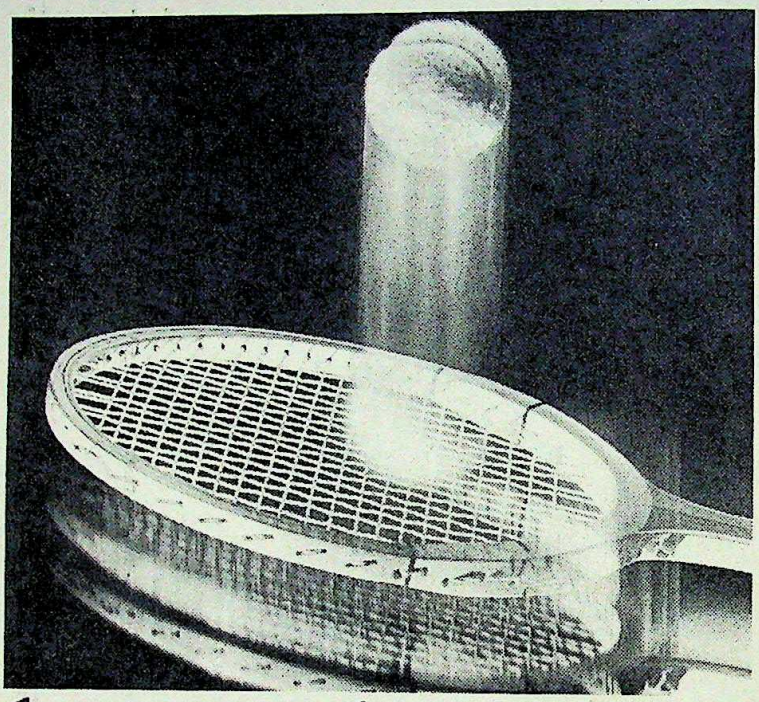
	1989	1988
Fertilisers		
Thousand Tonnes, January	812.9	655.9
Electricity		
Million Kwh, January	20020	17652
Plant Load Factor		
Per cent, January	59.2	60.0
Revenue Earning Traffic		
Million Tonnes, January	27.41	26.52
Letters of Intent		
Numbers, January	57	15

Compiled by THE POLICY GROUP

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It's fun to bounce a ball, but...



a cheque that bounces is a serious offence.

Under Section 138 of the Negotiable Instruments Act, Introduced by the Banking, Public Financial Institutions and Negotiable Instruments Laws (Amendment) Act 66 of 1988, a drawer of a cheque is liable to penalties in case of dishonour of the cheque for insufficiency etc. of funds in the account.

If a person issues a cheque in payment of any debt or liability and it is dishonoured for lack of funds or if it exceeds the arrangement with the bank, he or she will be deemed to have committed an offence and will be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine which may go upto twice the amount of the cheque, or both.

This act will be brought into effect from 1st April, 1989.

Points to note

- The cheque in question should have been issued in *discharge of whole or part of a debt or liability* – a cheque given as gift will not fall in this framework.
- The cheque in question should be presented *within 6 months or its specific validity period*, whichever is earlier.
- The payee or holder should give notice demanding payment *within 15 days* of his receiving information of dishonour, which should be for no other reason than insufficiency of funds.
- Drawer can make payment within 15 days of receipt of the notice and *only* if he fails to do so, he is liable to be prosecuted.
- Complaint can be made only by payee/holder in due course – within *one month* of cause of action arising.

So, please check your balance before you issue your cheque, in your own interest.

Public Sector Banks
– touching your life everyday, everywhere.

मेरा भारत महान

28 MEMBER BANKS

- Allahabad Bank
- Andhra Bank
- Bank of Baroda
- Bank of India
- Bank of Maharashtra
- Canara Bank
- Central Bank of India
- Corporation Bank
- Dena Bank
- Indian Bank
- Indian Overseas Bank
- New Bank of India
- Oriental Bank of Commerce
- Punjab National Bank
- Punjab & Sind Bank
- State Bank of India
- State Bank of Bikaner & Jaipur
- State Bank of Hyderabad
- State Bank of Indore
- State Bank of Mysore
- State Bank of Patiala
- State Bank of Saurashtra
- State Bank of Travancore
- Syndicate Bank
- UCO Bank
- Union Bank of India
- United Bank of India
- Vijaya Bank

JOINT PUBLICITY COMMITTEE
PUBLIC SECTOR BANKS

Secretariat:
State Bank of India
New Administrative Building
Corporate Services Dept.
Central Office
Bombay – 400 021.

Imageads-JPC-8981

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Godrej®

THE STERLING INVESTMENT

Better designed storage space

Godrej design makes optimum use of storage space in the new 165 litre Refrigerator. Discover the largest vegetable tray. A better organised door panel with the largest bottle rack. 165 litres has never seemed so spacious.

All-new robust compressor plus polyurethane insulation

Advanced technology has helped develop a new robust compressor. And teamed with superior polyurethane insulation, the new Godrej cools faster. Saves power too!

Largest colour range

Only Godrej gives you a wide choice of colours other than classic white: desert sand, spring green, cool blue, electric red and sunshine yellow. With an exterior design unmatched in elegance and durability.

The new Godrej 165 litre Refrigerator. You couldn't ask for a better deal.

The new Godrej 165 litre Refrigerator. You couldn't ask for a better deal.

Godrej®

165 LITRE REFRIGERATOR

BEYOND COMPARE

HTA 2364 R

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AFGHANISTAN

Stage of Siege

Afghan troops hold out grimly against rebels

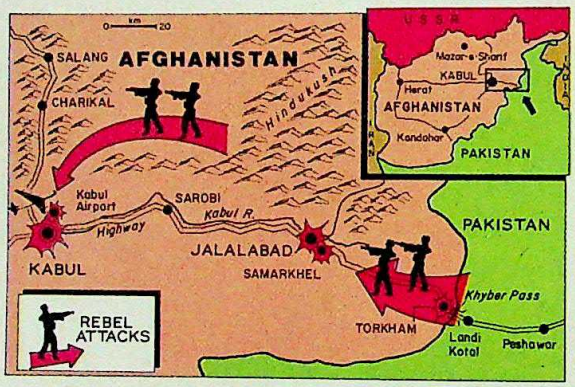
ONE power failure was all that it took to shatter the facade of security just when the 1.5 million residents of Kabul were getting used to the idea of living, if not under siege, at least on oxygen. Reports of intermittent fighting in the border region and ambushes along the highways had been coming in, but as long as the Government could bring in the food convoys the city, it seemed, would survive. Even if the black market ate into family reserves and people had to spend hours in bread queues.

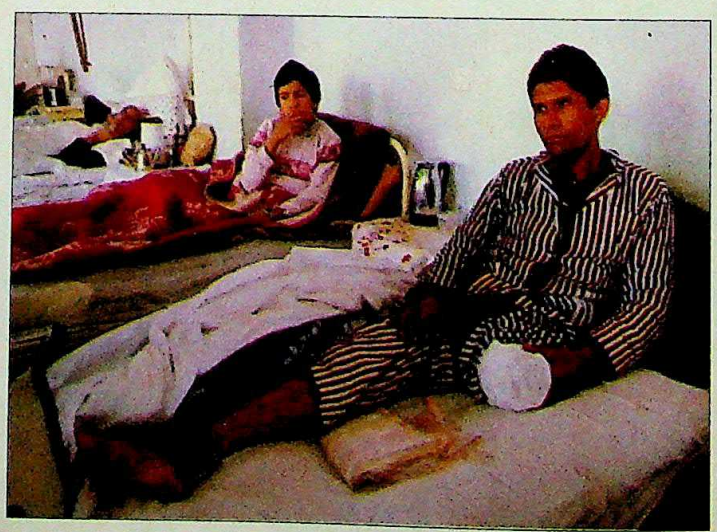
But as the power failure plunged Kabul into depressing darkness last fortnight, an eerie silence shrouded the town. The surrounding Paghman ranges no longer looked picturesque. The snow gleamed even in the sparse moonlight but the eyes of a large number of the city's inhabitants searched the mountains for the tell-tale trail of a marauding rocket. Has Jalalabad fallen? The speculative fervour was palpable as those with radios frantically tried to catch the BBC frequency.

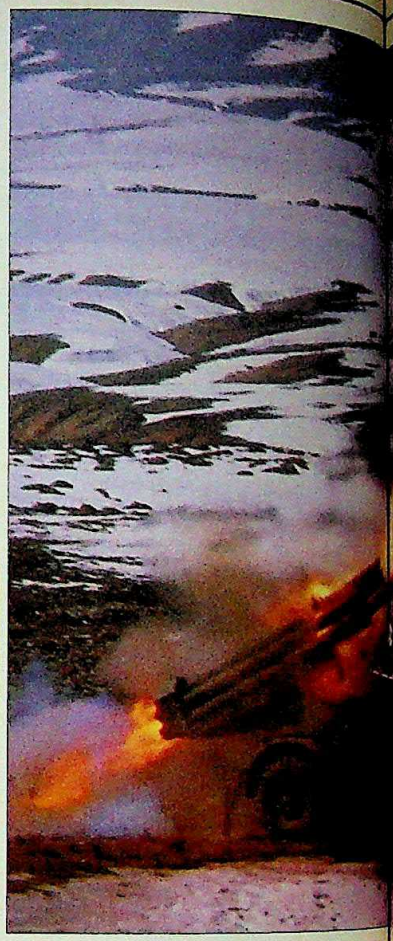
Power was restored and Kabul returned to normalcy. Or as normal as the embattled capital of a beleaguered, landlocked country surrounded by belligerent enemies on three sides and a reluctant friend on one can be. Or as normal as a city can be after getting inured to sporadic rocket attacks, staccato small-arms fire at night and to living with the knowledge that the invisible enemy is lurking not only in the desolate mountains along its periphery but also within.

Authoritative reports say that despite heavy security Mujahedin rebels have succeeded in infiltrating the city in the garb of refugees. "Who knows who is friend or enemy? Or who will start shooting in which direction?" says Gulam, an employee in the Agriculture Department.

The night the power went off, the concern in Kabul was less about the capital city and more about a smaller, warmer city 150 km down the historic highway to Khyber in the east. Minutes before the lights went out rumours were afloat that the rebels had launched an all-out assault on Jalalabad. The capital of Nagrahar province stands astride the highway which has, for centuries, been Afghanistan's jugular.







■ Afghan army missile battery in action (above); civilians wounded by rebel rockets (left); and grave of Afghan helicopter pilot

Afghanistan has learnt to survive without convoys from the east bringing in food, fuel and other essential commodities across the Khyber. The Khyber-Jalalabad section of the highway has virtually been under rebel control for several months now, since the garrison at Torkham fort withdrew. The approaches to Jalalabad are now guarded by Samarkhel, another heavily stockaded position 2 km from the city and guarded by three army brigades.

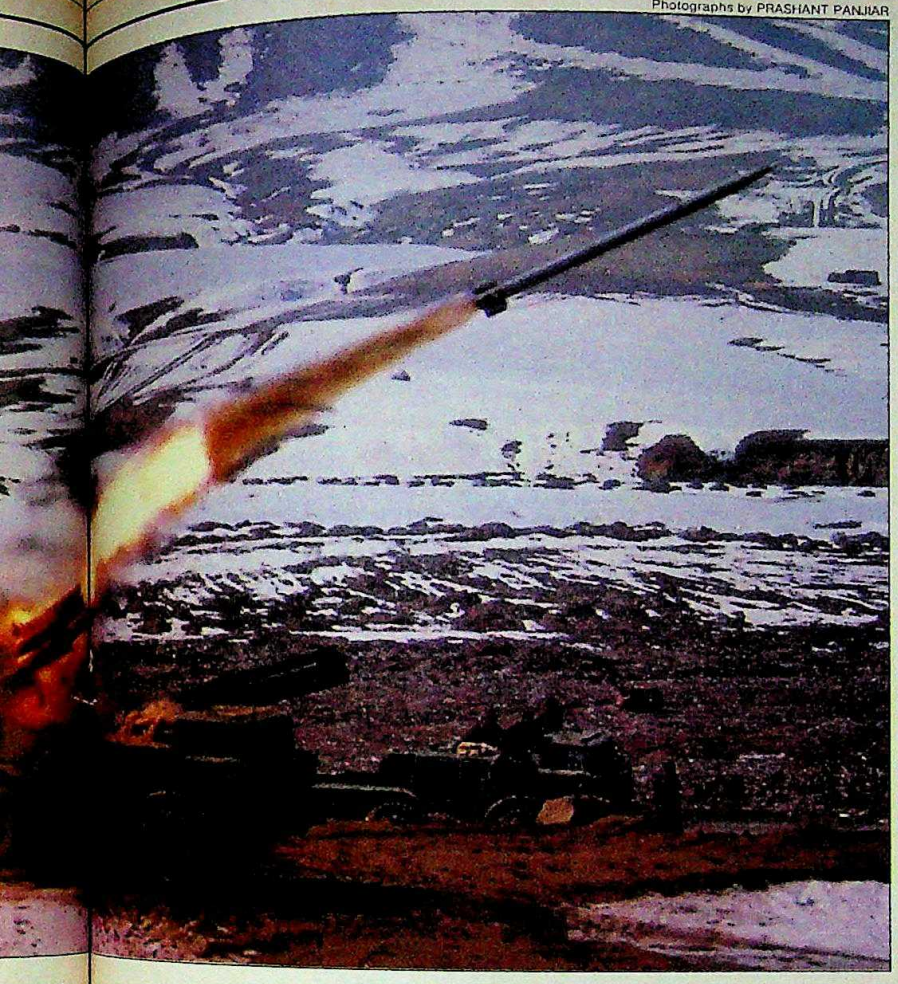
"If Jalalabad is the gateway to Kabul, Samarkhel is the key to Jalalabad," explained a Kabul-based diplomat. So when the rebels launched their long-awaited assault, three weeks of preparations had gone into it. The strategic planning, this time, was directly controlled by Pakistani military intelligence officers.

But the rebels ran into determined soldiers who too had been digging in and lying in wait for weeks. The rebels attacked along three pincers. The main body of the approximately 14,000-strong battle group concentrated on Samarkhel which held on despite initial confusion

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR



among its forward defences. Another large group went for the airport on the city's outskirts. And despite the rumours, that befuddled even the usually reliable BBC into announcing the fall of the airport, it was still in government hands. But the installations had suffered heavy damage. The rest of the attackers split into groups and attempted to infiltrate the city's outer defences. But with only partial success.

As rumours held sway in Kabul, the only indication of the bloody combat in the east was the occasional thud and swoosh of Scud-B missiles that the Government launched at increasingly shorter intervals. After the helicopter gunship if the rebels fear anything it is the Scud-B surface-to-surface missile. The projectile has a 300-km range, remarkable accuracy and murderous destructive power. As a military expert in Kabul explained: "Nothing survives within a 200-metre radius of the impact. Within the first 24 hours of the attack at least eight Scud-Bs were launched from Kabul. As for the destination, there was little doubt."

As Scud-Bs traced their destructive path across the Hindukush mountains, attack helicopters and MiG-23 BNs swooped low over the Mujahedin positions. Kabul Radio and Television made repeated claims of the attack having been beaten back. It was obvious that the Government was not going to give up. "Jalalabad is in our hands and will remain in our hands," said an official spokesman, Mohammed Nabi Amani.

The broad outlines of the action at Jalalabad were soon evident. It seemed that in the hope of large-scale defections from the Government side the rebels exposed themselves much too audaciously and paid the price. Government reinforcements sent in from the direction of the all-important Surobi headworks trapped one of the rebel pincers from behind while the rest were pounded by heavy artillery, Scuds and air attacks. And while the Government claim of a thousand rebels killed could be exaggerated, the casualties on both sides were heavy. The Voice of Afghanistan, the rebel radio station run from Pakistani soil, made claims of inflicting similar casualties on the other side. All that could be substantiated in Kabul was the shooting down of an MI-25 helicopter gunship.

As all hell broke loose in Jalalabad, it quickly found its echo in Kabul as well. Two rockets fell on a village on the outskirts of Kabul airport killing the pregnant daughter-in-law, son and a close relation of Saeed Mohammed, a 65-year-old carpenter in the Kalai Mir Abbas locality. The attack caused immediate alarm and the airport was closed for a few hours as the staff was evacuated to safer areas while helicopter gunships scoured the mountains for the attackers.

For the Government Jalalabad is not just another city. As the decade-old battle for supremacy in Afghanistan enters its final phase and the rebels close in on Kabul, it is obvious that their main thrust will have to come in from Jalalabad. The Iran-based guerrillas in the south-west across Herat are too far. So are the south-eastern ones near Kandahar. In the north, the terrain makes large-scale attacks difficult though the rebels have the ability to harass convoys bringing in vital military and civil supplies from the Soviet Union.

Jalalabad is particularly crucial for the rebels. Saudi Arabia became the first country to recognise their provisional government. But last week, the US State Department said it could not recognise the Government unless it proved its control over substantial territory. The Mujahedin

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

■ Afghan artillery unit in action (above); and women soldiers at Women's Day meet

believe that the capture of Jalalabad will give them that legitimacy.

How seriously the Government takes the security of the Jalalabad axis is evident from a drive along the road up till the last check-point to which normal traffic is permitted. Around 28 km outside Kabul, a little beyond the famous Pul-e-Charkhi prison, lies a sizeable, reinforced checkpost beyond which truckers proceed at their own risk. "This is the battle-zone," says Ghulam Rasol, an Afghan Army conscript, as he hops into the back of an incoming truck bringing fresh supplies of cauliflower from Jalalabad.

The soldiers routinely empty all trucks of their goods, mainly cauliflower, cabbage or large bundles of spinach, to ensure there are no explosives or arms hidden. Abdul Kareem, driver of one of the trucks, speaks of heavy fighting on the outskirts of Jalalabad. "Inside the city, *Daulati* (the Government) is in control. Outside, Allah knows who does what," he says.

For weeks now, edgy soldiers have peered relentlessly out of the warren-like pill box positions atop the barren mountains dominating the highway. To the naked eye a foxhole can look like just another crevice in the mountains. But the protruding gun barrel makes it obvious that it is yet another peg in the Government's formidable defence line for Kabul. The hills closer to the highway present an even more daunting spectacle. Tanks and armoured personnel carriers hauled to the top have their muzzles dipped menacingly towards the road.

IF the hills overlooking the eastern approaches are a veritable honeycomb of gun emplacements and bunkers, the snowclad mountains to the north, flanking the strategic Slanag highway linking Afghanistan with the Soviet Union present an entirely different spectacle. The Government is on the defensive here as well, but unlike in the east the defence here is mobile. The guerrillas are unlikely to mount an assault on the city from this direction but they attack the valleys in large numbers, harassing convoys that bring in arms, ammunition, food and, most vitally, fuel from the Soviet Union.

Last fortnight, as a convoy of nearly 1,800 trucks wound its way through the serpentine highway past the small township of Charikar, 55 km from Kabul, which is the historic crossroads along the silk route that Alexander the Great traversed on his way to India, rockets poured in from the surrounding hills. A dozen trucks, carrying vital stocks of wheat and flour, stood smouldering as the escorting armoured personnel carriers fired back at the hills, searching for the elusive guerrillas.

As the guerrillas retreated, the pursuit began in right earnest. Special Afghan troops went into chase as 122 mm Soviet-built artillery guns gave supporting fire from their emplacements 12 km in the rear. INDIA TODAY was witness to the operation at Khairkhana Kotali that saw the artillery fire scores of shells, supported by multi-barrel rocket launchers (Stalin's Organ) unleashing a deadly rocket every now and then with an eerie screech. All

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

along, two helicopter gunships swooped repeatedly into the narrow mountains. And when the battle thickened a pair of MiG-23s making low passes joined in.

As the mountains reverberated with the sound of explosions and gunfire, dozens of armoured personnel carriers and tanks scurried up and down the road escorting the tail-end of the convoy. Second Lieutenant Shamsuddin who commands the troop of armoured cars is already a legend of sorts. Just 24, he has 12 medals, five wounds and an escape from Mujahedin captivity to his credit. "This is a *difai inquilab* (a defensive revolution)," he says. "I am going again to kill the b....," he abuses in Punjabi. "My gun-barrel is so cold. Let us do something about this." For the ruthless, desensitised Shamsuddin, happiness is a warm gun.

The blood-thirsty subaltern only represents Afghanistan's new generation of brutalised youth for whom war has become a way of life. Even the Afghan youth on the Government side is filled with a zeal to fight rarely associated with predominantly conscripted armies.

Some attribute this surprising level of morale despite the Soviet withdrawal to the traditional Afghan love for fighting. Others dismiss it as tall talk. But only the most hopelessly biased can fail to see that a large section of the army will fight to the finish. More than anything else this is what gives President Najibullah the confidence to stay on.

Last fortnight, he made light of the challenge before him, addressing a series of official meetings as his key aides, Vice-President Abdul Rahim Hatif and Foreign Minister Abdul Vakil visited foreign capitals on missions to garner international support. Asserted Najibullah: "Our people have already given an indication of their mood. They are patriotic and they are capable of defending themselves." And Lieutenant General Abdul Haq Wasiqi, secretary of Afghanistan's Higher Defence Council, said: "Each Afghan city—Kabul, Jalalabad, Herat, Kandahar, Khost—is like a trench. If the Mujahedin are in such a hurry to go to hell, they should ask us and we will help them."

SAYS Najmuddin Kavyani, head of the international wing of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA): "We have got used to hearing from the western press that Kandahar has fallen, Jalalabad has fallen and Kabul is about to fall. We say if any western journalists are waiting to witness Kabul fall they can as well go home."

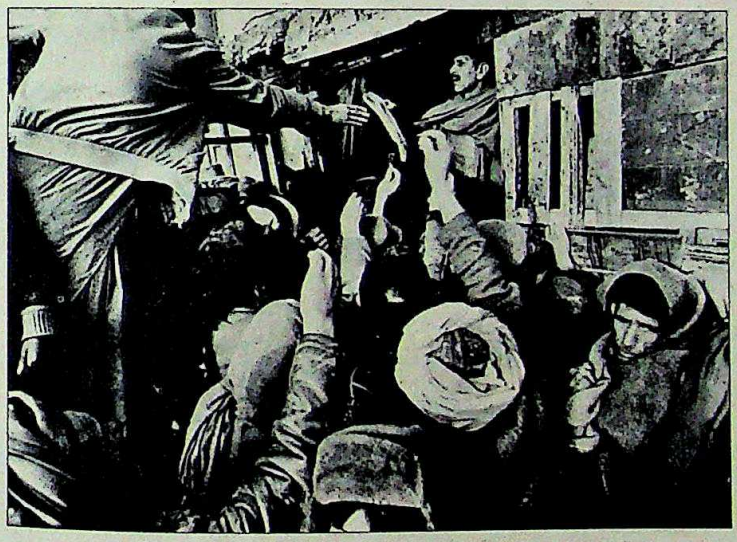
The same spirit was evident at the March 8 International Women's Day meeting at Zianab, a Kabul cinema hall which temporarily suspended screening of the Hindi film *Pukar*, to host nearly a thousand women supporters of the Najib Government. Many of the women came in the camouflaged battle fatigues of the Special Guard.

Shafiqua Razminda, the 40-year-old head of the women's unit of the Special Guard conducted the proceedings as one speaker after another, beginning with Vice-President Abdul Hamid Mohtat, cursed the West, the Pakistanis and the Mujahedin 'bandits' and promised to fight to the finish. Asserted Second Lieutenant Fatima, 25: "We have nothing but death for these bigots who only want their dollars from the US and the freedom to have half-a-dozen wives each." As the deliberations proceeded, the rhetoric grew harsher, culminating in a fiery speech from Sergeant *Hawwa* (literally Eve) of the Special Guard, her eyes painted with heavy eyeshadow and mascara, who threatened to "*next-o-nabood*" (annihilate) the Pakistan-inspired 'bandits'.

The women also echoed the pro-Najib elements' latest *cri de coeur*—Pakistan's threat to form a confederation with Afghanistan. The thought had been expressed by Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in an unguarded moment. But it had provided the Najib Government with the perfect rallying point. Mohammed Farooq Karman, deputy foreign minister, said: "We have strongly protested against this. We will have nothing to do with the so-called Mujahedin government born in the filthy skirt of the unholy aliens."

But as the days pass and the battle lines converge closer to Kabul, such pro-Najib determination would be put to severe test. Even western observers concede that Najib has displayed much greater tenacity and political acumen than they had credited him with. By drawing into Kabul his most experienced military commanders, loyal party functionaries and collecting the most formidable and lethal arsenal ever in the history of his hapless nation, he has also shown the willingness to fight the final battle, rather than retreat into the ignominious safety of a Black Sea dacha as many western experts had predicted. The coming weeks will certainly decide what place he ultimately earns for himself in Afghanistan's bloody history.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA in Kabul

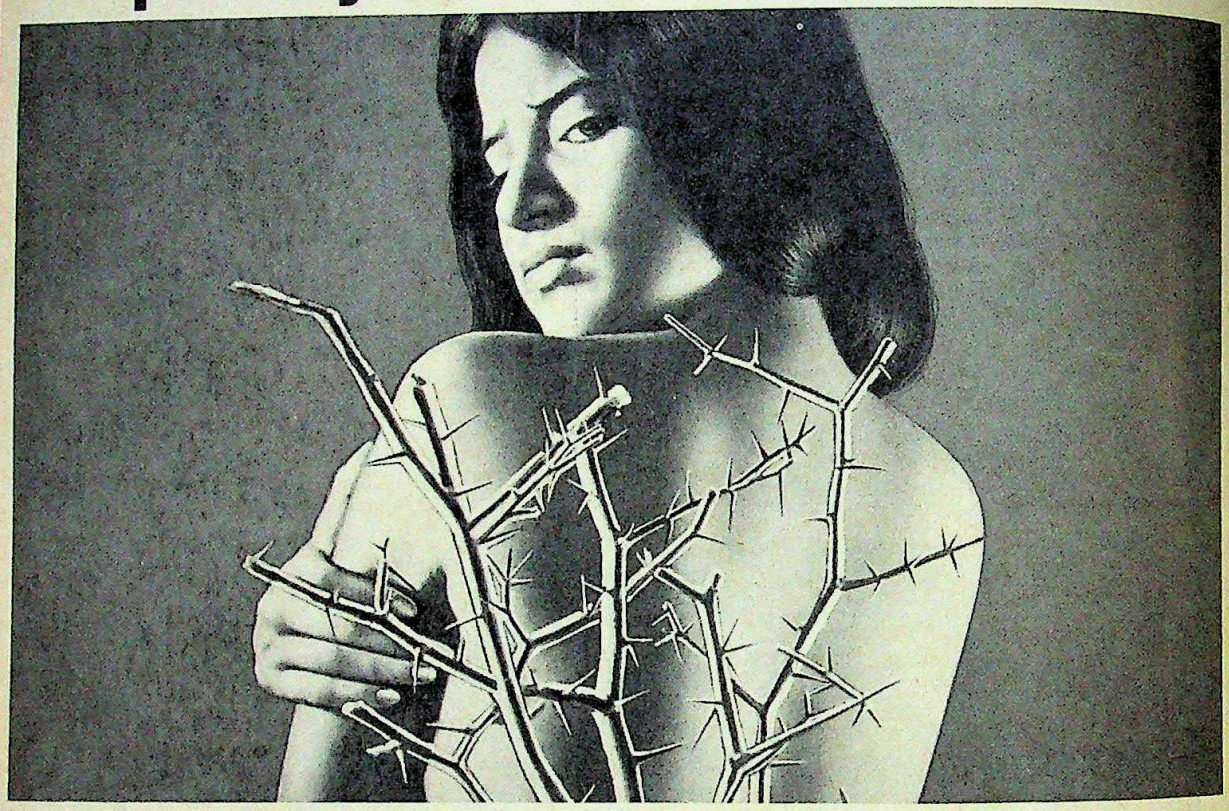


■ Kabul crowds jostling for bread (top); and a young boy pledges to fight the rebels

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Talcum powders can't fight your prickly heat like Nycil can.



Use NYCIL for quickest relief from prickly heat.

Nycil is a **medicated** powder, specially formulated to fight prickly heat at every stage. It immediately relieves that itchy feeling, and unlike talcum powders it fights infection and prevents the problem from getting worse.

Nycil. It's the safest, surest way to relieve prickly heat.

1. Prevents excess perspiration.
2. Absorbs sweat.
3. Destroys odour-causing bacteria.
4. Soothes the skin.

1961

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAKISTAN

Religious Row

Fundamentalists take on Benazir

WHEN a well-organised group of demonstrators led by some opposition and religious leaders stormed the American Centre in Islamabad last month it was clear that it was not just a spontaneous expression of resentment over the publication of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*. The main objective behind the new wave of protests over the novel—already banned in Pakistan—was obviously to whip up religious frenzy and undermine the newly-installed Government of Benazir Bhutto.

The anti-Rushdie protests have subsided but the target of the religious fundamentalists is now Benazir and the religious validity of a woman being the head of a Muslim state. A convention of over 2,000 *ulemas* (priests) held recently in Rawalpindi has declared that a government led by a woman was un-Islamic and urged the people to rise against it. They have also announced their intention to launch a country-wide movement if Benazir, the first woman to have been elected prime minister of any Muslim country, did not step down.

Among the participants were members of the National Assembly and senators of the Jamiat Ulema Islam, Jamiat Ulema Pakistan and Jammat-I-Islami. Always at loggerheads on important religious issues, these sectarian groups have now found a common cause.

The fundamentalists have warned the Government against annulment of the controversial 8th amendment to the Constitution. Passed by the former Parliament under martial law, it had indemnified the Islamic Shariat laws introduced by the late Zia. This includes the law relating to the status of women, which had been the main target of criticism by women's rights groups for many years. The National Assembly is currently debating these amendments.

Benazir has reiterated that her government would continue striving to repeal anti-women laws. That aggressive retort may have won her the support of women and the liberal sections of society, but it has also sharpened the political polarisation in the country.

Most of the *ulemas* in the forefront of the anti-Benazir campaign thrived during military rule. Many were appointed judges of the Shariat court, equivalent in status to a judge of the high court. The *peshimams* of the big mosques, like of the historic Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, were given the status and privileges of federal secretaries.

BHAWAN SINGH

Benazir: standing firm

The *ulemas* and the armed forces—the main basis for Zia's rule—were an important component of the nine-party Islamic Democratic Alliance that stood against Benazir's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in the November '88 general elections. After the death of their patron, Zia, and the PPP victory, however, their power has been considerably reduced.

Despite their lack of electoral support, the religious parties are quite capable of creating problems for any government. Their main strength comes from the large network of *madrasas* or religious schools which have mushroomed throughout the country under government patronage in the last 11 years.

However, PPP leaders rule out the possibility of a religious backlash against the Government. According to them, by voting for the PPP with Benazir as leader, the people have already rejected the obscurantist elements. But political observers feel that these forces would be used to destabilise the Government in the event of a conflict with the Opposition and also by the generals if they ever felt that Benazir's Government posed any threat to their interests.

The fundamentalists are only one of the many challenges Benazir faces. She is still struggling to assert her control over the state organs, particularly the civil and military establishments. As a first step towards establishing authority, she brought about major changes in the civil and military intelligence services and retired over 60 army officers. Although the official sources describe the retirements as routine, never before have such a large number of senior officers, including 13 brigadiers, been sent on pension all at once.

There is widespread speculation that the move is aimed at easing out Zia loyalists from the army. But at the same time, the generals don't quite look prepared to accept total subservience to the civilian Government. The continuing high profile of Army Chief of Staff General Mirza Aslam Beg—who is reputed to be responsible for the return to democracy—is clear indication of that fact.

Still, Benazir has succeeded in drastically curtailing the powers of the Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI), which had emerged as the most powerful agency in the country during Zia's reign. It was not only the main source of arms supply and training to the Afghan mujahedin, but also used for internal political suppression. Over 4,000 personnel were deputed to keep a watch on politicians and other activists. It is speculated that the ISI was also active against the PPP during the general elections.

Last week, Benazir ordered disengagement of the ISI from internal security, which was mainly related to keeping surveillance over political parties and their leaders. Brigadier Imtiaz, who has been in charge of the department, was relieved of his duties. However, the ISI still runs Pakistan's Afghan policy.

It is the *ulemas* and the generals together who represent Benazir's biggest threat. How she faces this double-edged challenge will largely depend on whether she can maintain her mass support base. The next few months are going to be crucial for her political survival.

—ZAHID HUSSAIN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAKISTAN

Miffed Minorities

Trying to come into the mainstream

THE vertical white band in Pakistan's green-and-white flag symbolises the Islamic state's half-a-dozen religious minorities. But in recent years, neither the legal nor the political condition of these communities has quite reflected the purity of the gleaming white band.

With the return to democracy, there was expectation that minority and women's rights would be restored. While there is little optimism on the latter score, it appears even more difficult for beleaguered Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto to risk the wrath of fundamentalists by restoring the rights of minorities.

The minorities in Pakistan are an insignificant proportion: out of an estimated 104 million people, they form less than 3 per cent—about 2.7 million. Of these, there are 1.3 million each of Hindus and Christians.

Though they cover the entire spectrum, from the very rich to the poor, politically they suffered a set-back during Zia-ul-Haq's 11-year reign. Today, minority communities are legally clubbed with women under the amended Evidence Act—according to which the testimony of two men is considered equal to that of a Muslim man.

Furthermore, with the partyless 1985 elections, Zia divorced them from the mainstream by creating separate electorates. In the new National Assembly, there are four Hindu members, four Christians, an Ahmedi, and a lone Parsi, besides 207 Muslim members.

Though this has allowed individual politicians from minority groups to occupy an assembly seat, it has created political ghettos. It has also resulted in a curious anomaly—since the minority members are not elected from a geographical area, it is virtually impossible for them to maintain even the semblance of contact with their constituents. Says P.K. Shahani, a prominent PPP leader from Karachi: "Separate electorates are against the interests of minorities. They are seeking protection, not representation." Hindus and Christians are opposed to separate electorates since they would be able to control the fate of many National Assembly members in general constituencies. However, for a leader of Parsis, numbering barely 7,000, separate electorates do provide an opportunity to find a voice in Islamabad. In last November's general elections, two prominent Parsis—hotelier Byram Avari and distillery king Minoo Bhandara—fiercely contested the Parsi-Sikh-Bahai seat. Avari won and promptly demanded an end to discrimination against minorities. "It is more important to end the legal discrimination than to scrap separate electorates," he says.

M. RAHMAN

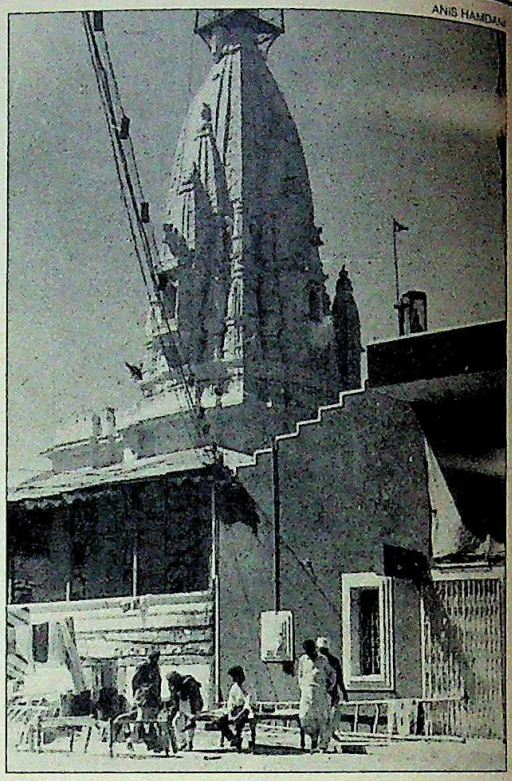
A Swami Narayan temple (right) in Karachi

The discrimination dates back to the time of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Minority seats in provincial assemblies were first considered in 1973, at the national level in 1975. But it was only after Zia's coup, when the fundamentalist Jamaat-e-Islami backed the regime, that separate electorates became an inextricable part of the system. The objective initially was to isolate the Ahmedis—an influential sect declared non-Muslim by Bhutto.

Officially, the Ahmedis are said to number 1,02,432. But privately, community leaders claim their number is more than 3 million. The Ahmedis, who have produced renowned figures like Nobel laureate physicist Abdus Salaam, are a highly enterprising and educated community. Under Zia they suffered many atrocities. The Ahmedi question is still a volatile one. "There are two things Benazir can never undo—scrap prohibition and change the law declaring Ahmedis as non-Muslims," says a prominent Ahmedi businessman.

There are doubts as well whether she can bring the other minority communities into the mainstream. But a decision on the minority question will be based on an evaluation of its impact on the nation's overwhelmingly large Muslim population. The PPP cannot afford any unpopular moves especially when parties like the Jamaat are waiting to pounce on the Government.

—M. RAHMAN



ANIS HAMDANI

> "It is more important to end the legal discrimination than to scrap separate electorates."
>
> BYRAM AVARI,
> *lone Parsi member in the National Assembly*

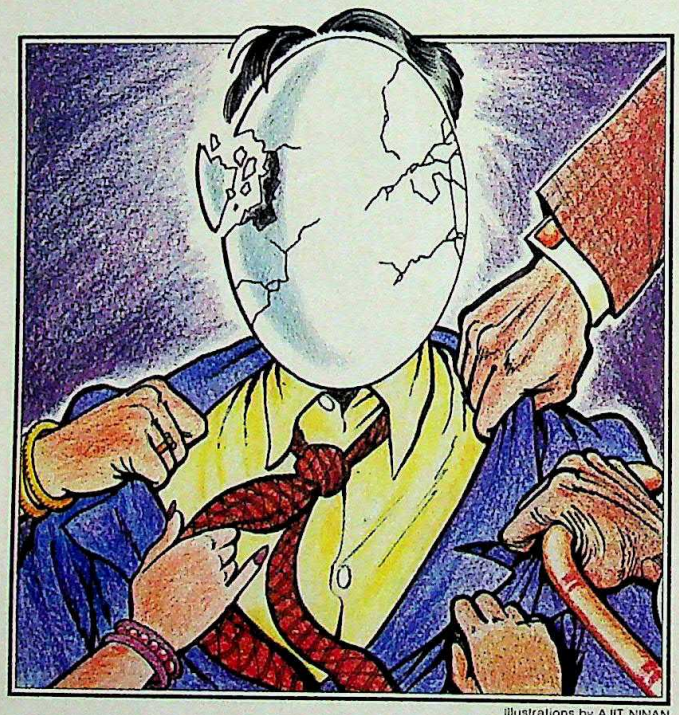
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

SOME
FIRST
IMPRESSIONS
LAST
FOREVER
"A
PROMISING
PERSONALITY"
A Product of
Mahendra Suitings Ltd.,
Ahmedabad.
Mahendra
SUITINGS

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE INDIAN MALE

MID-LIFE BLUES



illustrations by AJIT NINAN

At work, this is the point of maximum pressure, while at home, he is faced with a discontented wife, questioning children, dependent parents—and an overwhelming sense of time running out.

Adults hope that life begins at 40—but the great anxiety is that it ends there. —David Levinson

● Mahesh Bhatt, film maker, 40: For a year and a half, he hadn't been able to make a film. He felt hollow and dry inside and was gripped by a frightening sense of defeat. His creativity was drying up. So he drank a lot, talked a lot, ate a lot of mega-vitamins to keep youth in his clutch. He went from woman to woman, always in search of that applause or the encouraging pat on the back. "Life is not what your parents said it would be," he says. "My self-esteem was crumbling, there was no wonder or magic left in life."

● Rajan Kapoor, eye surgeon, 46: Brilliant, sober, respected, fell obsessively in love with a younger woman. He left his wife and family to whom he was deeply attached and gave up a flourishing practice to be with her. Ultimately he left the city and became a recluse. He was haunted by guilt, and yet he kept thinking, "this is my last chance". He says: "I had everything and yet I wondered if this was all there was. The end seemed close, there wasn't much time left."

● Rajinder Dutt, sales executive, 45: He slipped into what doctors called secondary depression soon after he changed jobs. His immediate boss was younger than he was. At 45, Dutt felt he was a failure. He had been able to build no house, had never taken his wife on a holiday, and did not own a car. Worse, he was heavily in debt. He would go to friends' homes and mumble incoherently: "I'm a failure as a father, as a husband, as a son." Twice he thought he was having a heart attack.

IT is the most disturbing of all seasons in a man's life: the mid-life crisis. The decade between 40 and 50 is a time of transition, of intense questioning—when fantasy collides with reality. For almost every man it is the time to stop and take a look back at life from the middle of the journey. "You realise your past is greater than your future," says psychoanalyst Sudhir Kakar. "More years now lie behind you than ahead."

One never talked about the mid-life crisis in India. It was something which only happened in the West. To executives on the fast track, wanting too-much-too-soon. To a society captive to the tyranny of youth, where every new wrinkle was regarded as a visiting card of death. It didn't bother India—the old traditional ways took care of age. But now, with western values coming in a rush, for the first time the crisis is becoming a reality for men in their 40s.

The 40s are a turning point in a man's life. By this time he is at his peak, as far ahead as he's likely to be. It is a heady, intoxicating time. The 40-year-old man probably has everything going for him—power, money, status. Then

comes the qu
The crisis
questioning a
tional turmoi
that you can
before you is li
going to do?"
happy, succe
ce." Explains
"The mid-life
loneliness. It
nostalgia. Ma
at this time."

TH
bo
th
lea
pa
yo
old. You can'
incapabilities
women and w
find real love."
says Ratan Di
"The freshnes

For wome
one, related
man's crisis
children and
well-documer
life crisis tha
reality. More
are willing to
also going to
cope with th
when the ch
man's life, mi
with desire".

Of course,
for all men. M
it painlessly—
cade comes a
stock and ma

Why is it
now coming
pearing. Dizzy
rapid urbanis
has risen with
no ready ans
gration of the
the working,
matic chang

Modernis
nologies hav
private sector
"It is the mos
K.K. Kothari,
90 per cent

The Ame
disturbing th
Media, profes
sic, fast food
begun. A "m
the authority
is increasing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

comes the question: what next?

The crisis begins with private, low-key self-questioning and usually peaks in great emotional turmoil. It is the time when you realise that you can no longer dream—that the time before you is limited. You do not ask: "What am I going to do?", but "What have I achieved? Am I happy, successful? Is this what I want to do and be?" Explains psychoanalyst Sailesh Kapadia: "The mid-life feeling is one of terrible, painful loneliness. It is full of anxiety, desolation, nostalgia. Many psychotic breakdowns occur at this time."

THE crisis can be triggered off by a book, a remark, a passing glance in the mirror, a dynamic young colleague in the office or the death of a parent. Bit by bit, it envelops you: your friends suddenly begin to look old. You can't stop thinking of death. Sexual incapabilities haunt you. You think about other women and wonder if this is your last chance to find real love. "Nothing after 40 is really positive," says Ratan Diwaker, a manager in a large hotel. "The freshness of any experience is gone."

For women, the crisis is more of a biological one, related to menopause. The Indian woman's crisis centres around the flight of the children and the empty nest. It is a depressing, well-documented crisis. But it is the male mid-life crisis that is now becoming an Indian reality. More and more men are experiencing it, are willing to talk about it. Many more men are also going to analysts and psychologists to help cope with the autumn of their lives, the time when the chill of winter stirs the spring in a man's life, mixing, as T.S. Eliot wrote, "memory with desire".

Of course, it need not be a depressing decade for all men. Many cope with it or come through it painlessly—but almost universally the decade comes as a time of questioning, of taking stock and making choices.

Why is it happening? Western pressures are now coming in and Indian solutions are disappearing. Dizzying changes are taking place with rapid urbanisation: a huge urban middle class has risen with its own set of new problems and no ready answers. There has been the disintegration of the joint family and the emergence of the working, questioning woman bringing dramatic changes in the home.

Modernisation, computerisation, new technologies have revved up both the public and private sector. But they are also taking their toll. "It is the most acute time in a man's life," says K.K. Kothari, well-known psychiatrist. "About 90 per cent men in India go through it."

The American way is coming in a rush, disturbing the ancient Indian way of living. Media, professional management, fashion, music, fast food—the love affair with success has begun. A "me" generation has grown up. And the authority of age has gone. The Indian male is increasingly caught in a paradoxical bind: physically he stays young longer, but professionally he ages faster.

Hierarchy is breaking down in both the office and the home. In the old feudal structure everything was rooted to a defined space, whether it was the family or the shop your father had or the service in which you were. "Today because of industrialisation there is an explosion of spaces, careers and areas of expression," says Suresh Jindal, film producer, 46. "There is displacement—you go where the opportunity is."

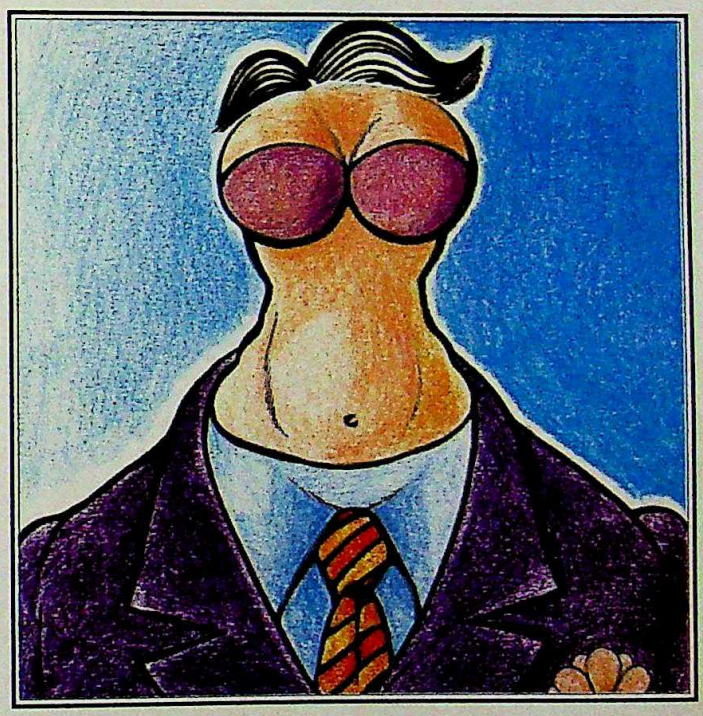
With Rajiv Gandhi's ascension to prime ministership, the 40-year-old became visible. Suddenly, he was everywhere—at the top. Bright young men zoomed up public sector monoliths. Industry fell into the hands of younger people: Ratan Tata, 51, Nusli Wadia, 44, Rahul Bajaj, 50, Manu Chhabria, 42. For the first time, younger politicians came into their own: Arun Singh, 44, Arun Nehru, 44, Madhavrao Scindia, 44, Jagdish Tytler, 45, Rajesh Pilot, 44, Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, 43. These were men in a hurry. "There came an acceptance in India of the 40s power structure," says a young MP. "The Kamalapati Tripathi phenomenon was over."

But now, for all the movers and shakers of 1985, the symbol of youth itself has begun to fray. "Rajiv Gandhi is looking old," says Jaikishen Mehta, 44, a journalist. "He's gone bald, his face has begun to sag. It has a psychological impact on the country."

The mid-life blues have set in.

Typically, the crisis begins in a physical way. One day, just like that, the thoughts begin

Increasingly, a man in his 40s is inclined to have an affair with a younger woman—while she hero-worships him and is turned on by his power, he is turned on by her taut skin, her vivacity, her inexperience.



"'Am I desirable?' your wife always asked. Now it's your turn to ask."
BIKRAMJEET SINGH, 44
senior executive officer

"She wants an experience of age, you want an experience of youth."
SHEKHAR KAPUR, 40
film director

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

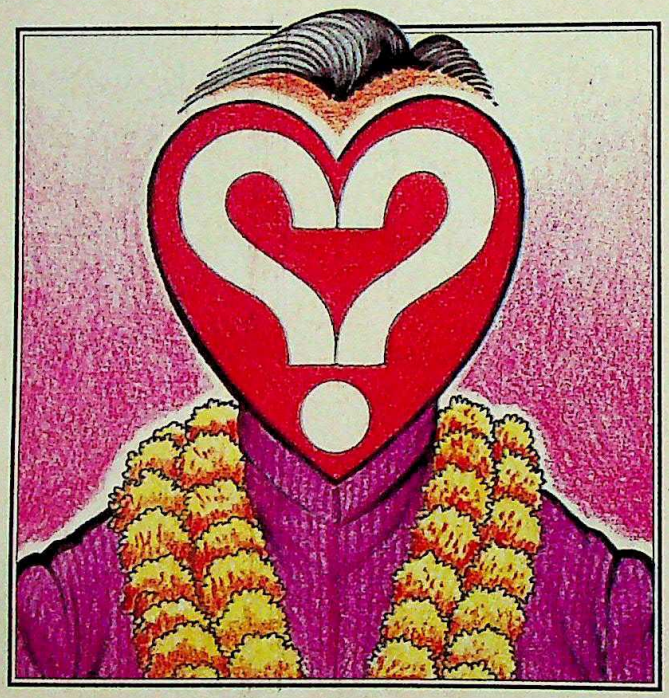
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Many couples begin to question their marriage: she wants to move out of the house, he is confused by his sexual fantasies, and looks at other women to make up for what he may have missed.

to form: the man in the mirror is beginning to show a bit of grey in the hair, tired eyes, slower reflexes. The body begins to register protests. During the early 40s a time of reckoning comes, when you have to pay for all that you did during the 30s.

Everything begins to give. There is a midriff crisis too: the body does not fit into the old suit. It is becoming nice to take a little rest after lunch. Who is this stranger, this tired, unfamiliar man?

"The sad part is that your own self-image of youth never goes away," says Mehta. "It can come as quite a shock when the reality is different." Many more men have begun to go to plastic surgeons to reverse the ravages of age. Dr B. Davar, a plastic surgeon in Delhi, says that today he has as many male clients as



female. They want to get their bulging jowls taken in, penal implants done, and fat excised from midriffs.

But even as this pursuit of youth goes on, peers have begun to have heart problems, blood pressure, cholesterol—intimations of mortality. People look at their children and are amazed at how grown up they are. Slowly, and then all at once, anxiety about death sets in. Says Deepak Sinha, 46, an IAS officer: "As long as your parents are alive there's a sense of reassurance. When they die, you're on the frontline."

A major qualitative drop in body function can be very harrowing, especially for men who have been very active. "Sometimes they will over-exert themselves, go jogging an extra mile to prove that they are still youthful," says Kothari. This is the time when several men begin to listen to their doctors. "People in their 40s often get cardiac phobias. An acidic pain in the chest they think is a heart attack," says Kothari. "I take off for the mountains in my search for reassurance," says Sinha, a keen trekker. "I could do it in my young days. Can I still do it?"

THIS is also a period of great stress and loneliness. "There has been a change in the last 15 years. Now it's not infectious diseases like TB and typhoid but the diseases of life-style that are emerging...usually these surface between 35 and 50," explains Dr Ramnik Parikh, chief medical officer, Hindustan Lever. "The man at the peak of his career is also the loneliest person in the world. He internalises his frustration and anger. He finds it difficult now to have male friends or share his feelings."

The Indian mind at 40 is changing. So is society. The old Indian way took care of all generations. The four stages of life, according to the Vedas—*brahmacharya, grahasta, vanaprastha, sanyas*—laid out the rules, and for centuries the Indian man followed them more or less unruffled. The *vanaprastha* stage weaned him away from an active, productive life without a sense of loss or shame. It was a natural progression which brought you respect, authority and a mellow richness of life. Wisdom came with age, not out of a computer. Being a "buzurg" was something to look forward to. Says J.N. Sondhi, now in his 80s: "Being 40 meant you were established, not old. Seniority brought promotions and respect. Today age is senility."

Almost anyone who is over 50 today has grown up during the freedom movement, with its peculiar fire and idealism and hope. These were years of involvement. There was no time for a personal crisis. Even journalist Khushwant Singh, now in his 70s, admits: "I wasn't even aware of anything like the male menopause." With Independence, it was the prime of life for the 40-year-old. "We started giving a lot of parties, we went to the movies," says Sondhi. "There were no pressures, our servants were good, we did not feel the pinch of money, our children never talked back."

Today's child is growing up faster, many of his values are coming hot off television, video and magazines. He stops considering his father as a hero by the time he is 15. Several kids know as much—sometimes more—than their parents. "When my father told me to do anything, I would jump to obey him," says Subhash Pandit, 44, a schoolteacher. "But my kids think they know more than I do."

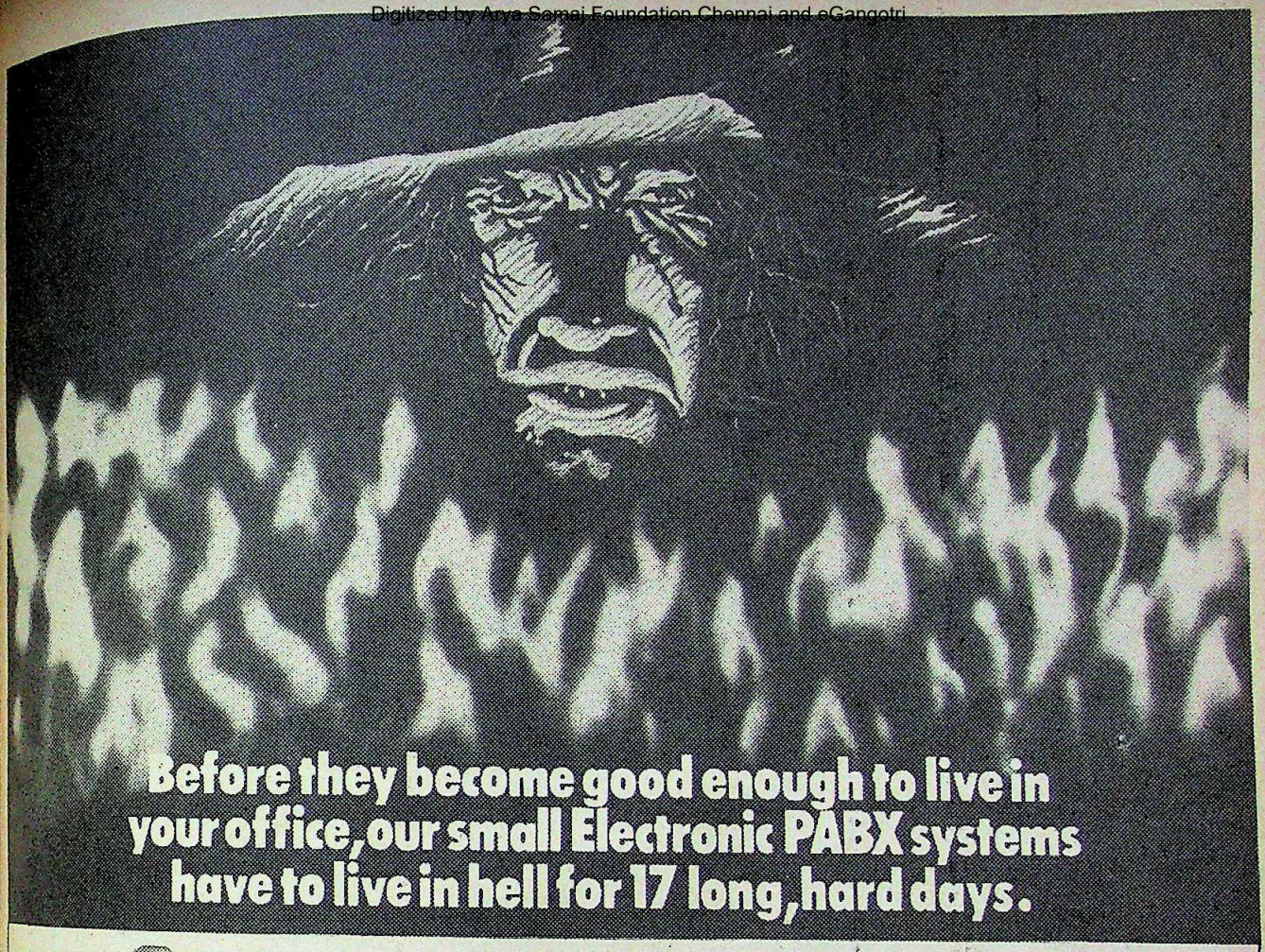
The death of the joint family in many urban households has rendered this passage of life more painful. The joint family provided an emotional safety net; it absorbed the weak in its massive embrace. It was a world in itself.

"Fidelity has a different connotation at 40 than it did at 25."
IQBAL KHAN, 43
businessman

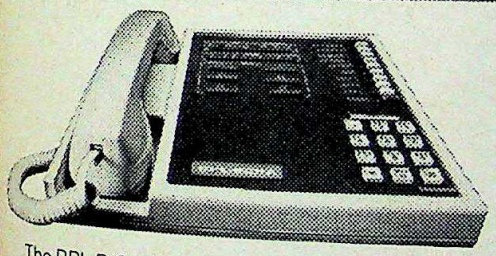
"You want more sex—but now she's tired. She's always got a headache."
MICHAEL JONES, 40
systems analyst

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Before they become good enough to live in your office, our small Electronic PABX systems have to live in hell for 17 long, hard days.



The BPL P-Series. A small EPABX that will work. Through thick and thin.

Our **17-day 'hurt programme'** sees to that. 7 days at 125°c for components. Next, (for the survivors), 3 days at 70°c in the sub-assembly stage; and then, double-checked by an In-Circuit Component Tester. And finally, 7 days at 50°c for fully activated finished products. To ensure that only products that live the longest reach you.

The result: total reliability. And India's largest installed base of electronic exchanges.

The BPL 2700 Push Button Telephone. Totally compatible because it is a product of the same tough discipline that our EPABXs undergo.

A model that's tested for endurance: even the cord and handset are tested for 100,000 operations. And which comes with features like Auto Gain Control. And Auto Re-dial up to 23 digits. Plus, TRC-approval for interface with P&T network.

The P-Series comes in 3 models—from 5-57 lines. One is bound to suit you.

BPL-INDIA

In pursuit of perfection

CENTRAL MARKETING ORGANISATION

BPL Centre, 14, Church Street, Bangalore 560 001. Phones: 572321/2/6/575217, Telex: 0845-2511, Cable: PHISILAB

SALES OFFICES: **BANGALORE** Phones: 561598/574787, Telex: 0845-2511. **BHOPAL** Phone: 61046 **BOMBAY** Phones: 4925398/4925361/4922918/4922933/4938704/4938392, Telex: 011-73789. **CALCUTTA** Phones: 431658/448566, Telex: 021-2390. **COCHIN** Phone: 361506. **COIMBATORE** Phone: 31052. **HYDERABAD** Phone: 231091, Telex: 0425-6064. **MADRAS** Phones: 471378/ 479420/474309, Telex: 041-6507. **NEW DELHI** Phones: 6431886/6433689/6433865, Telex: 031-2692. **PALGHAT** Phones: 3241/2, Telex: 0852-213.

everest/S89/231

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

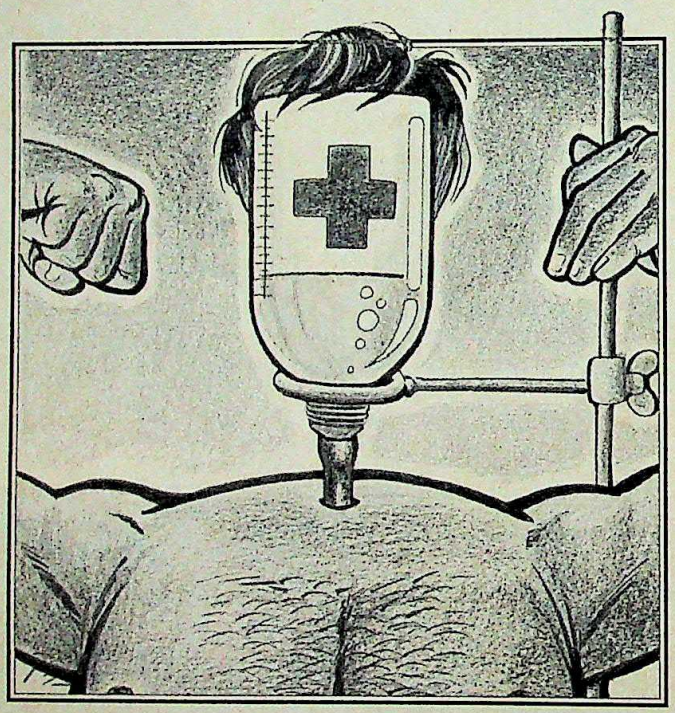
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There is a midriff crisis too: the body does not fit into the old suit. Several men jog an extra mile to prove they're still youthful. Others get high blood pressure, cardiac phobias and other psychosomatic illnesses.

everyone had a place in it. Says Manohar Shyam Joshi, who scripted teleserials *Hum Log* and *Buniyaad:* "There was the flirt of the family, the fool, the poet, the ageing uncle. All of them found an appreciative audience within the family even though they were out of place in the world without. Each could swim in this pool. Even the fact of being gay was absorbed. The family knew about it and kept quiet...."

Moreover, a joint family offered so much warmth and intimacy that there was no sense of alienation. Free time was spent visiting relatives. The cuddling and touching provided emotional support. Says Joshi: "Many times you slept in one room. You had favourite cousins. Today, a touch means a pass."

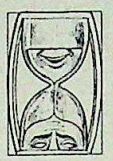
People have moved away. Cousins are just cousins, not brothers any more. With the growing nuclear family, the "biradari" feeling is fading. Weddings, *havans*, funerals are places to show your face because you must. Then you quickly disappear into your own lives.



"The sad part is that your self image of youth never goes away."
JAIKISHEN MEHTA, 44
journalist

"It's when your parents die that you realise you are on the frontline."
DEEPAK SINHA, 46
IAS officer

The fourth decade of a man's life, according to psychiatrists, is the time when maximum marriages break down, when marital disharmony is at a peak. The physical decline of the man usually begins when his wife is at her peak: she is probably 35, has got over her mother-in-law hang-ups, has sent her last child off to school, and is now ready to work and explore her potential for things other than being a housewife. "You want to be that totally sensitive male wanting your wife to work," says Bikramjeet Singh, 44, chief executive officer in a company, whose wife Beena recently joined a travel agency. "When she does, you go to pieces. Your favourite armchair is gone." Sometimes, according to Singh, this can lead to impotence. Or greater sexual vigour. "You want more sex—but now she's tired. She's always got a headache," adds Michael Jones, 40, systems analyst.



THE changing Indian woman has also begun to make the Indian male of a certain age a little uneasy. This decade in particular has seen the Indian woman come into her own. Increasingly, urban Indian women are in search of self-fulfilment outside hearth and home. Says designer Laila Tyabji: "Years ago when you saw couples, the men were the ones who stood out; they were doing the exciting things. The women were nice but hardly memorable. Today, the women are more striking, more vibrant. The men more forgettable."

Many more Indian women are now working. They are tougher, more aggressive and are usually unwilling to give unconditional respect to a husband. The Indian male is no longer unquestioningly the lord of the manor: he has to often find his own slippers. "All of us at heart are really mama's boys," says Alyque Padamsee, head of Lintas, the advertising agency. "In India we are mommy-coddled. They spoil us and we expect that from our wives too."

Even when the woman is not working, by this age she has probably begun to treat her middle-aged husband like one of the kids, someone who has to be constantly reminded to come home on time, keep his clothes in the closet and put the cap back on the toothpaste. For a house-bound wife the husband is the most available victim, the only one she can exercise power over. Ironically, though he is being treated like a kid, he is feeling anything but youthful.

To the wife, his success only means that he's going to be out of the house for longer and longer hours. He lives in a world she cannot share. The children have grown up and don't need the mother so much. The husband is at a feverish pitch in his career. He travels a lot, brings his work home. She's irritated and lonely. He comes home tired, she's ready to go out. Says film director Basu Bhattacharya, who has made several films on marital problems: "The paradox is that as you start achieving success at work, your decadence in the bedroom begins."

L.M. Aggarwal, 40, the general manager of a large electronics company, leap-frogged to the top. People look at him in awe. But up there it is cold. And very lonely. At work people are terrified—or jealous of him. At home, his wife complains all the time, demands more time, and is unable to understand his pressures. He spends his evenings alone in bars, acutely depressed. He says: "All achievement is ultimately hollow if you have no one to share it with."

Several men cannot understand the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

changing wife, who is so unlike the mother they were used to. Thanks to the influence of the media, she goes in for aerobics, fashionable clothes and generally looks after herself. Says Dolly Thakore, 45, mediaperson: "The Indian male feels threatened because the woman doesn't go according to his programming any more. Our mothers went to work and looked after the house. Today's Indian woman says, I'll balance the budget, you see to the kid."

The panic for the man increases because she is moving out just when he needs her most. Many Indian men are not genetically coded to cope with tough situations at work—and with a successful, independent, articulate woman at home. It is not something their father could have taught them. Says A.G. Krishna Menon, an architect: "There is no role-model in our generation, there is no prototype. We have to work it out for ourselves."

Perhaps the toughest part of all this is the falling away of love. Many middle class couples spend the evening not talking to each other—or talking through their children—the TV or video flickering aimlessly on, providing the facade of some ongoing communication. "Middle-aged couples meet when tired and then the bedroom becomes a prison," says Bhattacharya. "The whole civilisation has grown to separate man and woman."

"Love in the Hollywood sense is no longer a relevant factor in my life," says Aggarwal. His wife, an executive herself, is bitter. "She never even gives me phone messages," he says. "She says I'm not your secretary. I think, in some way, she resents my success because she thinks I've got something she doesn't have."

THE crisis is a private, lonely one: most men are unable to share it with their wives because as one put it: "Remember we got married the traditional way, we never had any real communication with our wives." For a lot of Indian men, the realisation that you cannot have it all in a single, monogamous relationship often comes only after 15 or 20 years of marriage. "And then you're stuck," says Tushar Chatterjee, 40, a small trader. "You're fond of your kids. You don't want to hurt your old parents. Your wife is neither a good emotional partner nor an emotional crutch. The children treat you the same way as their mother does."

This is the point of maximum pressure. The man in his 40s is being pulled from all sides: he has to see his parents out of life and settle his children into life. Kishore Raju, a scientist educated in the US, had great enthusiasm and ideas. He worked 18-hour days. At 43, he has given up his research, he just couldn't find time for everything.

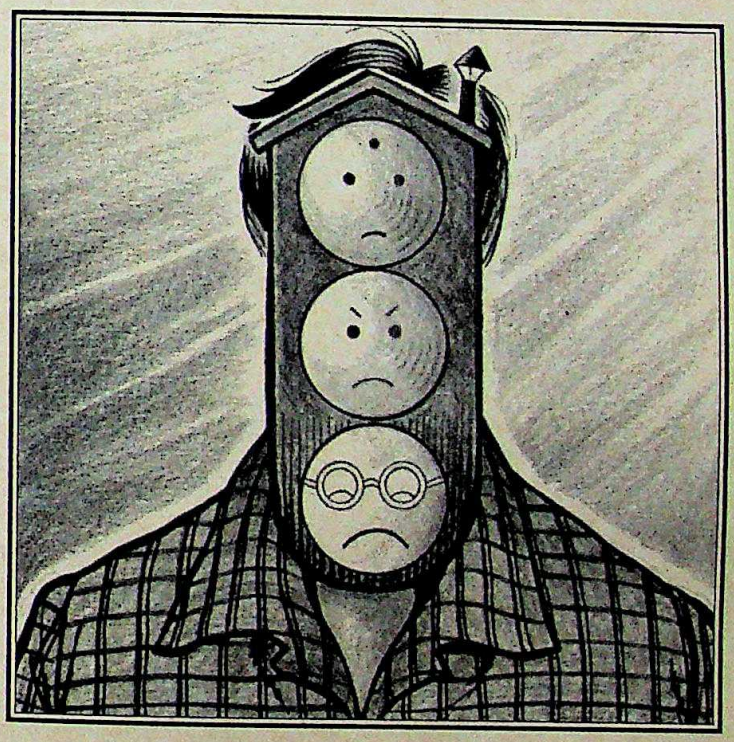
For several men, this is the loneliest period of life. Friends are no longer easy to make. "When you're not sure what's going on in your own mind, it's difficult to share," says Randhir Chopra, 44, a successful surgeon. "Where do you make friends at 40? You don't." He knows lots of people, but as he says, he makes fewer and fewer friends. He has lost some by attrition, some have moved away, some have died.

This is also the time when many men yearn to have another relationship. According to Sudhir Kakar: "This is the most vulnerable phase in a man's life. He will usually change either his wife or his job." When a man is unhappy with himself, he searches for a real involvement—if not in work, then in intimacy with another woman. Pia Gupta's husband left her after a 12-year "intense, beautiful relationship", because as he told her: "You don't treat me like God any more."

In the traditional marriage, a man was God. For the traditional Indian wife, the whole world revolved around her husband: what would he like her to wear, what would he like for dinner and so on. She was brought up to be submissive and never to question. He was the only male: since she never left her little world, she couldn't compare him with other men. With the woman moving out of the house, her world is no longer confined to the husband, and his family. This change of roles often pushes a man to search for hero-worship elsewhere.

Says a prominent politician who doesn't want to be named: "I have seen politicians after 40 look for women. They have peaked at work, they are now settled. Now their one-point programme is to look for lighter moments. When faced with a crisis what better way to escape than into the arms of a lover rather than a wife who is already angry with you."

In the old Indian way of life, the joint family provided an emotional safety net. Now, western values are coming in, but not western safety valves: long week-ends, health care, the leisure concept.



"I'd jump to obey my father. My kids think they know more than me."
SUBHASH PANDIT, 47
school teacher

"This is the most vulnerable phase. A man will change either his wife or his job."
SUDHIR KAKAR
psychoanalyst

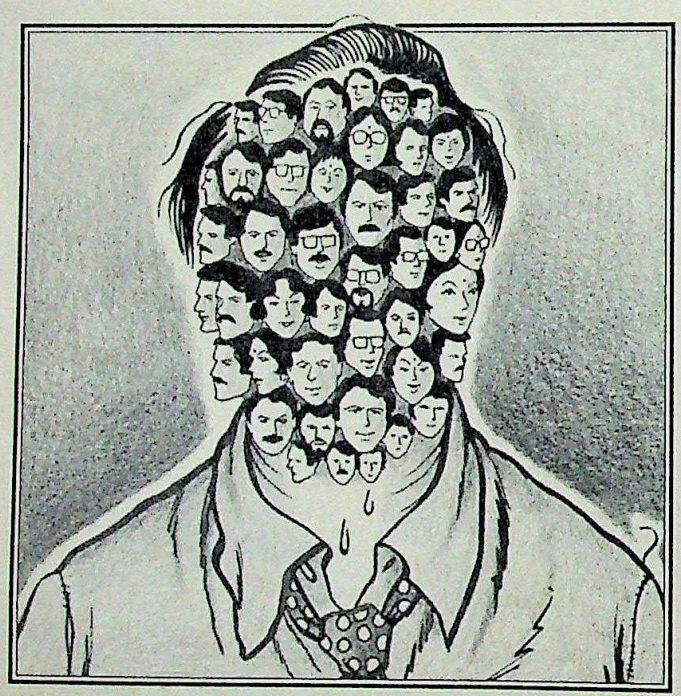
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In offices the average employee age is dropping. Younger managers, newer technologies are coming in: the older manager is often scared by the speed at which people change their computers—and jobs.

For some men, this means adopting a lifestyle that includes both the wife and another woman. Says K.K. Kothari: "From 40 onwards, if a man gets the chance, he'll have an affair. There is a resurfacing of sexuality. You're increasingly seeing the mid-40s man having an affair with the mid-20s woman."

Instant relationships are gratifying and undemanding. Most of all, they bring with them the irresponsibility of youth. With affairs on the increase, Indians are becoming body conscious, something that is new to the culture. In arranged marriages one always looked at the woman's face and the man's fortune. Being sexually desirable was not generally part of the Indian ethos. With the pressure of looking good—socially, professionally—a man who is perhaps balding, and greying, often worries if he is still attractive to the opposite sex. A narcissism grows. "All your life you were fed up answering your wife's questions like 'Am I desirable?' " says Singh. "Now you need the same reassurance: am I still desirable?"



"There's a jolt that if you haven't made it by 40, you may never."
RAJINDER DUTT, 45
salesman

"Growth happens fast. 40 today is far too old, history really."
NARAYANSWAMY, 32
head of MODE

A nostalgia, a yearning for former loves and the way it was, underlies many of the man's actions. Says Iqbal Khan, 43, a businessman: "At 40, fidelity has a different connotation than it had at 25."

During this stage several men have serious affairs as opposed to flings, as a last chance to find love. A young woman often gives you unconditional hero-worship, the sort you now rarely get at home. She is turned on by your power, position. You are turned on by her taut skin, her vivacity, her inexperience. "She wants an experience of age, you want an experience of youth," says film director Shekhar Kapur, 40. "Both have a need for each other."

With the increasing number of working women, there is also more opportunity. Earlier when a man went to office, he saw only other men. Now he sees many more women in the same office, not just his secretary. Men and women in the same profession are thrown together, leading to an affair of the mind, something he perhaps cannot expect from his wife. Often this develops into a physical affair with more women beginning to travel in their jobs.

According to psychiatrists, the relationship often begins with the younger woman looking at the older man as a confidant. The emotional bonding then leads to a physical relationship.

Peculiarly in India, many men and women have a suppressed adolescence because of family control—outwardly the teenager may wear western clothes and listen to pop music, but at his core, he isn't allowed to change. Analysts feel this is what resurfaces at mid-life, the missed self-expression. Says Kakar: "It is easier to think of anything at 40. You no longer worry about what your parents would think, you lose many of your sexual inhibitions."

By this time, the turbulence of marriage and raising small children is behind you. Now is the time for choices, to catch up with what you perhaps missed out during your youth. And to juggle priorities. As Mahesh Bhatt put it: "Should I do a great scene today or indulge in foreplay?"

During the 40s, though, the mental interest in sex is much greater than the physical capacity. Manoj Kant, a painter, was obsessed with sex for several years in his early 40s. His wife denied him all rights, she just wasn't interested in him. It was killing for his ego. "Sex had become all important for me," he says. "I wanted it so much. I wanted it all the time. My life was losing balance." Ultimately the restlessness drove him to an emotional madness. He plunged himself into work, sometimes through the night, to get out of it.

SEVERAL men at this age are driven by anxiety because they find that it takes them longer to get aroused, that a photograph of a nude woman or pornographic literature is no longer the turn-on it was during the teens. Dr Prakash Kothari, a sexologist, who also holds a weekly clinic at the KEM Hospital in Bombay says: "A large number of small-town men equate middle age with impotency because of a wrong belief in a finite amount of semen. Ninety per cent of the men believe that either because they masturbated regularly or had excessive intercourse, their quota is now dissipated, that they are paying the price by their current sexual inadequacy."

The myth is propagated from ignorance and lack of adequate sexual knowledge and has led to a mushrooming of sexologists and quacks

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

peddling rejuvenation pills in the same way as skin creams have come up for women. Yet other doubts resurface again about the duration of their act, and false notions of bliss. "Many men use wives as sleeping pills," says Kothari. "In India a man gives love to get sex; a woman gives sex to get love."

THE hierarchical structure that is crumbling at home is also mirrored in the corporate world. The invasion of MBAs still in their 20s is increasingly shaking the ladder beneath. There is no more cradle-to-grave security, no more automatic career promotions. Says a highly placed executive, 44: "Suddenly one morning an MBA can replace you."

Many organisations have now closed the door to over-40s. Some, like Bank of America recently gave the golden handshake to a group of people who had crossed the threshold of the "deadline" decade. Unfortunately many of these executives were not able to find new jobs. Harin Shah has knocked on many doors and is always told: "We want young people." It is not the lack of money that disturbs him but the feeling of redundancy. "Mentally it's bad," he says. "You can see neighbours going to work. Their wives go to work. My wife goes too. I end up just walking on the streets, visiting friends and having sleepless nights."

Even a lot of people in their 30s are feeling the pressure to constantly perform. The feeling of obsolescence sets in much earlier today. Although people don't get fired easily as they do in the West, there could be a feeling of no-growth. Says V.S. Mahesh, vice-president, human resources, Taj Hotels: "The rate of change of jobs is much faster now. People radically change careers eight or 10 times."

In advertising agencies, like Lintas, the average age of an employee is now 25 and the average age of a managing committee member is 32. "We now only take on MBAs," admits Managing Director Padamsee.

The rules of the business game have changed: the young executives function in fast forward. they want everything at once. Narayanswamy is 32 and heads the Bombay office of MODE, a new marketing research organisation. The question bothering him is "What next?" He says: "Growth happens fast and the plateau stares at you from a distance. Forty today is far too old, history really. If the dead is 32, the 25-year-old starts questioning. To survive you have to constantly acquire new skills."

All of this leads to new stresses. It can be particularly lethal during the dangerous decade, according to corporate doctors. Several men, to keep up, develop Type A personalities under stress: they are always running against time, face hostility at work, and are more prone to heart attacks. They are constantly preoccupied at work, drink alcohol, smoke cigarettes, eat too much or too little, have sleepless nights, procrastinate and are afraid to take holidays. They don't know what to do with their free time. Many have no hobbies and have forgotten to do things with the family.

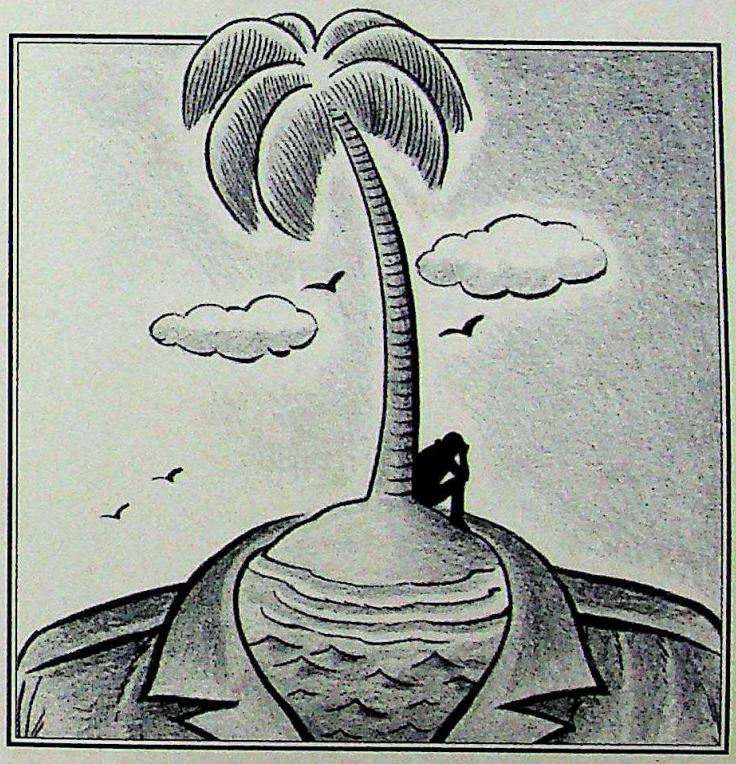
For many middle class men, the symbol of the crisis is owning a home. If a 40-year-old man hasn't been able to buy a home, he feels he has failed as a provider. Says Rajinder Dutt, 45: "At 40 you have to be within striking distance of the top. There is the terrible realisation that if you haven't made it by 40, you probably never will."

The same phenomenon is eating into government structures too. Seniority is no longer that sacrosanct. The queue to get to the top is becoming longer because many more civil servants are being recruited. Many bureaucrats at this stage find themselves stagnating while their juniors below are moving up. Typically, the bureaucrat sails along till he reaches the director stage. Then comes the plateau.

A joint secretary is the most likely to catch the mid-life blues. He can sit in the bottle-neck between joint secretary and additional secretary for over a decade and sulk. "Some tend to move away like wounded animals," says an additional secretary. "They take on a variety of jobs and then disappear without a trace." When Ranjit Kumar, an IAS officer, was sidelined out of his powerful seat in Delhi, he lost interest in his work. He began to believe there was a conspiracy against him. He even started to get chest pains, which were later proved to be psychosomatic.

The 40s have even become perilous for Indian politicians. The initial spurt and

The man at the peak of his professional career is also the loneliest person in the world—he internalises his frustration and anger, he finds it difficult now to have male friends or share his feelings with other people.



"Where do you make friends at 40? You don't."
RANDHIR CHOPRA, 44
surgeon

"Ultimately all achievement is hollow if you have no one to share it with."
L.M. AGGARWAL, 40
general manager of a large electronics company

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

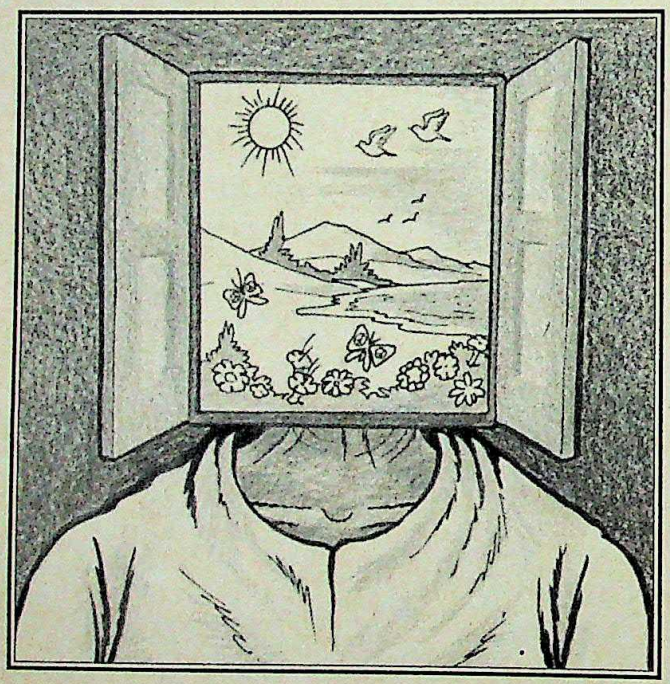
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

By the 50s the crisis begins to settle, and with it often comes a sense of renewal and the search for a cause, something that will give life meaning. Men find they can no longer jog a mile, but can walk three.

confidence some of the present lot of MPs came in with has dissipated. They were going to change the world, they now realise the world didn't change. Says K.P. Unnikrishnan of the Congress(S): "You realise that politics is like any other mechanical system. You just function as a cog in a wheel."

Analyst Kapadia believes that the mid-life crisis—like earlier crisis of weaning and puberty—is one of the three major upheavals in a man's life. A man could feel that everything that held him together is falling apart. This could lead to extreme swings in mood.

While several western values are coming in, the western pressure release valves are still not here: long week-ends, social welfare, health care, easy vacations, the leisure concept. Even more important, few Indians have hobbies—those passions outside work and home life which gave the western man a small oasis to be his own person. Today there are more accidents, heart attacks, divorces, depressions, alcoholism, job failures, more problems of all types.



"I decided to delegate—to be a coach and not a player."
ALYQUE PADAMSEE
head of Lintas

"I have everything today—money, status. Now I want to pay back."
NAVJOT DEV, 50
industrialist

And yet, although there has been a loosening of all bonds—with parents, wife, children—the Indian mid-life crisis is still not as severe as it is in the West. For a number of people begin to have a grudging respect for age and old systems like yoga, homoeopathy, *satsang*, something that will preserve tranquillity and a sense of anchor in life.

The 40s decade can be depressing but it can also culminate in second flowerings. There is the light of self-discovery at the end of the tunnel. Several other qualities can ripen during the process: wisdom, compassion, understanding, perspective. Several men find that though they can no longer jog a mile, they can walk three.

By the 50s, the crisis usually begins to settle. With it often comes the search for a cause, something that will give life meaning. Says Navjot Dev, 50, an industrialist who owns several companies: "I have everything today, money, name, status. Now I want to contribute something back."

DIFFERENT men have worked out their own solutions. Padamsee, for instance, after a turbulent passage, found a different approach to his advertising and theatre work. He says: "I decided I would stop being a hoarder of ideas. I would delegate. I would be like the coach and not the player. I'd plan the strategy, give the training and equipment. They would be on the field...I felt a different kind of happiness."

For Virendra Kumar, who runs a small textile business in old Delhi, it brought back a warm companionship with his wife after several years spent arguing and fighting. He says: "I'm more settled with my wife now than I ever was. I long to go home to her. After all is said and done, she's the only emotional support I have. Sometimes I'm driving to an appointment and find I'm actually heading home to her."

For film maker Gulzar, 52, who has spent a lifetime making films on the sensitive zones of a man's life, mid-life offered a second "initiative". He says: "It was difficult because the now or never feeling comes. But it was good: I began to write less but my writing was more concentrated."

The mirror cracks harder in the world of the film star since his ego feeds on the adulation of other people. For actor Vinod Khanna, the crunch came soon after his mother died. It pushed him towards Bhagwan Rajneesh. "I began to ask myself lots of questions about what life was about and where I was going," he says. "I do want to get involved in a cause now, even if it is politics. I accept the fact that I will grow old. I don't want nirvana now."

Gurcharan Das, 45, president of Procter and Gamble peaked early and then came the soul-searing doubts: What is all this for? What next? He met his crisis head on. "I now realise life is not about climbing ladders in the company," he says. "It is about doing something meaningful. My week-ends are spent writing and I try to make the moments with my family as rich and intense as possible."

The way out of this frightening passage of life is to perhaps let go, to let it happen. The middle of the journey can also be a time of renewal.

—MADHU JAIN and SIMRAN BHARGAVA

(Some names have been changed on the request of interviewees.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INTAC

A new force in diesel engine power

CATERPILLAR,

with 50 years of diesel engine manufacturing experience combines with Hindustan Motors to create a new joint venture –

HINDUSTAN POWERPLUS LIMITED

Now a new equation in diesel engine power.

Quality plus dependability equals...

INTAC

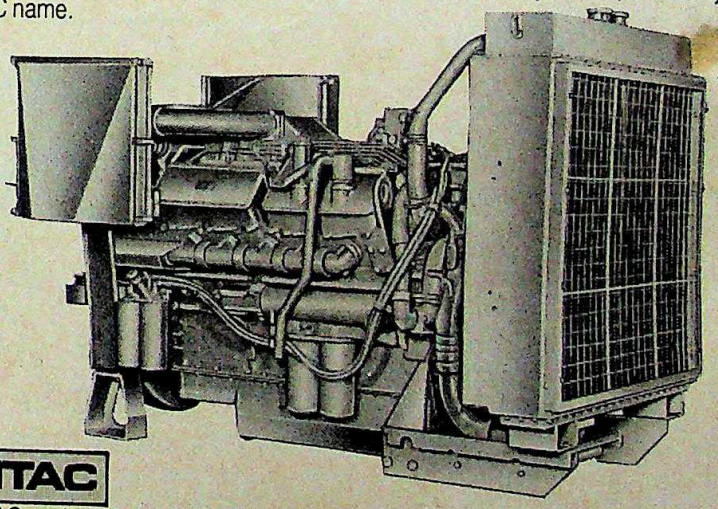
Caterpillar, CAT and ⓒ are Trademarks of Caterpillar Inc. U.S.A

Caterpillar has more than fifty years manufacturing experience of diesel and natural gas engines, with more than two million engines sold to date.

Cat engines are renowned for their exclusive technology that ensures fuel economy, durability and dependability. Qualities you can now find behind the INTAC name.

HINDUSTAN POWERPLUS AND INTAC

Names synonymous with dependable diesel and gas engines manufactured at our Hosur, Tamilnadu plant. Names you can rely on for the proven Caterpillar hallmarks of quality and dependability.



INTAC

INTAC engines and gensets powered by INTAC engines are now available through our dealers: GMMCO and TIL. For more details, please fill in the coupon and mail to the dealer nearest you.

Dealers:

GMM CO GENERAL MARKETING AND MANUFACTURING COMPANY LIMITED
Maker Bhavan No. 2, 2nd Floor, New Marine Lines, BOMBAY 400 020 Tel: 257411 Tlx: 011-5738/2315

TIL TIL Limited
1, Taratolla Road, Garden Reach, CALCUTTA 700 024
Tel: 455771 Tlx: 021-8101/8072

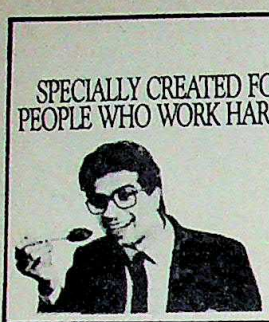
MAA COMMUNICATIONS HPL 189E

Name _____
Designation _____
Company _____
Address _____
_____
_____
_____
Pincode _____ Tel _____
Nature of industry _____

a) Please send me a detailed brochure
b) Please send your representative to call on me

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

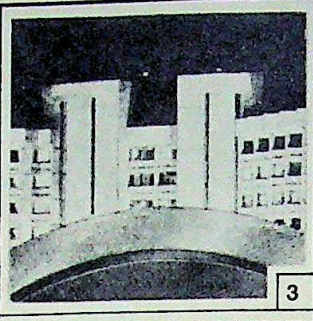
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



1

CHECK HOW MANY HAVE STOOD THE TEST OF TIME.

2



3

Just 4 months old and already the largest selling

4

Why the best builders always rely on this seal of assurance

5

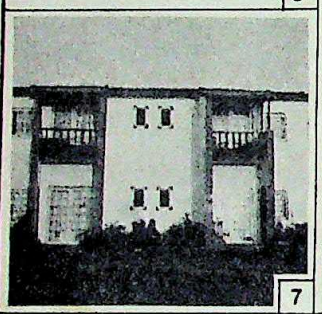
ANUBHUTI'S SPOT THE AD CONTEST

WIN **FABULOUS PRIZES**

1. 20'' COLOUR T.V. – EUROPA BY HOTLINE.
2. CASSETTE RECORDER.
3. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION OF NEWSTRACK

"For the c
just 4 holi
enjoying luxu
forevei

6



7

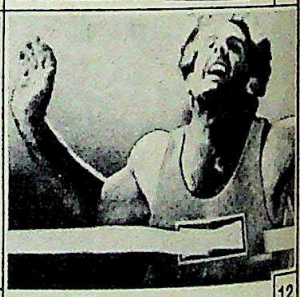
8

9

Buy it with confidence

10

11



12

Cut here — Cut here

These are 12 visuals from the advertisements of 6 Indian companies (2 each). Please identify the visual with the Sponsor in the appropriate space.

Rules & Regulations:

1. Entries have to be submitted on the prescribed entry form only.
2. The decision of the judges will be final and no correspondence will be entertained in this regard.
3. We will not be responsible for any entry lost in transit or received after the last date.
4. Each winning entry is entitled to only one prize.
5. Sponsors and employees of Anubhuti are not eligible to participate.
6. Entry forms should be sent to : —— Anubhuti Marketing & Advertising Consultants C-525, Defence Colony New Delhi – 110 024.

Complete the slogan – A good ad should be .....

....

(in not more than ten words)

SPONSORS

1. RAJ IRON FOUNDRY ☐☐
2. DABUR INDIA LTD. ☐☐
3. HOTLINE TELEVISIONS ☐☐
4. MODI CHAMPION ☐☐
5. H.C.L. ☐☐
6. DALMIA RESORTS INT.PVT.LTD. ☐☐

LAST DATE 7th APRIL '89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE SATANIC VERSES

Diplomatic Tangle

The crisis between Britain and Iran escalates

IT'S the classic conundrum. Is the pen mightier or the sword? The question cannot but acquire a sharper edge when the pen is wielded by iconoclastic author Salman Rusdie and the sword happens to be the Sword of Islam. Though the initial intensity of Muslim reaction the world over to Rushdie's controversial novel, *The Satanic Verses*, has abated somewhat, the threat to the author's life—and the diplomatic crisis it detonated—was in no way diminished.

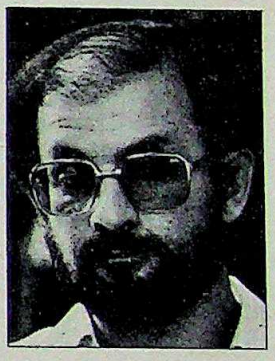
If anything, it was brought into sharper focus as *The Satanic Verses* claimed its first major diplomatic casualty with Iran formally snapping ties with Britain last fortnight. Meanwhile, there have been more anti-Rushdie protests in the UK where, for the first time, a demonstration turned violent. A group of Muslim protesters broke away from an otherwise peaceful march in Halifax and damaged a number of cars parked nearby. They were protesting a decision by the local council to keep *The Satanic Verses* in its public libraries.

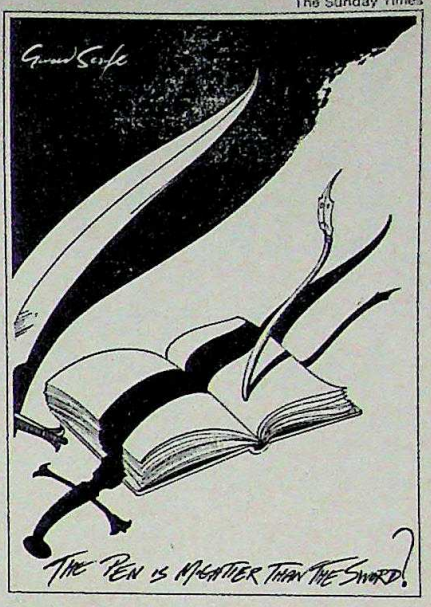
Simultaneously, a string of senior British ministers have been telling the country's Muslims to behave themselves and keep within the law. But the fact of the matter is quite the reverse: Muslim protests have by and large been peaceful and well within the law. Yet, Home Secretary Douglas Hurd, a former diplomat, visited the central mosque in Bradford—which has the largest Muslim settlement in Britain—and warned: "It is not the job of British ministers to go about condemning books. Once you start on that, you will regret having pushed us down that path." Hurd had to raise his voice to be heard above the din of an agitated gathering. Voices from the audience accused the Government of double-standards, pointing out that it had lost no time in demanding a ban on *Spycatcher*, former British spook Peter Wright's controversial memoirs.

Said Dr Hesham El'esawy, chairman of the Islamic Society for the Promotion of Religious Tolerance: "Hurd should have taken into account the fact that the immigrant community is a very law abiding community. He should have warned against attacks on Muslims. I get threatening letters all the time."

Surprisingly, there were signs of self-censorship in London. The British Library put *The Satanic Verses* in the 'restricted', locked shelves which contains its collection of pornographic as well as rare books.

But it was the diplomatic crisis that overshadowed all else. London bent over backwards to forestall snapping of diplomatic ties with Teheran. Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe declared: "The British Government, the British people, don't have any affection for the book.... It compares Britain with Hitler's Germany. We don't like that any more than Muslims like the attacks on their faith in the book."





Rushdie (left); and a cartoon in the London *Times*

Britain's attempts at appeasement were clearly made with commercial motives. There is no doubt that British business had an eye on the fat contracts involved in the reconstruction of the war ravaged Iranian economy.

The conciliatory moves by the Government saw Rushdie panic. From his heavily-guarded hide-away, he telephoned Liberal Party leader Raddy Ashdown. Ashdown's aides said Rushdie was worried about the "consistency of commitment of the British Government to support him." London denied any dilution in its stand, but clearly a process toward appeasing Iran's clergy had been sanctioned.

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher made a clearer enunciation of the British position. "We've known in our own religion people doing things which are deeply offensive to some of us, and we felt it very much. And that is what has happened in Islam. I think that these great religions are strong enough and deep enough to withstand these kinds of events," she said.

But Iran's rulers were in no mood to be lectured on the finer points of great religions. Convinced that Britain would not press for withdrawal of the book, Iran snapped diplomatic ties.

It is now clear that Britain and its allies moved on the knowledge that the diplomatic crisis would not really have an impact on trade ties with oil-rich Iran. A spokesman for the decision-making council of ministers of the European Economic Community in Brussels told INDIA TODAY: "The community's reaction has been entirely diplomatic and political in nature. There is no further action intended or decided upon and there are no trade sanctions or anything like that in the offing. Free trade is a basic feature of the European community."

The mood in Europe indicates that trade with Iran will continue undiminished. A spokesman for the Swedish Government said; "Sweden's trade with Iran will continue as before. There have been no cuts, and we don't foresee any disturbance in our trade."

Britain too was quick to emphasise that trade would not be a casualty of the severed diplomatic ties. Said a foreign office spokesman: "The break in diplomatic relations will only affect trade in the sense that people will be reluctant to do business with Iran. But it will not mean a break in trade relations." The emphasis is understandable. In 1986-87, Iranian exports to the UK was slightly over £100 million (Rs 268 crore) while its imports from Britain stood around £400 million (Rs 1,066 crore).

From being an instigator in the incendiary issue, Rushdie has quickly been reduced to a pawn in the larger diplomatic game. With no official links between London and Teheran, and with Whitehall indirectly condemning his book, Salman Rushdie has truly become Midnight's Child.

—DIPANKAR DE SARKAR in London

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

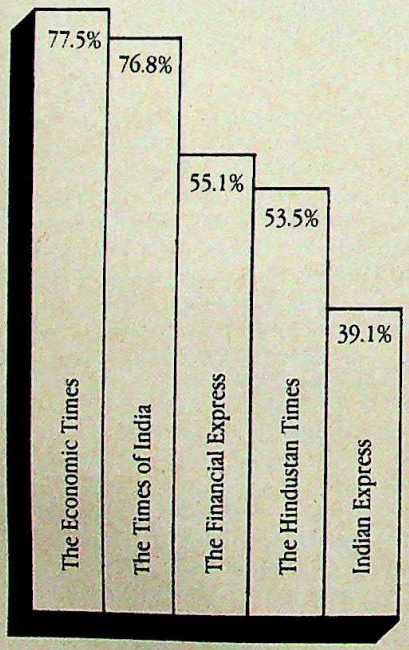
Get the Decision Makers on your side

Advertise in DATA-BANK'89 and reach the readers of The Economic Times for 365 days and more

Data-Bank is a statistical encyclopaedia. A comprehensive single-point ready-reckoner for instant information and analysis. Data-Bank is indispensable for wise investment and marketing decisions concerning North India.

A publication of The Economic Times, Delhi, Data-Bank '89 covers all critical industries of the North with special emphasis on Office Automation, Electronics, Automobiles and the Public Sector. Data-Bank '89 will be read and re-read by 1,50,000 readers all round this year and more.

AVERAGE ISSUE READERSHIP
DECISION MAKERS' SURVEY



With an average issue readership of 77.5 per cent, THE ECONOMIC TIMES is the most extensively read and referred to newspaper among top and senior level managers in the Northern Region of India's corporate world.

DATA-BANK'89

Bank on it for cumulative returns

Contact: Response Department, The Economic Times, 7 Bahadurshah Zafar Marg, New Delhi 110 002 Tel: 331 9530 Telex: 031 61339 ECON IN Grams: INDIANA

INKOB502

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UNITED KINGDOM

Honouring India

Plaques of Gandhi, Patel, Tilak and Savarkar put up

WHILE Doordarshan audiences back home are being treated to a never-ending dose of *Mera Bharat Mahan*, even old, colonial Britain is shedding some of her rusty shackles to salute Indians who fought for freedom. Plaques in honour of Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel, Tilak and Savarkar have now been installed joining the list that includes Engels, Mazzini, Jinnah and De Gaulle. In a rare visit to the Indian High Commission, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher unveiled a bronze bust of Indira Gandhi in January. And events to mark Nehru's birth centenary are set to cap a year that some would say has gone India's way.

Gandhi and Nehru had always been respected. But now Lokmanya Bal-gangadhar Tilak and even Vinayak Da-modar "Veer" Savarkar, the Hindu Mahasabha leader who professed the violent overthrow of British rule, are being honoured. Blue plaques—blue-coloured ceramic dishes with inscrip-tions—were erected recently at the houses where they stayed in London. Says Victor Belcher of English Heritage, the organisation responsible for erecting these plaques in London: "Forty years ago this would have been unthinkable." Even today it hasn't come without a struggle. Said Peter Pendsey of the Tilak Commemorative Plaque Committee: "It took us four years of hectic behind-the-scenes work to get the plaque erected."

Tilak came to Britain in 1918 to slap a defamation case against Sir Valentine Chirol, for the famed *Times* correspondent's description of him as 'the father of Indian unrest'. Tilak lost the case—coughing up more than Rs 2 crore as costs over what is now widely regarded as a political judgement—but during his year-long stay, he led a dynamic campaign for Home Rule in India. Appropriately enough, his residence at 10 Howley Place quickly assumed the nickname of 'India's 10 Downing Street'.

Savarkar was arrested in London in 1910 on charges of inciting revolt and violence against the British. But he had been sucked into the vortex of the freedom struggle long before he came to London, where he passed his law examination at Grey's Inn Bar. Even while applying for a scholarship to study law in London, he had stated that "the loss of independence of my country and the possibility of regaining it is the only theme of which I have dreamt by night and on which I have mused by day".

It wasn't long before Savarkar got involved in the overseas revolutionary movement making a fiery speech at Caxton Hall supporting the killing of Sir Curzon Wyllie, the English official in charge of Indian students. He was deported to India in 1910 and sentenced to 50 years after being charged with conspiracy to murder the collector of Nasik in 1908. He was accused of organising the despatch of revolvers and nitro-glycerine to India. A year before his deportation, a special committee appointed by the benches of Grey's Inn decided that he not be called to the bar.

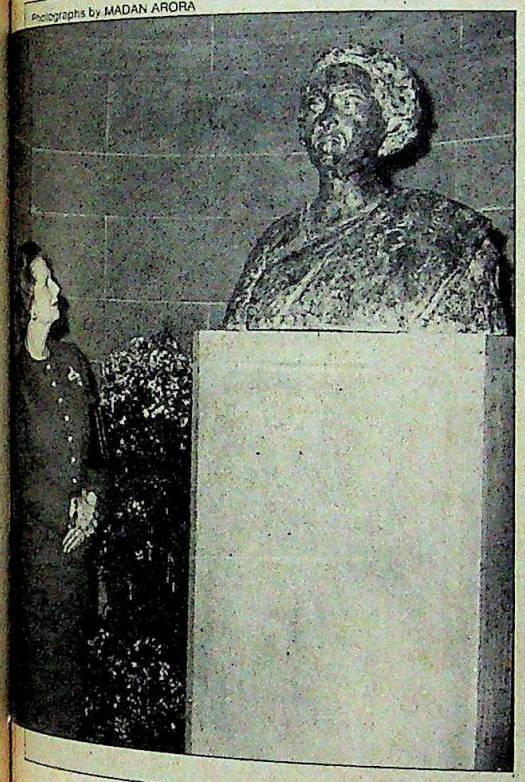
Today, 23 years after his death, moves are afoot in the city which punished Savarkar to make him a bar-at-law. Said Bhasker Ghorpade, a barrister who is spearheading the effort: "This will be an overdue recognition to a man about whom little is known here. And we hope Savarkar's Hindu politics does not distort the picture—not in London."

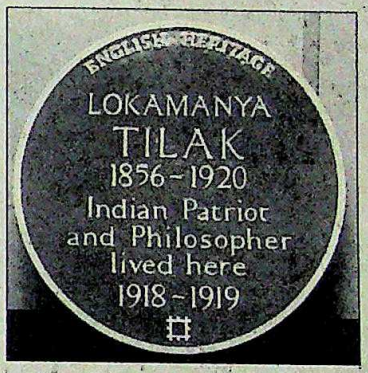
Says Ghorpade, who is also vice-president of the British branch of the India Heritage Foundation, a worldwide body: "We want Savarkar admitted to the bar because we feel the Inns of Court belong to both the Indians and the British. It was here that Indian leaders were trained in the values of democracy and liberty." Incidentally, last November, Gandhiji was readmitted to the Inner Temple 66 years after being expelled on a charge of sedition.

Taking the initiative for the recognition of these leaders was a group of expatriates called the *Tagoreans*. The management of the Inner Temple thought the event could mark the Nehru birth centenary year. The gesture seemed to signal a slow change in the colonial attitudes that still characterise the English.

Said Patrick Sheehan, sub-treasurer at the Inner Temple Bar: "Of course, some people said 'But is it sensible? After all, Gandhi's not one of us'. But because

Photographs by MADAN ARORA





Thatcher with Indira Gandhi statue; and (above) Tilak plaque.

For the immigrants left out of the train to prosperity, pride comes in the shape of symbols.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

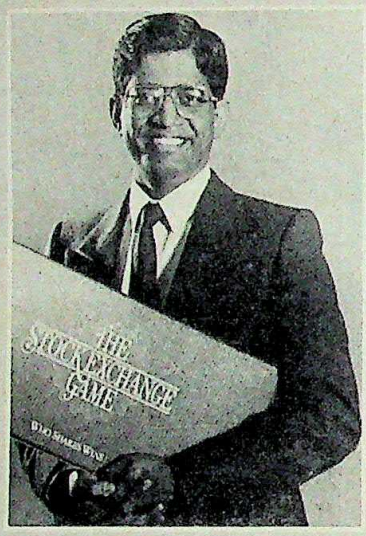
of the passage of time, there has been a change of heart. We've begun to realise that we have a lot to be ashamed of." Sheehan disclosed that the benches were initially hesitant to readmit Gandhi, perhaps because of his close relation with the Irish patriot De Valera.

Quite apart from the recognition that plaques and such honours bestow on the patriots of the Indian struggle, there has been a strong underlying motive of equality that has impelled London-based Indians to make such moves. In Thatcherite Britain the fast train to prosperity is leaving an increasing number of immigrants—Asians, Africans and Caribbeans—desperately stuck in manholes of poverty. In what one opposition leader has called Britain's 'Loadsa-money', race riots are no longer the order of the day. Porsches, cellphones and filofaxes are the symbols that rule the country. And for the coloured, pride comes in the shape of symbols—like Gandhi, Tilak, Nehru, Savarkar and Mandela. Said Ghorpade: "There is no love lost between them and us. It is very important for future generations of immigrants to have a feel of Indian history."

The Indian mission in London too has done its bit. There is already a statue of Gandhi in the heart of London. And moves are afoot to mark the Nehru centenary year with seminars, exhibitions and a gala dinner. Also being considered is the erection of a Nehru statue at Westminster—an event that would be unprecedented.

Clearly, the attitude to history is changing in some sections of British society. But only just.

—DIPANKAR DE SARKAR in London



More and the Stock Exchange Game; and (below) De Scribe

ABHAY MORE

Game Point

WHAT'S common between the operation theatre of the Hemlington Hospital in Cleveland and the London Stock Exchange? Answer: The enterprise of a young Bombayite, Dr Abhay More. Taking time off from an 80 hours-a-week work schedule, More, a plastic surgeon in the hospital's orthopaedics department, has invented a board-game, called the Stock Exchange Game, that has proved a hit with London's yuppies. So, besides being a doctor, the 39-year-old graduate of Bombay's T.N. Medical College is now also the managing director of a rapidly expanding firm, More Games Ltd.

More is now chalking up yet another success: a word game called De Scribe. All available sets of the game have sold out within six weeks, even before the formal launch at the Warl's Court Toy Fair. The game, he explains, was born during late-night rest periods in the hospital when resident doctors played other popular word games like Scrabble. Players would often complain that they had been unlucky in the draw of letters. More's De Scribe gets over the problem: each player gets identical letters.

Now, as the British market for De Scribe picks up, More is negotiating to sell the Stock Exchange Game in the US, West Germany, Sweden, Malta and Portugal. In Britain, the W.H. Smith chain last year sold 2,000 sets of the game at 20 shops. This year, it has upped the number of outlets to 120 and More expects sales of between 20,000 and 30,000 sets. Besides W.H. Smith and John Lewis, the London Stock Exchange too is selling the game. Harrods, the prestigious department store, and Hamleys, Britain's largest toy shop, have also shown interest.

How did the idea for the game arise? Says More: "I became interested in shares two years ago, when I invested in some. I didn't have enough money then, and so made an imaginary portfolio. My stocks went up from £1,700 to £2,300 in three years. I thought there must be a game in this." In giving shape to the idea, More received grants from the Government and the British Design Council. Patterned after another famous game, Monopoly, the Stock Exchange Game (Price: £17.95) simply has shares instead of property for sale.

And present indications are that it might prove to be as much of a success as Monopoly. It's not been easy sailing, though. A lot of hard work has gone into it. To deliver the first batch of the game to W.H. Smith, More himself drove a three-tonne truck 220 miles. Even today, besides his work at the hospital, More manages (with just one assistant) the correspondence of his firm and helps assemble the game at his small industrial unit on the outskirts of Middlesborough.

Not content with his phenomenal success so far, More's restless mind is already ticking away for a third game. "It's going to work out nicely.... You'll see," More predicts. He wants parts of the game to be made in India and is contacting plastic manufacturers there. And though he is interested in selling the game to India's growing yuppie population, he wants "to see this business on its feet first. I want to sell the Stock Exchange Game all over the world in different languages".

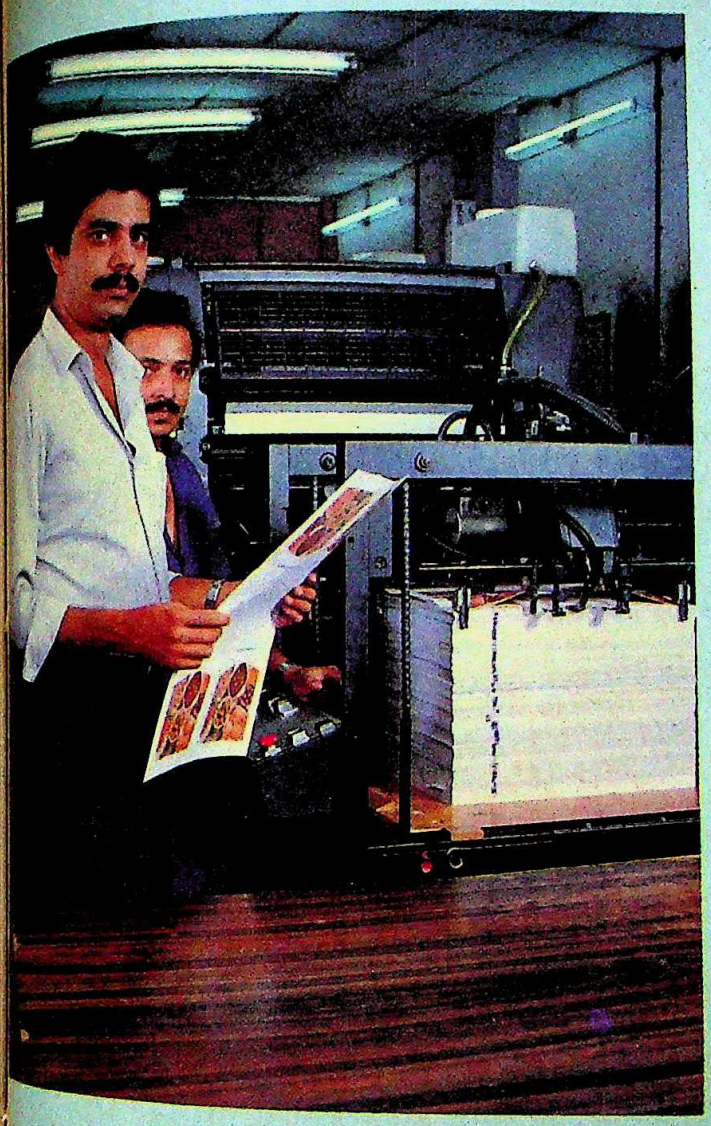
The surgeon from Bombay certainly is headed for bigger successes. The Latin logo on his Stock Exchange Game says it all: *Plus Ventura Tanto Lucrum*. That is to say: "More ventured more gained." Touche.

—DIPANKAR DE SARKAR in London

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In your zeal to venture



You deserve a bank with enthusiasm – VYSYA BANK

Enthusiasm, verve, guts ... exclusive underlining factors for success in enterprising. Matchable only by a nerve which can resonate, respond and involve.

That is – the philosophy and versatility in service of Vysya Bank, focussed to support success to sustain.

And this has been the secret of our success – in being responsive, in being proactive to challenges, in going beyond banking through equipment leasing and credit cards, in occupying the premier position in the private sector.

In your pursuits, team up with the winner – Vysya Bank.

VYSYA BANK Now ranked 50th in ASIA

Come, let us grow together.

THE VYSYA BANK LTD

Regd. Office: Avenue Road, Bangalore-560 002.
Admv. Office: 72, St. Marks Road,
Bangalore-560 001.
Chairman: Ramesh Gelli

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Kiron/VBL/Corp/890

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Elgi Screw Compressors.
Adapting the finest technology
from SULLAIR CORP., U.S.A.
to serve our industrial needs.

ELGI Screw Compressors embody the finest technology: that of Sullair Corp., U.S.A. pioneers in the field, blended to suit Indian industrial conditions by ELGI's own expert R&D staff.

Made with care and stringently tested, ELGI Screw Compressors come in over 30 standard models. Electric motor and Diesel driven. Single and Two-stage. Stationary and Portable. In a range of working capacities. All built so rugged that basic maintenance is all they require.

Every ELGI Compressor comes with a complete service package, co-ordinated by 14 branch offices nationwide.

ELGI. It is the final word in Screw Compressors.

ELGI SULLAIR
Screw Compressors

Low on maintenance.
High on performance.

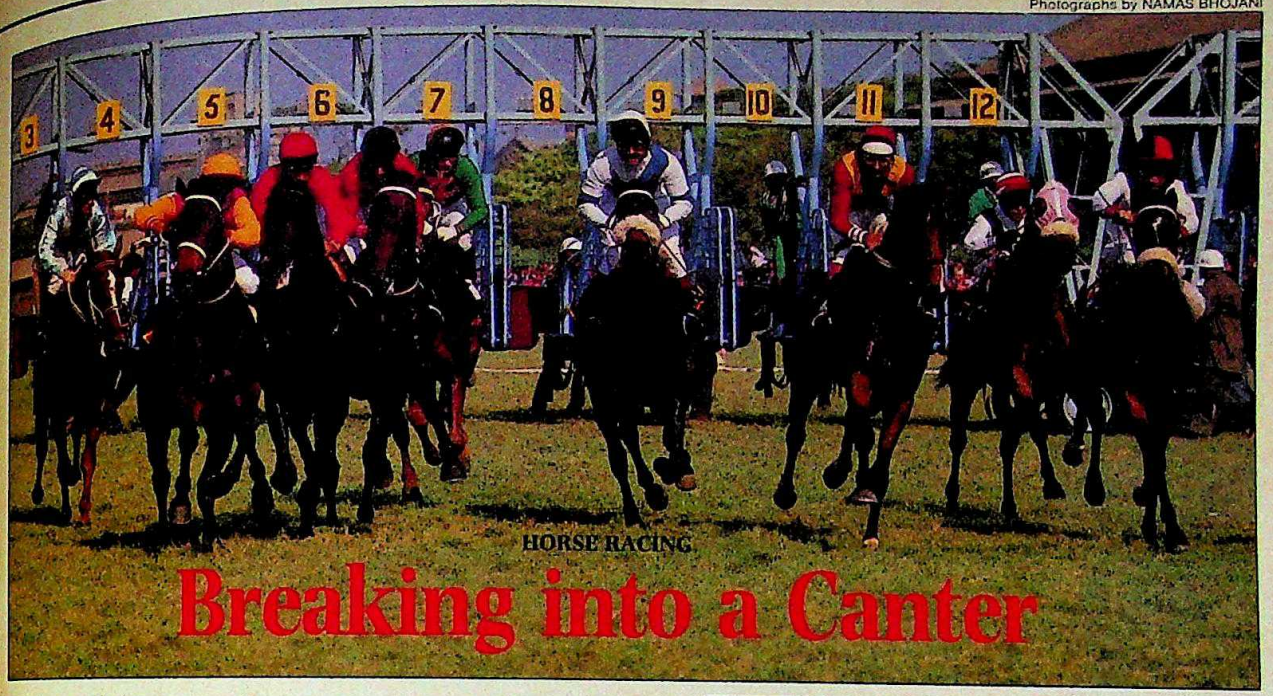
ELGI EQUIPMENTS LIMITED
India House, Trichy Road, Coimbatore-641018. Phone: 30355. Grams: HYDRAULICS: Telex: 0855-292, 0855-347

Branches:
Ahmedabad: Tels: 409336, 409112 & 407583 Bangalore: Tels: 576638 & 567589 Bhopal: Tel: 61733 Bombay: Tels: 4930163 & 4930164 Bhubaneshwar: Tel: 56785 Calcutta: Tels: 280495, 287382 & 288089 Cochin: Tels: 360155 & 362443 Hyderabad: Tels: 68850 & 65850 Jaipur: Tel: 68320 Madras: Tels: 566694 & 560095 Madurai: Tels: 31404 & 37651 New Delhi: Tel: 5437593 Salem: Tels: 7990 & 77437
Distributors: Lucknow: Auto Service Equipment. Tels: 47565 (Off.), 49646 (Res.) New Delhi: Auto Service Equipment. Tel: 528906 New Delhi: Service Equipment Company. Tels: 3313011 & 3310473 Pune: Garage Equipment Corporation. Tels: 28243 (Off.), 442856 (Res.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by NAMAS BHOJANI



HORSE RACING

Breaking into a Canter

IT is regarded as the *piece de resistance* of Indian racing. If the Indian Derby has history and romance, the Invitation Cup, with the finest horses from all the five major racing centres competing, provides the excitement and drama of deciding which is the best four-year-old thoroughbred in the country. And this year, with the highest stake money ever, thanks to ITC sponsorship, the quicksilver colt Exhilaration made history by becoming the first unbeaten horse to win the national championship.

Exhilaration won the 2,400 metre race, rechristened the Classic Indian Turf Invitation Cup, at the lush Mahalaxmi Race Course in Bombay last fortnight in great style. It was the odds-on favourite, and it won in 2 minutes 31.7 seconds, just one second outside the course record set by last year's Derby winner, Cordon Bleu. And in winning the cup without fully stretching himself, the fabulous bay colt also settled a controversy raging since this year's Indian Derby.

In the Derby last February, Exhilaration veered to the side before the finish line, raising doubts whether it had the right temperament for a champion racehorse. It won the prestigious event, but turf pundits did not fail to note that the horse it pipped at the post, Northern Star, had the misfortune of finding his path blocked by other horses earlier on in the race. Because of Northern Star's hard luck story in the Derby, the question as to which is this year's champion horse still remained undecided.

In the Invitation Cup, the issue remained tantalisingly open till the final bend on the Mahalaxmi race-track. That was when jockey Pesi Shroff goaded Exhilaration to break away from the pack. In an astonishing burst of speed, the colt rapidly established a substantial lead. Northern Star, with British jockey Mick Kinane riding flat out, went into chase. But even though Shroff never used the whip, Exhilaration passed the post half-a-length ahead. "The way he accelerated in the final stretch was truly the hallmark of a champion," observed Gautam Kotwal, editor of the *Indian Thoroughbred*. Added the colt's breeder and co-owner, Cyrus Poonawalla: "The controversy is settled now. Exhilaration is one of the all-time greats."

The start (top) and finish of the Invitation Cup: Exhilaration all the way

Trained by Imtiaz Sait, the Bombay-based horse has won all the seven races it has featured in. Besides the Indian Derby, it won the 2000 Guineas last December, and is now in the running for the 'Triple Crown' of Indian racing by competing in the St Leger later this year.

But Poonawalla has even bigger plans for the horse. He is hopeful of taking Exhilaration for the Hong Kong Invitation Cup next January, where an Indian horse has yet to be invited. "That would be a very difficult race to win," said jockey Shroff. "But at Mahalaxmi, Exhilaration galloped very well and did everything he was asked to do."

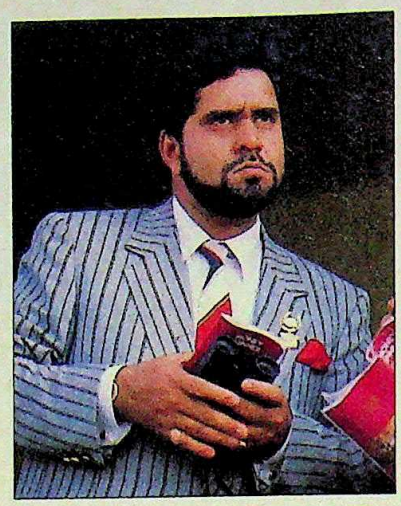
The Invitation Cup event is rotated between Bangalore, Madras, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Bombay. This year it was hosted by the country's premier racing institution, the Royal Western India Turf Club, in gala style. With ITC taking over the cup's sponsorship from its sister concern VST, the total prize money went up to nearly Rs 9 lakh, with the winner getting a handsome Rs 6 lakh as his share. The race was preceded by an advertising blitz, and with more young people now showing up at racecourses, turf authorities are hopeful that the trend of declining attendance since the '70s will be reversed.

Sponsorship by big companies is paying dividends. Besides ITC, the UB Group headed by young Vijay Mallya,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

who is also a leading horse owner, and Manu Chhabria's Shaw Wallace have begun putting money in racing. Mallya is by far the biggest sponsor. He bankrolls the Indian Derby, now named after his company, McDowell. In Bangalore, he has committed himself to spending Rs 2 crore in the next five years—both for sponsoring races and for promoting them through the media. "Mallya is the best thing that has happened to the sport," said Kotwal. "He is clean, has a good image, he wants to win, and has made sponsorship of races popular. Horse breeding has also received a spurt thanks to the money he puts in every year to buy a string of thoroughbreds."



Indian racing is certainly in need of a better image. In recent years it has been bedevilled by a series of controversies. The latest was when the respected daily, *The Hindu*, the only newspaper which covers racing in depth, unleashed a thunderbolt last January. In an unprecedented strongly-worded piece on Republic Day, the paper announced its decision to stop reporting on the sport at the Guindy Race Course in Madras since "the results of the races continue to be fixed by certain elements that have chosen to defile standards with impunity".

THE INDIAN THOROUGHBRED

Mallya (top); and the Bangalore Turf Club race: high stakes

MILLIONAIRE businessman and race horse owner M.A.M. Ramaswamy dominates Madras racing, though officially the Madras Racing Undertaking is under government control. So *The Hindu*'s charge that the goings-on at Guindy were akin to "downright skullduggery and worse" created an immediate sensation. Tamil Nadu's newly-elected Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi stepped in, and at a meeting attended by Ramaswamy, the paper's Editor G. Kasturi and Publisher S. Rangarajan, it was decided to change the composition of the Stewards Committee which oversees racing. "We have joined up with the state Government to see that fair racing takes place," said Rangarajan, after the paper resumed its coverage. Ramaswamy, however, pooh-poohed the controversy, insisting that the main cause of the trouble was the poor standard of jockeys in Madras.

But jockeys have long been the whipping boys of Indian racing. Things are now beginning to change, as more articulate and educated riders are coming into the sport. The Jockeys Federation of India (JFI) has become very active and is demanding better facilities for its members. Said JFI Vice-President Shroff: "Things are improving, but not fast enough. At many clubs jockeys do not even get proper accommodation and have to live in the stable area. Nor is there any retirement scheme for jockeys."

The Bangalore Turf Club (BTC), under a young and enterprising Chairman P. G. Belliappa, is the first one to start innovating in this very conservative sport. The BTC, for instance, has abolished the subsidy an owner used to get merely for entering his horse in a race. Instead, the stake money has been increased substantially. With greater commercial sponsorship, the BTC plans to have a total of Rs 3.4 crore to cover the stakes and the fodder allowance. "We have changed the way racing is run. Our stake money for the regular races is the highest in India. And the impact is already visible, as racing has become more competitive," said Belliappa. Jockeys have also welcomed the change—their share of the stake has gone up by Rs 7.5 lakh annually.

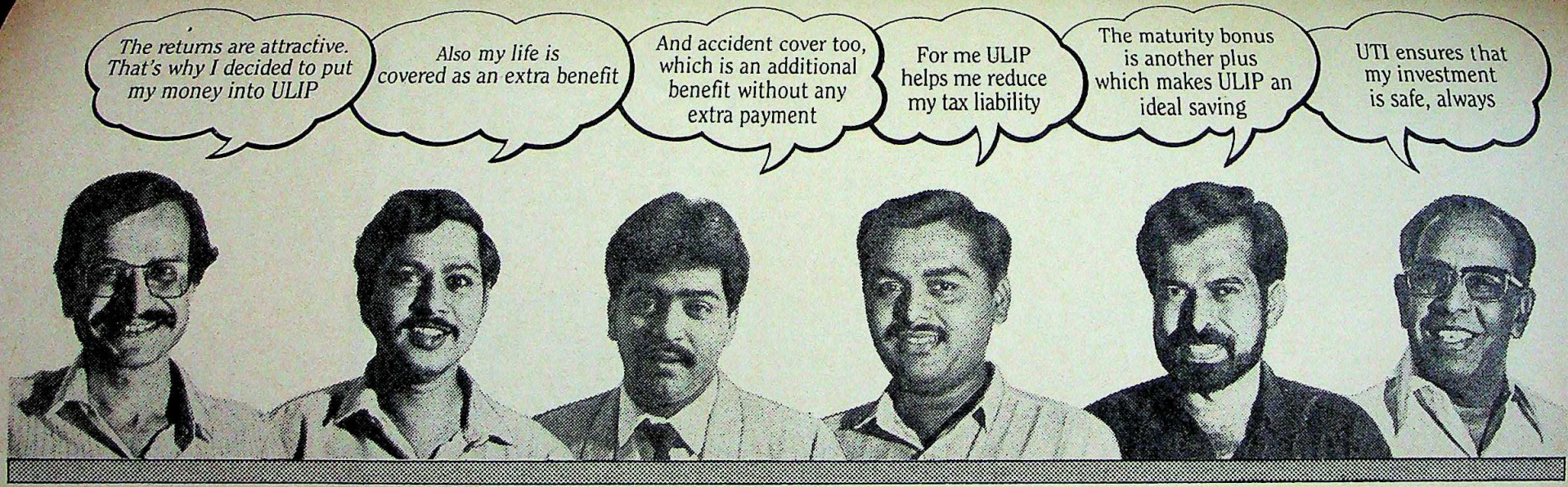
The BTC broke another convention and invited jockeys and trainers to the club party on the eve of the Bangalore Derby. It is also trying other tricks to improve the image of racing and attract more people to the racecourse—it has sponsored sports events in the city, distributed free food packets to punters, slashed prices in its restaurant, and even brought out a colourful 1989 calendar. "Last year, we were in a real mess with the Government threatening to take over and wanting to terminate the lease on our land. But we have come through, and notched up record attendances," said Belliappa.

The BTC is still under pressure from the Government and was asked to pay a phenomenal Rs 3 lakh as the daily licence fee in March, up from Rs 60,000 at the beginning of the financial year. But with Mallya, ITC and maybe even Chhabria keen on sponsoring races, things are beginning to look up.

As last fortnight's colourful Invitation Cup demonstrated, Indian racing could very well be galloping towards a greener turf. This year, 755 horses were registered for the annual auction at Mahalaxmi, up by more than a hundred. The average sale price also doubled to Rs 82,000. The prices in private sales have gone up as well, and the three-quarter share in a champion horse recently fetched a phenomenal Rs 28 lakh. If the strides don't shorten again, Indian racing may well look forward to exhilarating times.

—M. RAHMAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



ULIP – The 6-In-1 Savings Option From Unit Trust

Unit Linked Insurance Plan from Unit Trust. A savings option with very special features. Designed to match distinct needs of individuals. A savings opportunity that aims to provide multiple benefits to many people.

RETURNS INCREASING EVERY YEAR
(Dividend for 1987-88 13.50%)

LIFE INSURANCE COVER
(No medical examination)

FREE ACCIDENT INSURANCE
(upto Rs. 15,000)

TAX REBATE
(Contributions exempt under section 80 C & dividend income qualifies for I.T. exemption under section 80 L)

MATURITY BONUS
(An extra benefit. 5% on 10 year plan and 7.5% on 15 year plan, payable on maturity)

YES, YOU TOO CAN JOIN ULIP!
If you are between 18 years and $50\frac{1}{2}$ years you can join ULIP with a minimum target amount of Rs. 3,000 and a maximum of Rs. 40,000 payable in half yearly/yearly instalments spread over 10 or 15 years. In case of 15 year plan, the age limit is $45\frac{1}{2}$.

WHOM TO CONTACT
It is simple. Contact any office of Unit Trust, its Chief Representatives, Agents or select Hindustan Petroleum Pumps or the nearest branch of Banks specified below.

1. Eastern Region – UCO Bank.
2. Southern Region – Canara Bank.
3. Northern Region – Punjab National Bank
4. Western Region – Bank of Baroda.

Mail the coupon to Unit Trust of India at:

- Post Bag 11410. Bombay-20. Tel: 2863767/6201995
- Post Bag 60. Calcutta-1. Tel: 209391/208795
- Post Bag 5063. Madras-1. Tel: 587433/580938
- Post Bag 5. New Delhi-2. Tel: 3318638/3319786

Please send me a Free Pamphlet and application form of ULIP

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Unit Linked Insurance Plan from

UNIT TRUST OF INDIA

(A Public Sector Financial Institution)

APEX 8998

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IODINE

Deadly Lack

New moves to fight menace

THE letter 'I' may stand for ink in a nursery primer, but to a chemist, 'I' is for iodine. And to doctors, iodine, or rather the lack of it, spells a scourge. It is responsible for the birth of a majority of the mentally handicapped in India—2 million of them cretins, handicapped mentally as well as physically.

Though generally ignored, the focus on the control of iodine deficiency diseases (IDD) has suddenly sharpened. Last month, while Common Cause, the Delhi-based consumer rights movement, complained before the National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission, that standards for salt iodation were not being followed, scientists were planning a renewed assault on the problem.

After years of argument over the efficacy of iodated oil—used as an emergency measure the world over—it seems likely that oil injections might now be used to fight the menace in India too. A national workshop, which brought officials from Central and state governments to Bangalore in mid-February, recommended a pilot project to try out injections. The workshop also suggested surveys by medical colleges (prevalence of IDD remains largely undocumented) and emphasised the need for education. Meanwhile, UNICEF has already prepared publicity material—posters, pamphlets, comics, and cinema and radio spots—worth Rs 45 lakh for India.

Significantly, after 27 years, the 'national goitre control programme' is to become the 'national iodine deficiency diseases control programme'. That's a significant shift, for goitre is the least of the problems (INDIA TODAY, February 29, 1984). Since iodine is necessary for the thyroid gland to produce crucial growth hormones, deficiency in the foetus or in infancy can lead to cripples, deaf-mutes, cretins and still-births.

It's not impossible to solve the problem. All it needs is less than a pinch of iodine in common salt. Most countries have followed a standard strategy: a crash programme with iodine injections in endemic areas and compulsory salt iodation as a permanent solution.

India chose not to follow this. It discarded injections because of a dispute over their efficacy among senior researchers of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. After a team studied the effects of injections in 1984, the Government accepted a claim by Dr Kochupillai, associate professor of endocrinology, that oil injections can be harmful, especially during pregnancy. However, his conclusions are disputed. Professor L.M. Nath, head of the department of public health at the institute, says: "The tests that I know of cannot stand strict epidemiological scrutiny."

No wonder, then, the issue generated heat at Bangalore. While a final decision on oil is awaited, the national programme remains restricted to salt iodation. Considering the proportions of the problem, success has been slow to come. The first step is producing enough. Production has jumped in the last two years from a mere 2 lakh tonnes (half of which used to be exported to Nepal) to 20 lakh tonnes now, according to government figures. However, not all licensees produce as much as they are supposed to and in some places iodation plants—some donated by international organisations—lie rusting.

The target, though, is to saturate the entire country with a production of 50 lakh tonnes a year by 1992 and Rs 2 crore has been budgeted in the seventh plan. The idea is finally to ban uniodated salt throughout the country. So far, it has been done in seven states and in certain districts of other states. In some places a strong salt lobby has stalled it. Delhi had planned a ban from November 1, 1988, and Maharashtra from May 1 this year. Both dates have been postponed at the political level.

Even where it is compulsory, traders get around the law, selling uniodated salt as iodated, or even openly selling it as uniodated. The former scam is more lucrative since the iodated variety is often priced unnecessarily high (say Rs 2 as against 50 paise). On the other hand, the lower price of ordinary salt ensures brisk sales. Since iodation is not compulsory everywhere, uniodated salt easily gets into areas where it is.

A recent test of various brands picked up in Lucknow showed up all of them as being below par (the rules stipulate a minimum 30 parts per million (ppm) of iodine or 50 ppm of potassium iodate at manufacture and 15 ppm of iodine or 25 ppm of potassium iodate at consumption). But many manufacturers just don't print the iodine content on the packets.

The manufacture and expiry dates are often not mentioned either. This is important since moisture and sunlight can draw iodine out of the salt. A recent test of 18 packets of Tata salt by the Super Bazar public sector cooperative revealed that the iodine content of three of them was slightly below par. Yet, Tata's is among the better brands available. The majority of brands don't even come near stipulated requirements. But they continue to be sold unabashedly, exposing millions more to a variety of mental and physical handicaps.

—DAVID DEVADAS

A goitre case (above); and various brands of salt: standards ignored

Most brands of salt are not iodated enough, and deficiency can cause goitre or lead to cripples, cretins, deaf-mutes and even still-births.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

SPECIAL NEWSTRACK OFFERS

MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE

Rs. 135/- for a single cassette of March — If you're not satisfied return it within 7 days by Registered Post and you can get your money back.*

FREE INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION FOR 6 MONTHS

Rs. 720/- for a half-yearly subscription (6 cassettes of *Newstrack*) — and you get a free six-month subscription to INDIA TODAY.

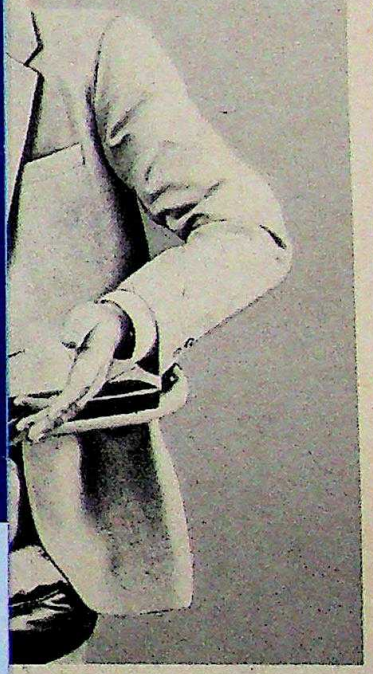
FREE INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION FOR 18 MONTHS

Rs. 1200/- for an annual subscription (12 cassettes of *Newstrack*) — and a free 18-month subscription to INDIA TODAY.

...rates given above are inclusive of all taxes and delivery charges).
...ettes will be sent by courier for speedy delivery. For all cities/towns not covered by courier services ...ettes will be sent by Registered Post.
...l of the 'Money-back' offer the cassette must be returned by Registered Post within 7 days of ...t, to Living Media India Ltd., 316 Competent House, F-14 Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001. The ...pany will not be responsible for any postal delays.
...rther enquiries please contact any of our Regional Offices:
...lhi: 3320689 • Bombay: 2027867 • Madras: 479163 • Calcutta: 445398 • Bangalore: 566834

...want to subscribe to *Newstrack*. Enclosed is my subscription of —
...: 135/- for a single copy of the March *Newstrack* with MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.
...: 720/- for 6 months (6 *Newstrack* cassettes) and my free six-months subscription to INDIA TODAY.
...: 1200/- for 1 year (12 *Newstrack* cassettes) and my free 18 months subscription to INDIA TODAY.
...Cheque/D.D. No: _____ dated _____
...ase deliver my cassette to:
...me: _____
...ress: _____
...n: _____
...e: _____ Tel. No.: _____
...ase drawn remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd., and mail the coupon with the remittance to ...ing Media India Ltd., P.O. Box No. 29, New Delhi — 110 001.
...is coupon can also be used for subscription renewal. Please indicate your subscription no. _____

...heme



...ll be credited to the
...d bank account on 1st
...t tax deduction at
...ely withdrawn for any

...posits **can be withdrawn**
...ase of plant and
...c. for the business or
...ee.

...accepted and collection
charges will be ... IDBI. Date of deposit will be the date of receipt of cheque by IDBI.

- Demand drafts received by IDBI within 10 days of issue, will get credit from the date of the draft.

...is earlier.

- **Deposits can be made by post.**

25TH YEAR OF SERVICE TO INDUSTRY

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BANK OF INDIA
Jolly Maker Chambers No. 2, 225, Vinay K. Shah Marg,
Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021.

Sobhagya-B/IDBI/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE letter 'I' may stand for nursery primer, but to a c 'I' is for iodine. And to iodine, or rather the lack of it, scourge. It is responsible for the b majority of the mentally handica India—2 million of them cretins capped mentally as well as phy

Though generally ignored, th on the control of iodine deficie eases (IDD) has suddenly sharpen month, while Common Cause, th based consumer rights moveme plained before the National Co Disputes Redressal Commissio standards for salt iodation w being followed, scientists were p a renewed assault on the probl

After years of argument o efficacy of iodated oil—used as a gency measure the world over— likely that oil injections might used to fight the menace in Indi national workshop, which brou cials from Central and state ments to Bangalore in mid-Fe recommended a pilot project to injections. The workshop also su surveys by medical colleges (pre of IDD remains largely undocu and emphasised the need for edu Meanwhile, UNICEF has alrea pared publicity material—poste phlets, comics, and cinema an spots—worth Rs 45 lakh for In

Significantly, after 27 years, tional goitre control programm become the 'national iodine de diseases control programme'. T significant shift, for goitre is the the problems (INDIA TODAY, Febr 1984). Since iodine is necessary thyroid gland to produce crucial hormones, deficiency in the foet infancy can lead to cripples, deaf cretins and still-births.

It's not impossible to solve th lem. All it needs is less than a iodine in common salt. Most c have followed a standard stra crash programme with iodine in in endemic areas and compuls iodation as a permanent solution.

India chose not to follow this. It discarded injections because of a dispute over their efficacy among senior researchers of the All India Institute of Medical Sciences. After a team studied the effects of injections in 1984, the Government accepted a claim by Dr Kochupillai, associate professor of endocrinology, that oil injections can be harmful, especially during pregnancy. However, his conclusions are disputed. Professor L.M. Nath, head of the department of public health at the institute,

BACKTRACK WITH NEWSTRACK

Newstrack brings you incisive coverage of various issues.

- September had V.P. Singh, the Women of Paradia, Shashi Kapoor and lots more.
- October covered the Syed Modi Murder Mystery, R.K. Hegde and Shatrughan Sinha.
- November showed a new Maneka Gandhi, the Human Rights Concert a close-up of of the latest turn-coat politicans and more.
- December had a candid interview with Benazir Bhutto, the Bofors Scandal and other interesting features.
- January *Newstrack* featured the Tamil Nadu Elections, a story on Rajneesh, Sam Pitroda and Aamir Khan.
- February had Devilal — a candid portrait of the controversial leader, an exclusive interview with Safdar Hashmi's alleged killer, and interesting coverage on Aids, Competitive Advertising and Kabir Bedi.

You needn't miss out on any of this. There are two back-issue subscription offers to enable you to complete your *Newstrack* library.

- All six *Newstrack* issues (Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., Jan. & Feb.,) for Rs. 690/-.
- Any one of the last six *Newstrack* issues for Rs. 125/- (please specify the months you want)

To get your back issues just write to us at the address given on the coupon overleaf alongwith your remittance in favour of LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD.

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY

The New York Times
"Newstrack has in-depth or investigative reporting on topical subjects." (Nov. 3, '88)

The Sunday Observer
"Newstrack has taken off with a bang..." (Sept. 9, '88)

SUNDAY
"India Today's Newstrack video magazine continues to make waves...." (Feb. 5-11, '89)

TIME
"Newstrack strives to be unbiased... it could herald something of a journalistic revolution in India." (Nov. 21, '88)

THE TIMES OF INDIA
"There's finally an alternative to Doordarshan... Newstrack." (Oct. 23, '88)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
"... comes across as being the brilliant work of courageous young minds." (Jan. 7, '89)

Most brands of salt are not iodated enough, and deficiency can cause goitre or lead to cripples, cretins, deaf-mutes and even still-births.

[redacted]

are often not mentioned either. This is important since moisture and sunlight can draw iodine out of the salt. A recent test of 18 packets of Tata salt by the Super Bazar public sector cooperative revealed that the iodine content of three of them was slightly below par. Yet, Tata's is among the better brands available. The majority of brands don't even come near stipulated requirements. But they continue to be sold unabashedly, exposing millions more to a variety of mental and physical handicaps.

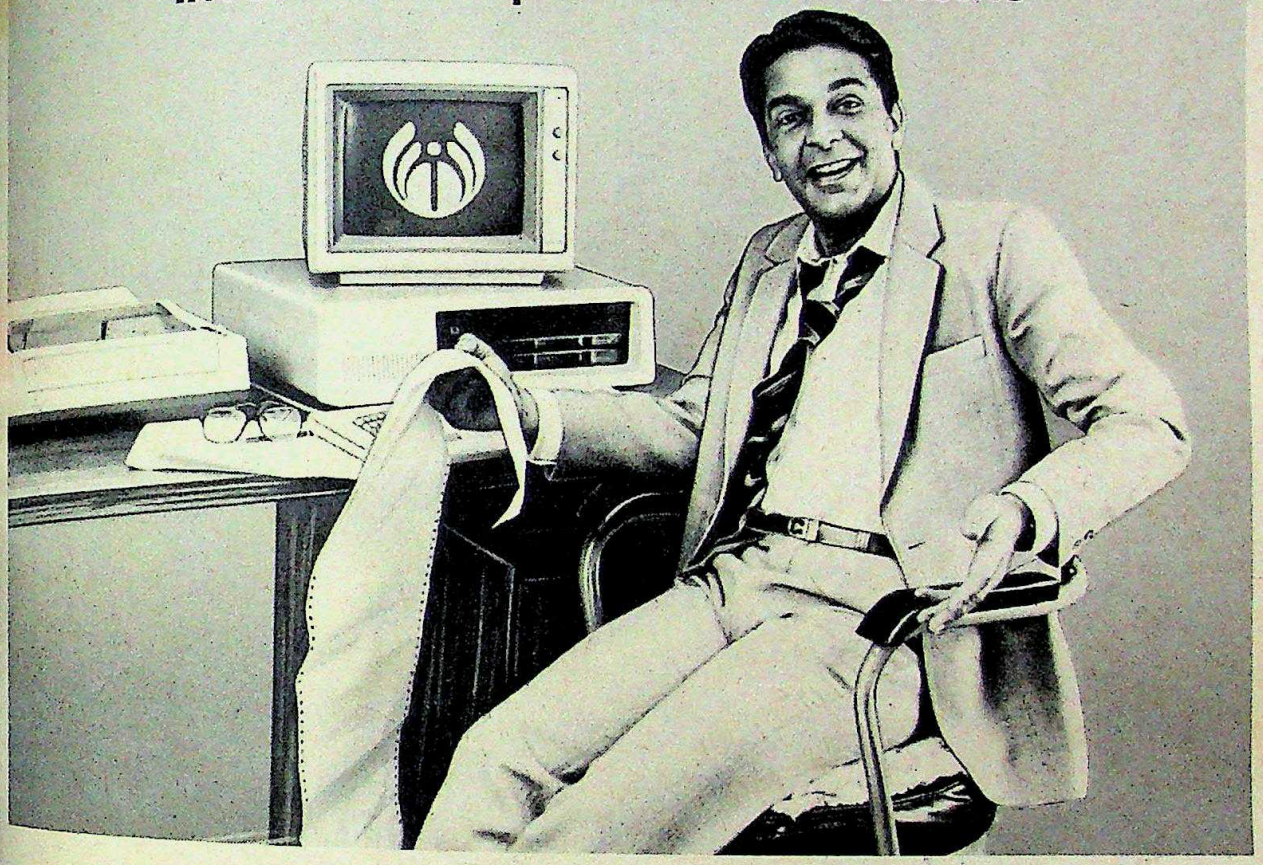
—DAVID DEVADAS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IDBI

Investment Deposit Account Scheme



- Companies, Firms, Individuals & HUF, save tax on income assessable under the head **'Profits and Gains from Business or Profession'** as covered under Section 32 AB of the Income Tax Act 1961.
- **Deposits under the Scheme are deductible up to 20% of taxable income.**
- Deposits should be made **within 6 months of closure of assessee's accounting year or before filing of tax returns,** whichever is earlier.
- **Deposits can be made by post.**
- **Interest @ 10% p.a. will be credited to the assessee's designated bank account on 1st April every year without tax deduction at source and can be freely withdrawn for any use.**
- **Principal** amounts of deposits **can be withdrawn after one year** for purchase of plant and machinery, computers etc. for the business or profession of the assessee.
- Outstation cheques are accepted and collection charges will be borne by IDBI. Date of deposit will be the date of receipt of cheque by IDBI.
- Demand drafts received by IDBI within 10 days of issue, will get credit from the date of the draft.

25TH YEAR OF SERVICE TO INDUSTRY

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BANK OF INDIA
Jolly Maker Chambers No. 2, 225, Vinay K. Shah Marg,
Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021.

Sobhagya-B/IDBI/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BIHAR

Employment on Tap

Government posts are available at a price

FOR Binay Kumar Singh it was a dream come true. After months of dejection and despair, he had at last landed a job. True, he had had to pay Rs 35,000 to secure it. But the price did not seem too high. After all, a permanent post as 'assistant' in the Bihar assembly secretariat was not something you could wangle every day.

His problems began a few days later when he reported to the secretariat. An official there noticed that Binay's appointment letter was signed by the speaker, which was unusual. Suspicious, he took it to the speaker. His hunch proved right—the letter was a fake one and Binay found himself behind bars. The money he had paid to an unscrupulous confidence trickster was of course lost.

Binay's is no isolated case. Countless others have fallen victim to the mushrooming job rackets in Bihar, most operating behind the facade of employment exchanges.

The jobs most in demand are those in government departments. For they provide security and offer an opportunity to earn a little money on the side. Not surprisingly, unscrupulous officials are hawking jobs, partly on their own, and partly through employment exchanges.

Patna newspapers say that the going price for a constable's job is Rs 20,000. *Navbharat Times* reported recently that the inspector general of police wrote letters to a superintendent of police recommending five candidates. The superintendent discovered that the senior officer had already accepted Rs 20,000 from each of the candidates.

The superintendent took no note of the recommendations. But two of the candidates got recruited as a matter of course. The three who didn't were returned the money they had paid. An honourable action, no doubt, but that's where the honour ended. The newspaper report did not even evoke a reply from the officials against whom the allegations had been made.

Like a constable's job, others too demand high fees. A place on the Government's nursing training programme costs Rs 5,000. And prospective lecturers must pay Rs 10,000 for the privilege of teaching in a dubious college and then wait for the Government to take it over and grant him UGC scales.

Official government jobs are not the only ones people pay a price for. In rural areas, marginal farmers sometimes sell off their tiny plots of land to buy a job in the house of a district magistrate or a police officer. Their *umeed* (hope) is that they will ultimately be absorbed in a government job. The practice has even acquired a name—*umeedwari*.

The extent to which the job racketeers go to appear credible to potential victims is unbelievable. For instance, there was a one-page advertisement in the Patna edition of *The Hindustan Times* inserted by the North Eastern Coalfields Ltd listing the names of 11 persons selected as "trainees in the cost accountant institute" in Assam and asking them to join immediately.

When the newspaper sent the company a bill it got a shock. The company said it had inserted no such advertisement. "Obviously someone else had and then collected money from the 11 people listed," says the newspaper's advertisement manager.

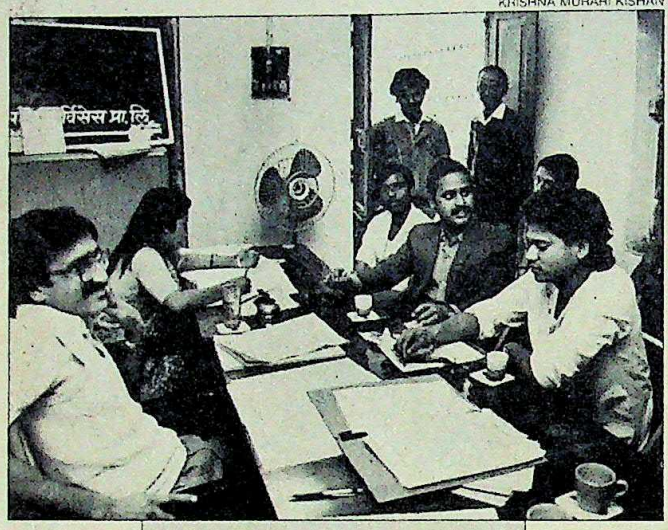
Not all those who have defrauded job seekers have escaped lightly. Last year, for example, Kansari Sheet was murdered in broad daylight on the busy Boring Canal Road in Patna. The police failed to track down the murderers but have evidence which suggests that Sheet had accepted large sums of money promising hundreds of youths jobs as land surveyors. Apparently, someone who had paid Sheet money but did not land the job killed him.

Periodically, the police bust other rackets—supplying fake educational certificates, false character certificates or false caste certificates, the list is endless. But as quickly as one is stopped, another springs up.

For the police, the job rackets are not high on their list of priorities. Till that changes, Bihar's private employment exchanges will continue to attract the unwary.

—UTTAM SEN GUPTA

KRISHNA MURARI KISHAN



Notification No. GM (A)11/2/CIL/88-90

North Eastern Coalfields Ltd.,
(A Subsidiary to Coal India Ltd.)
Ministry of Energy,
GOVT. OF INDIA

The undernoted persons have been selected as a trainees in Cost Accountant Institute, Assam vide General Manager N.E.C.L. letter No. GM(A)CAT/89078-80 dated 10/19-7-88 which have also been published in the Central Gazette & has been confirmed by the Ministry of Energy, Govt. of India Notification No. P2/CIL/N/10006/24672-74 dated 2-9-88.

Name of Candidates:	Place:
1. Sri A. K. Roy	- Tejpur (Assam)
2. " M. C. Mahantha	- Guhati (")
3. " A. K. Day	- Ledo (")
4. " C.V.R. Menon	- Madras City
5. " R. N. Pani	- Angul (Orissa)
6. " D. D. Apte	- Nagpur, Maharashtra
7. " D. K. Sarkar	- Shyambazar (Calcutta-2)
8. " M. K. Biswas	- Behla, Calcutta-34.
9. " B. Kumar	- Ranchi (Bihar)
10. " S. S. Verma	- Ranchi (Bihar)
11. " A. P. Sinha	- Hazaribagh (Bihar)

They do hereby directed to take admission in Coal India Institute of Cost Accountant, 2, Woodmont Street, Calcutta-16 from 15th November, 1988 to 31st. December, 1988 in any working day from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. except Saturday.

This Notification is being published without prejudice. There will be no change in future in connection with the date & place of admission which is mentioned in this notification and no any claim on Part of the trainees will be entertained.

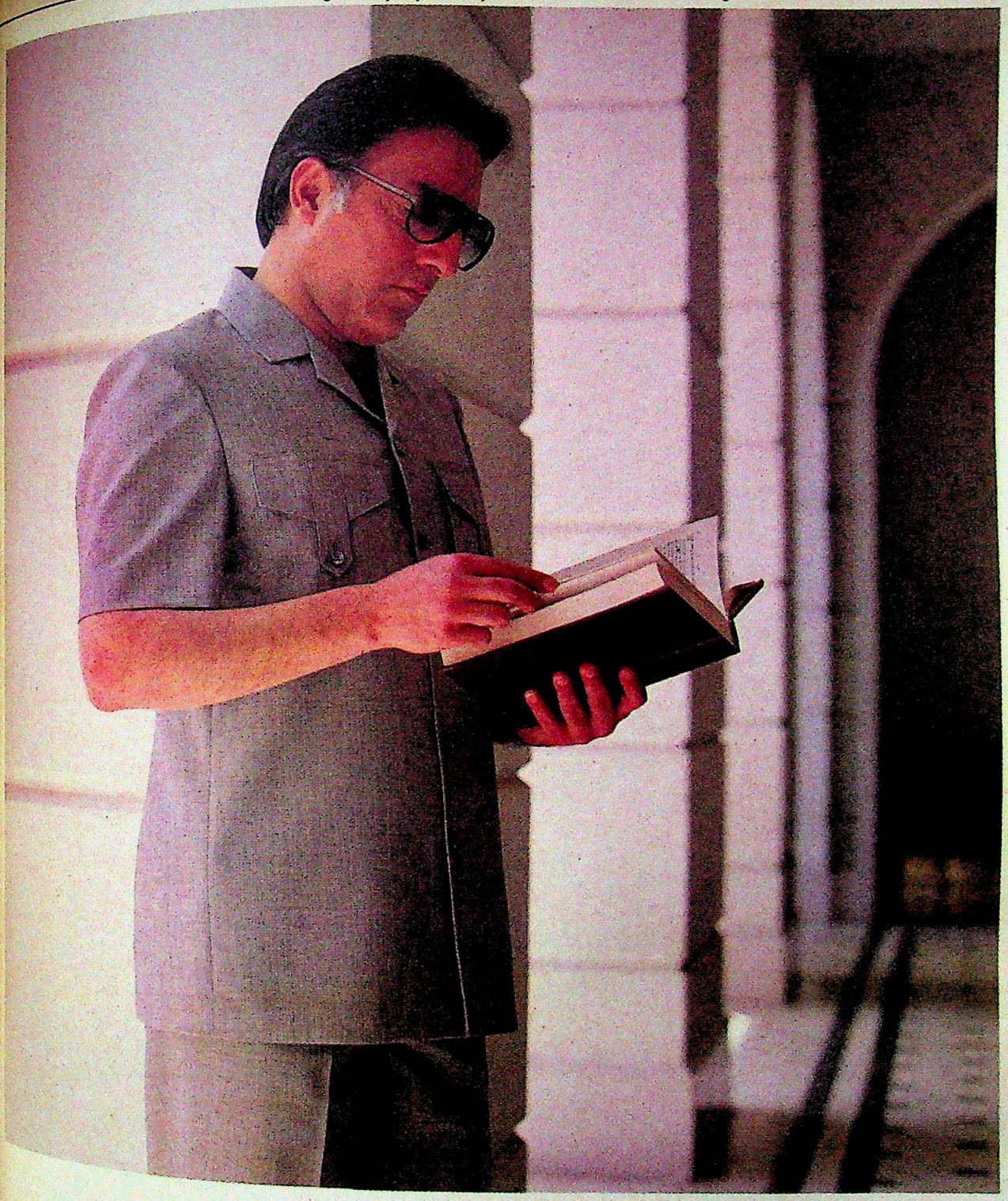
(S. M. Smith)
Chief Personnel Manager

An employment exchange (top); and fraud advertisement: thriving racket

Government jobs are the most coveted as they afford opportunity to earn extra money.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"I treasure these moments of solitude."

"There are those moments during each day, when I just need to be by myself. Alone, perhaps browsing through a good book. Relaxing easily in the cool comfort of Gwalior Suiting. Lightweight, elegant, it's just right to lounge in."

— M.A.K. PATAUDI

GRASIM GWALIOR SUITING

IN A CLASS OF ITS OWN

A PRODUCT OF GRASIM INDUSTRIES LTD.

MAPP/GR-89-1007

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE ABILITY TO PIONEER NEW APPLICATIONS.

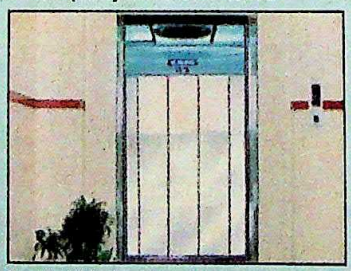
THE WILLINGNESS TO TAKE ON CHALLENGES.

Salem Steel. Making potential customers aware of the immense possibilities of stainless steel

Metro Railway, Calcutta

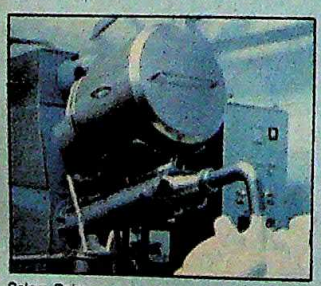
Industries throughout the world are recognising the benefits stainless steel has in store for them: superior finish, durability, low maintenance costs. Today, stainless steel is replacing conventional materials in more and more industries. And finding new hi-tech applications.

In September 1981, the Steel Authority of India Limited commissioned the Salem Steel Plant to provide a reliable source of quality wide cold rolled stainless steel. The latest technology and manufacturing facilities, plus a team of young motivated professionals, ensured that Salem Steel produced a wide range of special steels right from the start.



Otis lift, E.I.D. Parry Ltd., Madras

The challenges that faced Salem Steel were identifying new areas where stainless steel could be used, and producing special grades to meet these specific requirements. The challenge of elevating quality to the highest level — so as to gain an entry into international markets.



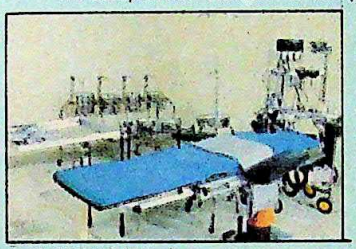
Salem Dairy

Today, there's ample evidence that Salem Steel has indeed met these challenges.

Quality: International recognition

At Salem Steel, the attention to quality begins at the raw material stage. And extends even to the packaging of the finished product.

The most sophisticated testing equipment coupled with the no-compromise attitude of our people results in a product with close dimensional tolerances, superior mechanical properties and attractive finishes.



Apollo Hospital, Madras

Salem Stainless is exported to countries like USA, Canada, Japan, Australia, Holland, Spain and Portugal. Every year exports have been increasing substantially — ample testimony to the high international standards achieved.

New applications for Salem Stainless

Today, Salem Steel manufactures 17 grades in Austenitic, Ferritic and Martensitic steel — in coils and sheets; in a wide range of sizes and finishes.

Salem Stainless is being used in a host of new areas: exhaust systems and hubcaps in automobiles, body panelling in buses, Z sections, trough floor and panelling in railway coaches; door frames, panelling of offices, hand rails, false ceilings, elevator panelling; solar reflectors; operation theatres, hospital furniture, sterilisation boxes; refrigerators; washing machines; in automobiles and in architecture; in thermal and nuclear power plants; in the petroleum and pharmaceutical industries; in pollution-control equipment and in the electronics industry. The possibilities are immense.

A.T.C. bus, Salem

It's for this reason that Salem Steel is installing a second cold rolling mill which will increase annual production capacity to 70,000 tonnes.

A special Technical Service Cell is available on call to potential users who need advice or help in switching to Salem Stainless.

Steelmakers to the Nation

STEEL AUTHORITY OF INDIA LIMITED

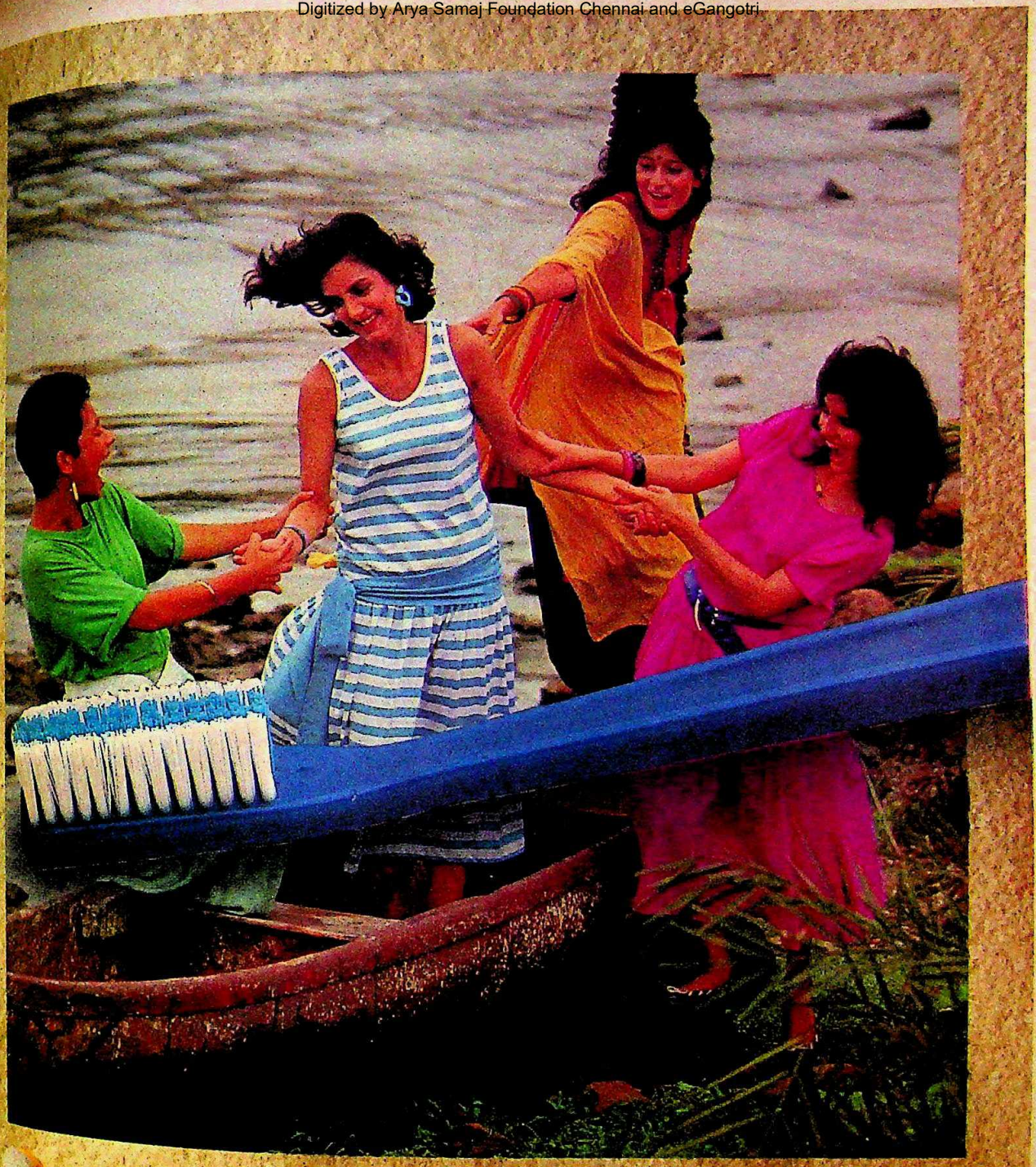
(A Government of India Enterprise)

Salem Steel Plant

Salem 636 013 Tamil Nadu

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



It takes a great shape to get your smile into great shape.

Wake up to Ajay Toothbrushes. They come in great shapes. To fit your hand. Your mouth. And clean your teeth thoroughly even from the inside. The only Toothbrush designed specially for Children, Ladies and Men. Made as well as the finest international bristles, to massage your gums gently and clean your teeth. So you can keep smiling radiantly. B-101 & B-201 for Men, B-203 & B-102 for Ladies, B-103 for Children and B-104 for Travellers.

Ajay® Premium Quality TOOTH BRUSHES

Rise and shine

Ajay Home Products Pvt. Ltd. C-114, Naraina Industrial Area, Phase I, New Delhi-110 028.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mama Mia!

Aren't floors looking up.
Here's a floor so good,
you'd hate to keep it covered!

REGENCY
ITALIAN
CERAMIC TILES

Regency. It's a floor that goes beyond the pale. To the practical.
Regency tiles aren't just beautiful. They're tough too. This quality is reflected in the fact that Regency is India's largest exporter of ceramic tiles.
With Regency, you can forget all the old problems. You can forget about days and days of tedious floor polishing. Your floor's ready... presto! You can forget the stains. The scratches. The cracks. Above all, you can forget the embarrassment of a clean floor that always looks dirty!
You can even fix Regency tiles directly onto your old floors... in a matter of hours!
Regency tiles are made in collaboration with Welko Industriale. The Italian company that's numero uno — number one — in the world. Regency. Its the tile with style. There is a wide range of beautiful shades to choose from. In different shapes and sizes that go upto 30x45.
So get Regency. And live beautifully ever after!

Choose the toughest floor. For the most beautiful reasons.

Regency Ceramics Limited

Regd. Office: Raghava Ratna Towers, Chirag Ali Lane, Hyderabad-500 001. Phones: 237266/233017 Telex: 0425–6953 RCL IN
Regional Offices: New Delhi. Tel: 3015052 • Calcutta. Tel: 44958 • Bombay. Tel: 522846 • Madras. Tel: 863137

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THEATRE

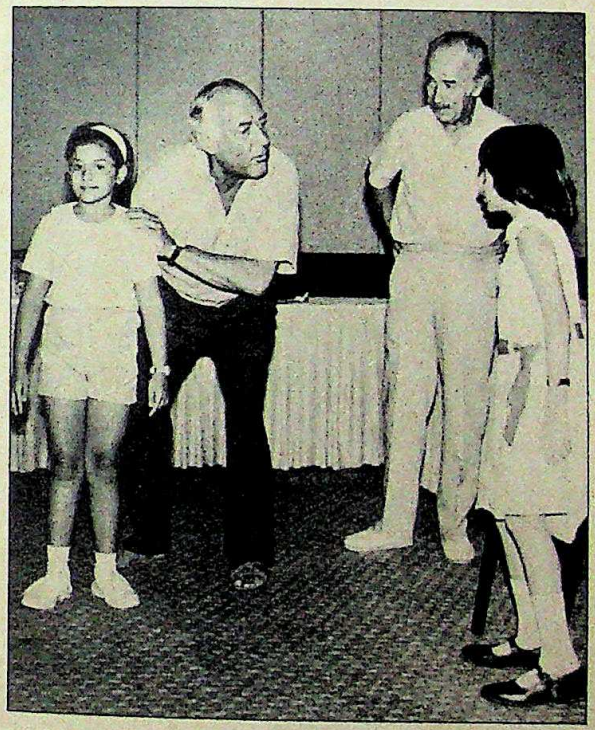
Working Out

Group activity gains vogue

HOSHI JAL/Indian Post

TWO strangers sit back-to-back and describe intimate details of their lives: anxieties, fears, doubts. Twenty men and women lie on their backs and gaze at the ceiling, while an instructor teaches them to look, listen and trust. Fifty people crowd in a hall and recite pre-determined passages, walking in their own rhythm, oblivious of the surreal image they create.

These are not scenes from avant-garde theatre, nor from group therapy sessions assuring a one-way ticket to nirvana. These are theatre workshops which do not promise to take you to the stratosphere of self-esteem. But are there, to quote veteran theatre personality Pearl Padamsee, so that you "get out of your own orbit, touch other clouds, and come out with one or two good friends". And in pursuit of this aim, hundreds of individuals—travel agents, estate managers, students, copywriters, lawyers, salesmen, and accountants—are signing up and participating.



Two workshops: Padamsee's (above) and Cafe Theatre's

There are workshops of every kind. If playwright-director Satyadev Dubey holds a free-of-cost workshop specifically on *riyaaz* for acting, Padamsee concentrates on issues: sati and war-and-peace, for example. Visiting companies chip in—the British Cafe Theatre, for instance, conducted workshops last December for women, children, professionals and college students.

The Leicester Haymarket Theatre, which toured India recently with *Julius Ceasar* and Stephen Spender's *Creon* organised workshops for vernacular stage professionals, technicians, and local theatre personalities. In Vashi, Amrita Singh runs a workshop for children. And Karnataka Association's Sulochana Kotur is organising one this month for Kannada theatre enthusiasts in Bombay.

Clearly, theatre workshops are emerging as an exciting place where the young and the old go to pay obeisance to a long dormant interest in literature; to develop acting skills and talents; or simply to make new friends.

That's what happened to lawyer Rajni Iyer. She participated in two workshops conducted by Padamsee, discovered her potential as a writer, heightened her awareness and made new friends. For several, workshops afford catharsis, enabling them to reach a decision on nagging personal problems.

Curiosity brought a Catholic priest to Padamsee's workshop. And discontent brought an engineer, who decided to make a job-switch after undergoing "an awakening experience". Explains Padamsee: "You come to terms with the resentment and anxieties of childhood." From primordial times, individuals have sought groups for reasons such as safety, identity, need for conformity. Explains psychoanalyst Udayan Patel: "A group fulfils a need within us." Loneliness and doubts are assuaged by groups.

If Padamsee deals with psychological issues, Derek Woodward's Cafe Theatre workshops stress the universality of "acting" as a communication tool. There are no 'musts', and emphasis is placed on body language. Woodward's workshops for sales personnel lay stress on the concept of territory—where the meeting occurs between a businessman and a client—and the role-play situations enable the Oberoi group to implement the idea of positive feedback between sales and operations staff.

Patel questions such role-play situations: "Do we need grown-up men and women to play roles to understand?" But to some it is advantageous: a writer, Kamla Ramchandani, who could never address a crowd, shed her diffidence. The workshops are serious business for the theatre practitioner too. Kotur, a Reserve Bank employee, who participated in Dubey's workshop, which encouraged her to organise one in Kannada, says: "Workshops are useful for working people who can't find the time otherwise to pursue their interest."

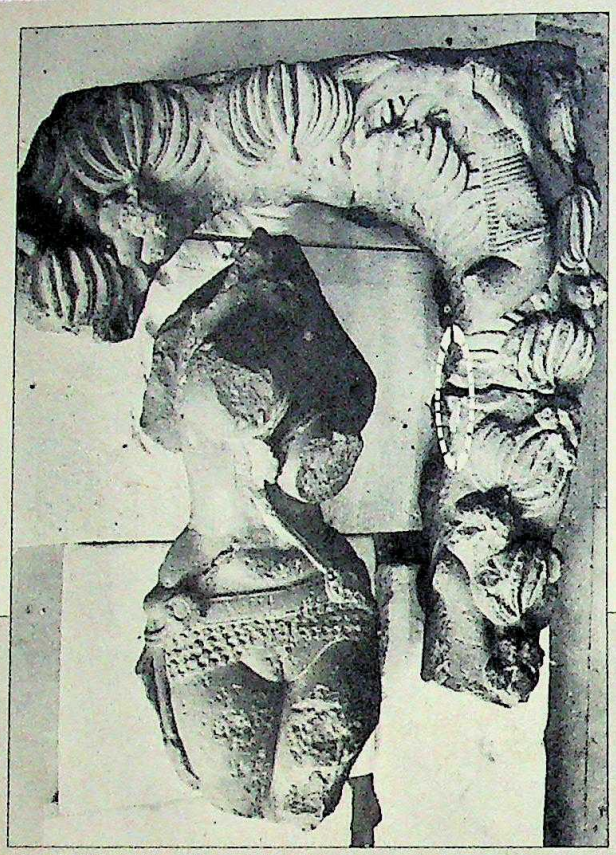
But the workshops have their pitfalls too. Patel warns: "If a workshop only perpetuates mindless group myths, then it fails." And Padamsee cautions: "My aim is not therapy. If people get therapeutic value out of it, more power to them. They have absorbed a flow of energy which is the undercurrent of every workshop."

—SALIL TRIPATHI

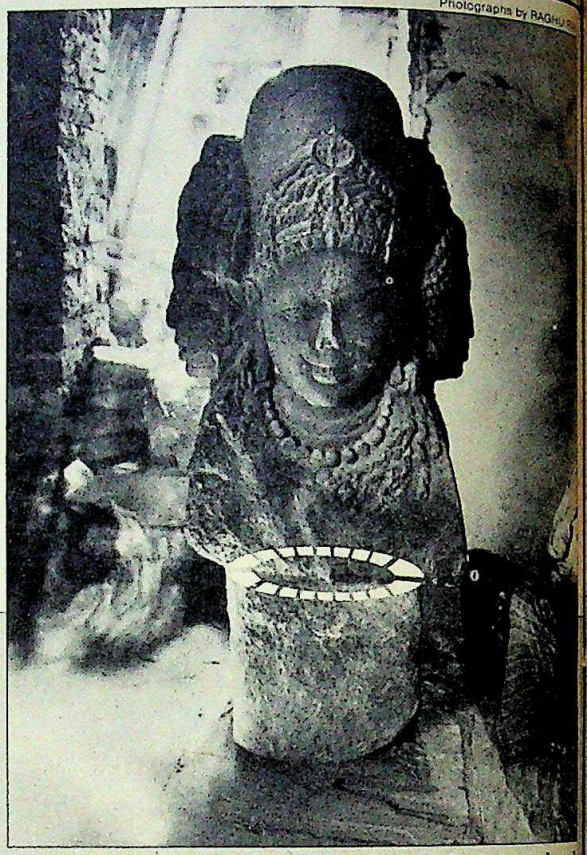
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by RAGHU R



The Shalbhanjika of Sanchi and the mango tree were separated



The Chaturmukh Shivlinga had a deep gash on its pedestal

SCULPTURE

Damage of Diplomacy

Priceless works sent to festivals abroad return damaged

HISTORY repeats itself—at least with the organisers of the Festival of India. Three years ago, 27 ancient masterpieces sent to the festivals held in the US and France came back damaged. And the storm raised over the issue (INDIA TODAY, November 30, 1986) is likely to rage again. This time round, as many as 35 of the 861 *objets d'art* sent to the Festival of India in the Soviet Union organised last year have sustained visible scars.

The Union Government, of course, had sought to play down the damage by claiming in Parliament recently that in all the three festivals a total of only 57 art objects, valued at Rs 48.16 crore, had "suffered damage in varying degrees". But as the wrappings of the exhibits were removed last month by the organisations which had loaned them for the festival in the Soviet Union, it was clear that the damage was of alarming proportions.

INDIA TODAY's investigation reveals that among the valuable antiques damaged are:

► The pedestal of a rare 5th century sculpture of Chaturmukh Shivlinga from Nachna in Madhya Pradesh. Valued at Rs 1 crore, the piece had a deep gash in it. And a stone Ramayana panel (5th century A.D.) from the same place was found to have developed a new crack.

► The priceless Shalbhanjika torso of Sanchi (100 B.C.) and its companion mango tree were found separated and three tiny flakes chipped off at two places.

► Also damaged was what is officially described as the "excellent" image of Varaha (11th century A.D.), the boar incarnation of Vishnu, from the Khajuraho museum. The toe of its left leg broke and chips came off the trunk and the tusk of the half-carved elephant as the package was opened at the museum.

► A bell which was part of the Bhairav idol (reckoned by most to belong to the Gupta period), loaned by a private collector from Sohagpur in Madhya Pradesh, also came apart.

► In Andhra Pradesh, a rare 2,200-year-old marble sculpture of a Yaksha turned out to be chipped despite the claims made in Parliament two months ago that the idol was intact.

The list of damaged pieces includes priceless sculptures, bronzes, paintings, textiles, terracottas and antique jewellery. And the worst losers are Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. Nine artefacts from Uttar Pradesh valued at Rs 7.20 crore, and eight from Madhya Pradesh, valued at nearly Rs 5.20 crore, have been wrecked.

As the *objets d'art* began to arrive at their base museums after being exhibited abroad, a row developed between the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), which had loaned most of them, and the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

National Museum, which had handled their exhibition. The National Museum had been entrusted with the responsibility of requisitioning the idols from museums controlled by the ASI, various state archaeological survey departments and private collections. It was the National Museum's responsibility to ensure that all the artefacts were properly packed and insured before being despatched to Russia and also to supervise their safe return.

However, when the ASI museums in Khajuraho and Sanchi discovered that the idols they had loaned were damaged, the National Museum staff began dilly-dallying. They initially even refused to admit to the Khajuraho staff that the Varaha idol had been damaged in any way. More shocking were the crude attempts that had been made to try and cover up the damage—the broken toe of the Khajuraho idol, for instance, had been stuck back with adhesive. In Nachna —which is the storage depot of the —employees discovered that a re- touch had been attempted on the chipped parts of the Chaturmukh Shivlinga. Said an ASI staff member: "Someone was trying to get smart."

Instead of coming to grips with the problem, National Museum officials have been trying to sweep the chipped pieces under the carpet. Says the museum's Director-General, Laxmi Prasad Sihare: "We have received some complaints but we don't think that there is much substance in them. The reports are highly exaggerated." The ASI Director-General, Jagathpathi Joshi, however, asserts: "We are concerned over the damages caused to the sculptures."

EXPERTS argue that even a minor crack in these ancient sculptures is serious as it often turns out to be the starting point for further deterioration. Besides, as several MPs pointed out in Parliament, even a small disfiguration in a masterpiece can ruin the value it has in the eyes of discerning connoisseurs.

Worse, just as in the case of the idols damaged during the festivals in the US and France, officials still have no clue about how the damage to the antiques occurred. They claim that most of the impairment took place during transit. But clearly the carelessness of the handling authorities has also been responsible to some extent for the loss. National Museum staff, however, insist that they have always packed the idols with the greatest possible care. The idols are usually enclosed in thermacol and padded with foam rubber sheets or special air-cushioned plastic sheets (with entrapped air bubbles which act like foam). Claimed Sihare: "It is the most modern packaging that we do."

National Museum officials further argue that despite the best of packaging, the condition of roads in most states being what it is—in some places there aren't even motorable roads—damage during transit is almost inevitable. Only a small dirt track leads to the ASI depot in Nachna from where the Chaturmukh Shivlinga and four other sculptures undertook a tortuous truck ride.

Although compensation can hardly undo the damage inflicted on these priceless idols, the amount being offered for those scarred during the festivals is indeed shockingly meagre. All art objects sent out for festivals are heavily insured by a consortium of insurance companies. An experts committee formed by the Government not only fixes the value of these pieces but also decides whether they can withstand the strain of being carted about.

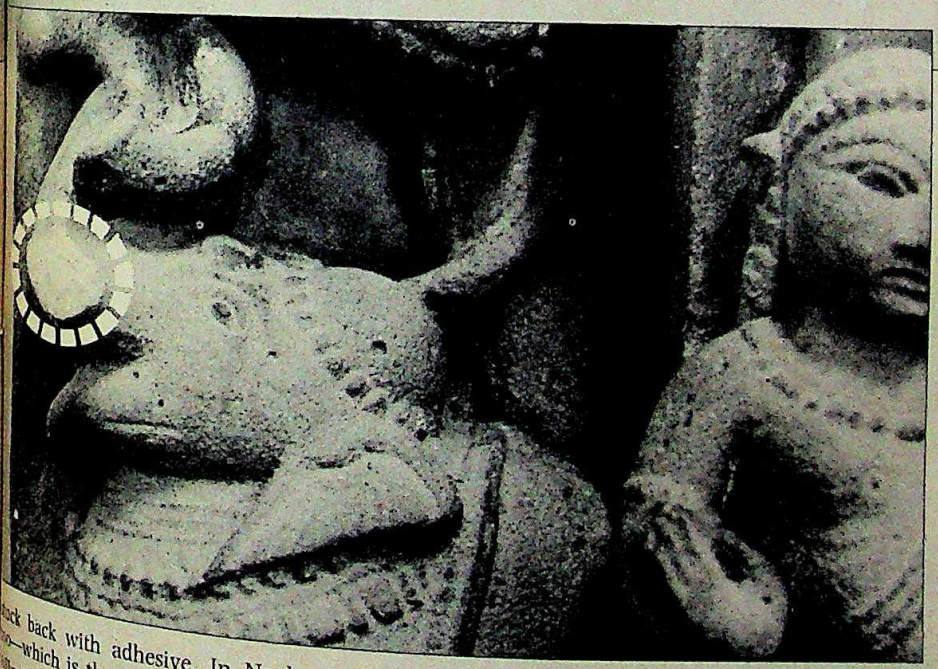
This time it was apparent that the experts had erred seriously. While recommending the exhibition of the exquisite image of the Nandi Bull, kept in the Bhanpura Museum of Madhya Pradesh, during the festival in the US, the committee had said: "The chemical constitution of the image is strong and in an ideal atmosphere it will not deteriorate." And though the Bhanpura Nandi was insured for Rs 45 lakh, the amount paid as compensation after the nose and the thumb of the figures carved on the side of the idol were damaged was a paltry Rs 10,000—which was less than the transportation cost of the image to the US.

Instances of such official callousness are as numerous as they are depressing. The famed 2nd century Mankuwar Buddha from Lucknow Museum, insured for a sum of Rs 5 crore, was allotted a pittance of Rs 25,000 for scratches on its right lobe. The magnificent 6th century Flying Gandharva from the National Museum itself received just Rs 20,000 for a five-inch gash below the right leg of the female figure, although its insurance value was Rs 2 crore. And while the 5th century Siva Vamana statue from the same museum, valued at Rs 1 crore, got Rs 25,000 for two small chipped parts, yet another Rs 1 crore sculpture, the

Three years ago, 27 pieces sent to the US and France came back marred. This time, 35 of the 861 masterpieces sent to the Soviet Union have returned damaged.

■■■■■

The Khajuraho Varaha had chips on the elephant's trunk and tusk

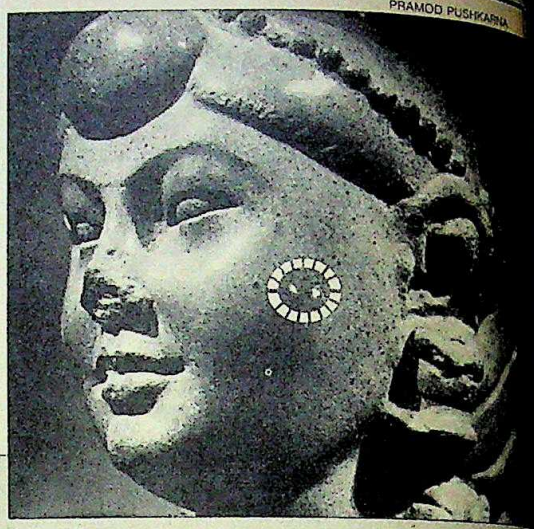


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

2nd century Buddha with damaged ear-lobe

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



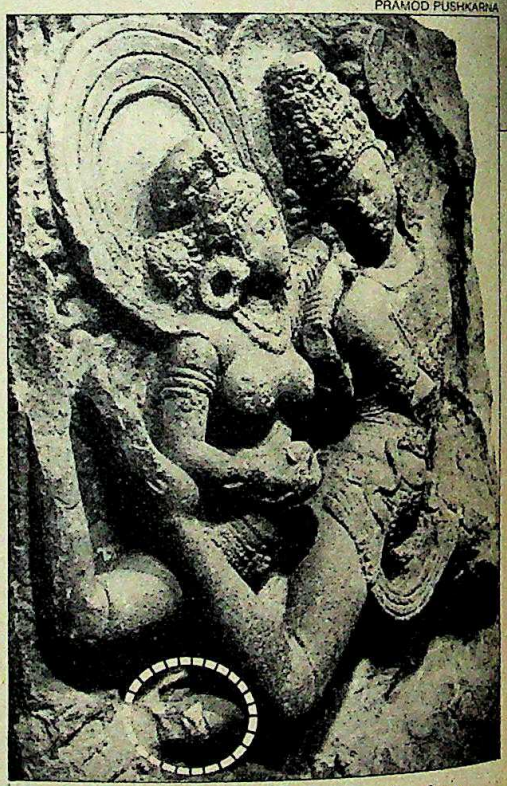
The chipped 2,200-year-old Didarganj Yakshi

■■■■■

Although compensation cannot undo the damage, the amount being offered for idols scarred during the festivals is shockingly low.

The 6th century flying Gandharva with gashes

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



2nd century Standing Ascetic from Mathura Museum, received Rs 10,000 for a chipped portion.

The most controversial compensation issue, however, regarding the chip on the Didarganj Yakshi (insured for Rs 25 crore), which is owned by the Patna Museum, remains unresolved. While the experts and evaluation committee formed for the purpose has recommended Rs 6 lakh, the Bihar Government is demanding compensation of Rs 6.25 crore and has refused to take back the sculpture without "proper compensation". Negotiations are still on. Meanwhile, Sihare's only explanation for the low payments made for the damaged idols is: "If they have faith in our valuation of the sculptures, should they not have faith in our fairness while settling the compensation too?"

MOST of the insured parties have been accepting the payment meekly, mainly because they happen to be government organisations. For instance, the Madhya Pradesh Government accepted Rs 10,000 for its Rs 45-lakh Nandi image without demur. Not everyone has been as meek, particularly the private collectors. The Thakur saheb of Sohagpur, from whose collection came a precious image of Bhairav, is contesting the Rs 50,000 damage settled for loss of one of the idol's bells. But Indian artefacts sent abroad aren't the only ones to suffer this fate. Exhibits sent from other countries to be displayed in India have also been damaged. For instance, last year a Soviet micro-miniature on display in New Delhi was damaged due to the callousness of the Directorate of the Festival of India.

The list of damaged Indian artefacts has become so long that most museums are now wary of loaning any of their pieces for exhibitions. The Madhya Pradesh Archaeology Department last year refused to loan the fabulous Gyaraspur Shalbhanjika (currently valued at Rs 1 crore) for the festival in the Soviet Union.

The Government seems to have become somewhat wiser after the disastrous experience of the various festivals of India. According to official sources, an experts committee evaluates the antiques and classifies them into two categories—A and AA. Items of the AA category can never be taken out of the country. But those of the A can, because the Government maintains that it has entered into cultural agreements with other countries which it has to honour. "We have no intention of stopping it," declares Union Human Resource Development Minister Shiv Shankar.

The question of whether or not these glass-cased pieces of timeless beauty should be converted to mobile showpieces for the well-heeled art connoisseurs of foreign lands will be debated for long. What is certain in this entire exercise, however, is that due to the myopic policies of the Government, some of the country's most ethereal pieces of sculpture now look like wounded icons from a forgotten past.

—N.K. SINGH in Khajuraho, Sanchi and Nachna

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj

Picnics are perkier with

Uncle Chipps

Great fun for everyone!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

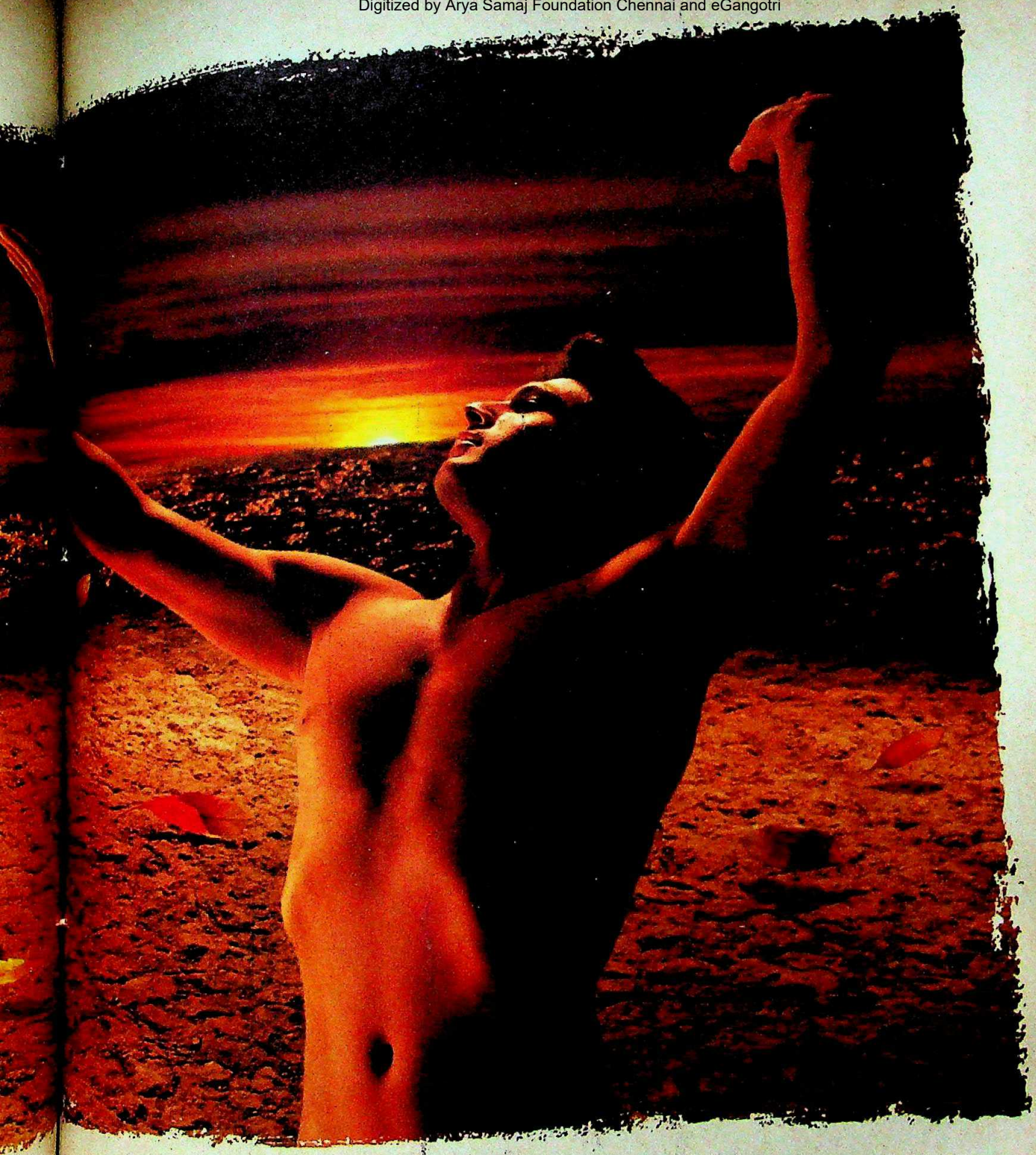
LINTAS MSA P 2 2741

Man in his element.

Inspired by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's exuberant musical genius. Amadeus worsted ter[illegible]gs. Every

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



AMADEUS

PREMIUM TERY-WOOLS

ed tery-

gs. Every piece a masterpiece.

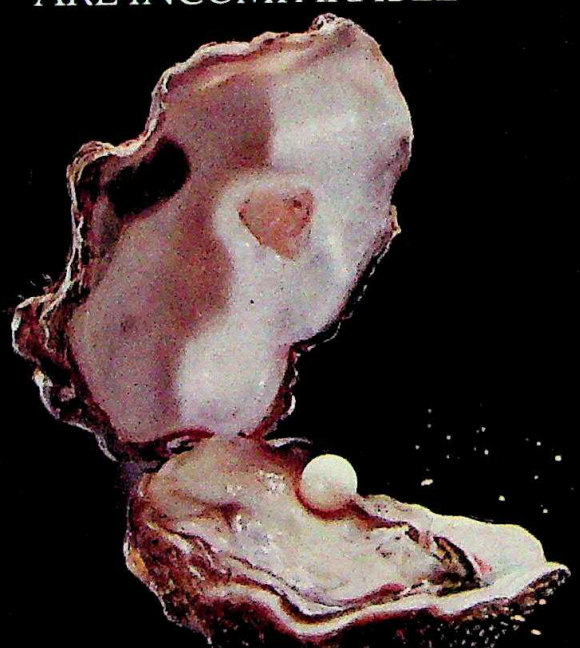
Modern SUITINGS LTD., ALWAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri

AN OYSTER IS AN OYSTER IS AN OYSTER...

BUT ONLY A SELECT FEW ARE INCOMPARABLE



From the outside you can't tell the difference.

But inside? That's another story...

This is as true of push button telephones (PBTs) as it is of oysters.

The market today is crowded with numerous PBT brands... with over a dozen being Siemens' licencees...

But one name stands out head and shoulders above all brands of PBTs in India...

And that's GCEL.

The Company that actually manufactures the critical components to Siemens' international standards. And helps to train other Siemens' licencees as per standards set in West Germany.

A pioneer in the field of sophisticated electronic equipment, with a long established track record in manufacturing high-quality, high-tech telecommunication systems...

Resulting in bagging the lion's share of a 4 lakh PBT tender floated by MTNL — in the face of stiff competition from 25 other companies.

A Company, barely 14 years old, with a reputation for innovative thinking, and an adherence to the highest quality standards...

With a total dedication to indigenisation and a genuine concern for the customers' needs.

So, if you are interested in what lies behind the slick, smart facade...

GCEL is it.

GCEL

GUJARAT COMMUNICATIONS AND ELECTRONICS LIMITED
Electronics Estate, Sector 15,
Gandhi Nagar - 382 015 (Gujarat)
Phones: 21629/21630

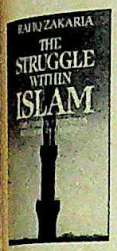
Dealers at: **AHMEDABAD:** T.E.C.S., Phone: 446100; Telecare, Phone: 20089; Trinity Marketing, Phone: 401318 • **BANGALORE:** Micronova Corporation, Phone: 602915; United Telitronics, Phone: 645495, 640611 • **BARODA:** Anil Thakor, Phone: 325650, 320597 • **BOMBAY:** Ajmera Brothers, Phone: 310591, 315962; Chandramauli Corporation, Phone: 6494330, 6147626; Veerasons, Phone: 258940, 258704 • **CALCUTTA:** Market Creators, Phone: 454717 • **HYDERABAD:** Mythri Marketing Pvt. Ltd., Phone: 223147 • **IMPHAL:** Manipur Electronics, Phone: 20365 • **JABALPUR:** Triveni Engineering Co., Phone: 22342 • **JAIPUR:** B.S. & Co., Phone: 66109 • **JORHAT:** D.R. Brijmohan, Phone: 20051 • **KANPUR:** Orison Electronics, Phone: 243343, 214953 • **NAGPUR:** Sudhir Electronics, Phone: 32853 • **NEW DELHI:** Ankay Associates Pvt. Ltd., Phone: 606128, 663056 • **RAJKOT:** Maruti Electronic & Electricals, Phone: 32124; Modern Radio House, Phone: 26624

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Secular View

But lacking in depth

THE STRUGGLE WITHIN ISLAM
The Conflict between Religion and Politics
by RAFIQ ZAKARIA
Viking
Pages: 470; Price: Rs 250



IT is often thought that Muslims are a monolithic international community who stand as a single body on every issue. That perception does not conform to reality as has been displayed often enough and, most strikingly, by the current controversy involving Salman Rushdie's book which has seen the Muslim world speaking in different voices. The controversy has served to underline the differences—political as well as theological—within the Islamic society. Yet the popular misconception of a monolithic Islamic world is widespread.

The fact is that Muslims began to fall apart right after the death of the Prophet. The early history of Islam is as bloody as it could be and is riven with internal conflict and dissensions. Muslims were not united even in theology, let alone in politics. The Koran, the holy scripture of Islam, was subjected to different interpretations and, right from the earliest times, different schools of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) came into existence. In his book on the conflict between religion and politics, Dr Rafiq Zakaria concentrates, however, on political conflicts though he does touch upon theological and ideological differences as well.

His canvas is vast indeed, stretching from the early history of Islam to current goings on in the contemporary Islamic world. In fact, one wonders whether it is possible to cover so much right from the earliest days of Islam to the contemporary period without sacrificing depth. And this is precisely the problem with Zakaria. In trying to cover such a broad area he loses on the roundabouts what he seeks to gain on the swings.

Even so, while the scholar can find numerous faults with his sourcing, translations from Arabic and other details, Zakaria offers plenty of information necessary for a proper understanding of Islamic history and Muslim politics. This is particularly so in the present context when, given the Islamic revolutionary pressures emanating from Iran and Afghanistan and the other controversies, the popular interest in Islam is at an all-time peak. He has also adopted a consistently secular and progressive approach in depicting the nature of the conflict in the Islamic world. He writes: "As in the past, the secularists, despite the challenge from the fundamentalists, have managed to consolidate political power either by force or through the democratic processes. That is why fundamentalists rarely succeed in taking over the administration for which they have neither the aptitude nor the skill. They continue to be in a minority and function as the opposition. They denounce the secularists as anti-Islamic and are forever plotting to eliminate them."

Yet, there are exceptions. Fundamentalists are in power in Saudi Arabia and Iran. They were also in power in Pakistan under the late Zia-ul-Haq.

Zakaria rightly points out that the elite is only a manipulator of religious sentiments. It rarely pays for the fundamentalism it unleashes.

While studying Islamic history many people do not go beyond theology or Islamic ideals. They fail to understand that empirical reality is far more complex than a set of ideals, values or prescriptions of an ideology. Zakaria understands this well and it is precisely from this angle that he is able to discuss both the empirical and the ideological aspects of the conflict in the Islamic world.

He also talks at length about composite nationalism. In this context he discusses problems of countries where people of different religions and ethnicities, like the Hindus, Christians or Chinese, live along with a Muslim majority. He includes Bangladesh, Malaysia and Indonesia in this category. In India, on the other hand, there is composite nationalism but with Muslims in a minority. Thus it is interesting to see the comparable and contrasting points. The religious and cultural minorities, wherever they are, pose as well as face certain problems.

That is why one wishes that Zakaria had invested more time and space in dealing with Indian Muslims than the mere nine-and-a-half pages. And here too he merely repeats what has already been said many times about communalism in India: "Behind these actions and reactions lies the same age-old prejudice which bedevils the relations between Hindus and Muslims; the fear of a minority being absorbed by the majority and that of the majority being stabbed in the back by the minority. Unless this vicious circle is broken, there will be neither communal harmony nor political stability in India."

Zakaria has interesting points to make about fundamentalism. He rightly points out that the elite is only a manipulator of religious sentiments. It is hardly affected by the rigours of Islamic law and thus rarely pays the price for the fundamentalism it unleashes. He writes: "The elite ignores it (Islamic law); only commoners have to suffer its rigours. The royal family wields absolute power, they do not speak against the Shariah but flagrantly defy its provisions; it is well known that their private lives, in many cases, are different from the public postures."

In the current scenario all this sounds much too relevant. But one only wishes Zakaria had dwelt on questions like these in greater detail.

—ASGHAR ALI ENGINEER

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Weak Defence

Apologia on the public sector

RESTRUCTURING OF
THE PUBLIC SECTOR IN INDIA
by VASANT SATHE
Vikas
Pages: 164; Price: Rs 150

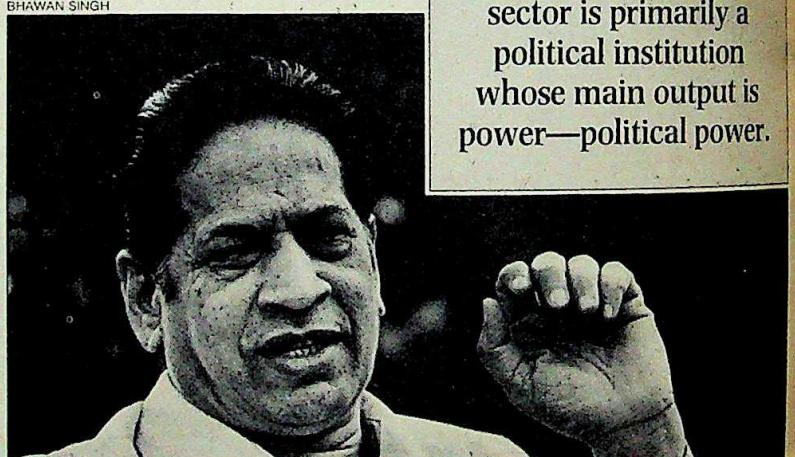
VASANT Sathe has a totally undeserved reputation as an *enfant terrible* of the ruling party. There is nothing terrible or original about his ideas on the public sector, as set out in this book. Sathe is not against the public sector, as some of his recent speeches might indicate. In fact, halfway through, after subjecting the poor state undertakings to considerable hammering, he concedes that the public sector has come to stay. The book is actually a long apologia on the public sector and the development philosophy of the Government. Sathe is enthusiastic even about Indian Airlines. "The sophistication brought about in the field of civil aviation by the Indian public sector," he says without so much as a blush, "is commendable by any standards."

You might wonder why Sathe is so keen to defend something that even Rajiv Gandhi is reluctant to justify. His own figures about efficiency give the game away. Between 1975-76 and 1979-80, the returns on investment in government undertakings came down from 3 per cent to minus 1 per cent. During the same period, the returns in private companies nearly doubled, from 8 to 14 per cent. The net loss to the country in terms of resources amounted to Rs 35,000 crore in five years, or Rs 7,000 crore a year, which is more or less our budget deficit now.

This is not all. These figures quoted by Sathe relate only to units under the Central Government. In fact, the public sector is a much bigger entity with a total investment of something like Rs 300,000 crore. A proper assessment of it should take the entire volume of investment into consideration involving thousands of crores that have gone into power stations, transport systems and irrigation works in states. The loss in the power sector alone is of the order of Rs 13,000 crore so far, enough to finance a third of the entire power programme in the next plan. Sathe's book is rather misleading as it deals with a very small portion of the public sector.

"The public sector all over the world has been recognised both by economists and policy planners as a catalyst in the growth process in developing as well as developed countries," says Sathe. Catalyst yes, but as Sathe ought to know, catalysts take no part in the reaction, and have no role apart from triggering it. The public sector is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for growth. There is no public sector worth the name either in Japan or West Germany, the two most outstanding success stories of the post-war period. Nor is Bernard Shaw, whom Sathe quotes along with Nehru, a reliable guide in such things. All over the world, from Margaret Thatcher's Britain to Mikhail Gorbachev's Soviet Union, where everything from bakeries to steel mills is owned by the state, the public sector is in for a big shake-up. And what has the huge public sector done for the Soviet Union? Its per capita income is a third of Japan's, which has no resources of any kind—no coal, no oil, no nothing. Sathe talks about *perestroika* and *glasnost* without saying what Gorbachev is planning to do with his public sector. He is sacking half the bureaucrats in Moscow in the next two years, as they are a huge drain on the economy.

BHAWAN SINGH



The last part of the book, in which there is the usual attempt to trot out some remedies, is irrelevant. The question is not whether the public sector functions efficiently or not, but whether it can function in any other way as long as it conforms to the present model of development. The purpose of the public sector in India, and possibly in other countries, is not growth but control of the economy. Everything else is secondary. As a politician Sathe should know that the public sector, as it functions here, is primarily a political institution whose main output is power—political power. It has been so right from the start, for given Nehru's backround, it could not be anything else. "As for the plans," Nehru told the National Development Council in 1958, "they were and are meant to raise the standard of living of our people but they are meant *essentially* (italics mine) to strengthen the nation altogether." The first part—about the standard of living—is economic. The second part—about strength—is political, and as Nehru pointed out, it is the essential part.

A proper assessment of the public sector in India can be made only by political scientists, not by economists. And you need a strong politician to turn it around, someone like Thatcher or Gorbachev, not Sathe. Under the conditions in which the system operates in India, the state enterprises can never be independent, and as long as they are dependent on the political system, they will always be inefficient. In fact, I suspect that the politicians in power want them to be inefficient, for if the state undertakings were really efficient, they would create their own power system and give the politicians sleepless nights. And Vasant Sathe would then have to write a totally different kind of book.

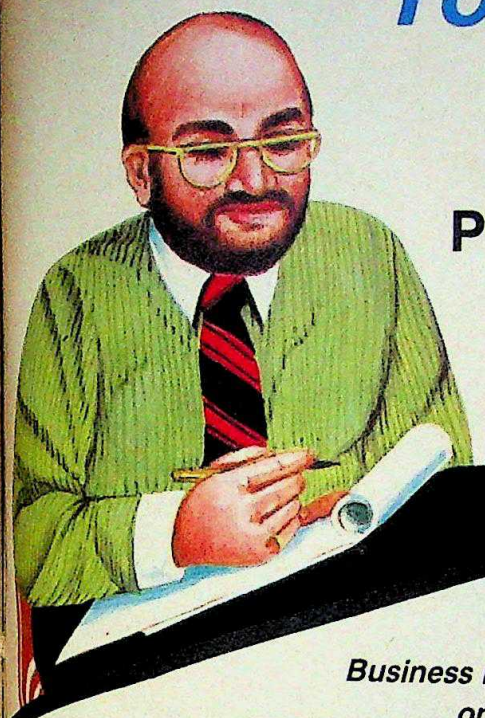
—JAY DUBASHI

> As a politician Sathe should know the public sector is primarily a political institution whose main output is power—political power.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Your Instant Office at New Delhi.



PUNJ EXECUTIVE CENTRE

New Delhi's most modern fully equipped executive centre.

Business Executives on the move never had it so good!

The Punj Executive Centre is an exclusive, all-encompassing facility for the discerning businessman.

Situated in the very heart of New Delhi, in Connaught Place,the centre offers a number of services today's businessman cannot do without.

PEC OFFERS

- Well-appointed,fully carpeted and Air Conditioned cabins.
- Efficient Secretarial services.
- Conference Rooms.
- Latest Electronic Telecom system.
- Photo copying,Fax.
- Commercial Library.
- Most modern presentation equipment & facilities.
- Messenger services, etc.

At PEC, you get down to business without any loss of time, carry on with your work the way you are used to without the hassles of usual investment. PEC offers you the best executive environment and facilities in the capital, because we believe, for businessmen on the move, nothing but the best shall do.

For further information please contact:

Punj Executive Centre

M-13, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001
Tel: 332-3621, Tlx: 031-65194

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ANIL KAPOOR

Joker in the Pack

An unconventional actor steals the lead

THERE is another Kapoor straddling Indian cinema today. His walk is confident, his face expressive, and his performances intense. Children like him because he resembles their favourite uncle. Women like him because he isn't just another pretty face. His directors like him because he is dedicated. And the distributors like him because in a barren market, his films have kept the cash registers ringing.

His name is Anil Kapoor and he refuses to take seriously people who tell him he is now number one and has replaced Amitabh Bachchan. Says Kapoor: "Things are looking brighter, and this is my best phase, but I'm still young (32) and I have a long way to go." But in less than three years Kapoor has starred in four films that have been box-office bonanzas, raking in over a crore each in the key territories of Delhi-Uttar Pradesh, Bombay and Bengal—*Mr India*, *Karma*, *Tezaab* and *Ram Lakhan*. What's more, Kapoor's forthcoming films, *Amba* and *Rakhwala*, were sold in less than 10 days in the crucial Delhi-Uttar Pradesh sector. A recent release, *Joshilay*, however, flopped but that could have been partly due to the bickering in the unit, leading to a change of director mid-way.

His latest release, *Eeshwar*, an unconventional film with a risky role for an aspiring superstar, did excellent business (94 per cent returns of the total possible gate collection in Bombay in the first week), while *Ram Lakhan* was enjoying 77.8 per cent returns in its fifth week. Even films like *Meri Jang*, *Mashal* and *Jaanbaaz*, considered unsuccessful, brought in nearly Rs 70 lakh each from the key territories.

Analysing Kapoor's contribution to the films' success, film critic Ajit Duara says: "Kapoor is the joker in the pack. You can't have a good combination without him, but he may not be able to hold on his own. He has that unpredictable quality which gives you the winning hand. He has always worked well in tandem with a good performer or a director."

Whatever may be the nebulous ingredients that make a star, his appearance on screen has stood him in good stead; that of a warm, vulnerable, innocent human being whom the audience can identify with. Says producer-director Subhash Ghai, who directed him in *Karma*, *Ram Lakhan* and *Meri Jang*: "There is a quality of innocence about him." Adds Shekhar Kapur, who directed him in *Mr India*: "His appeal is to older people and children." Anil himself explains: "I represent the down-to-earth, uncorrupted, vulnerable, not-angry young man. People are fed up of violence; they want peace."

And they want Kapoor. Says Sanjay Advani, 19, a student at Bombay's Elphinstone College: "Aamir (Khan) is a kid. Anil is a real man." Says Rohit Mehta, 32, a Bombay businessman and film buff: "I like all his films. He has a great range of roles. In every film you can look forward to something new."

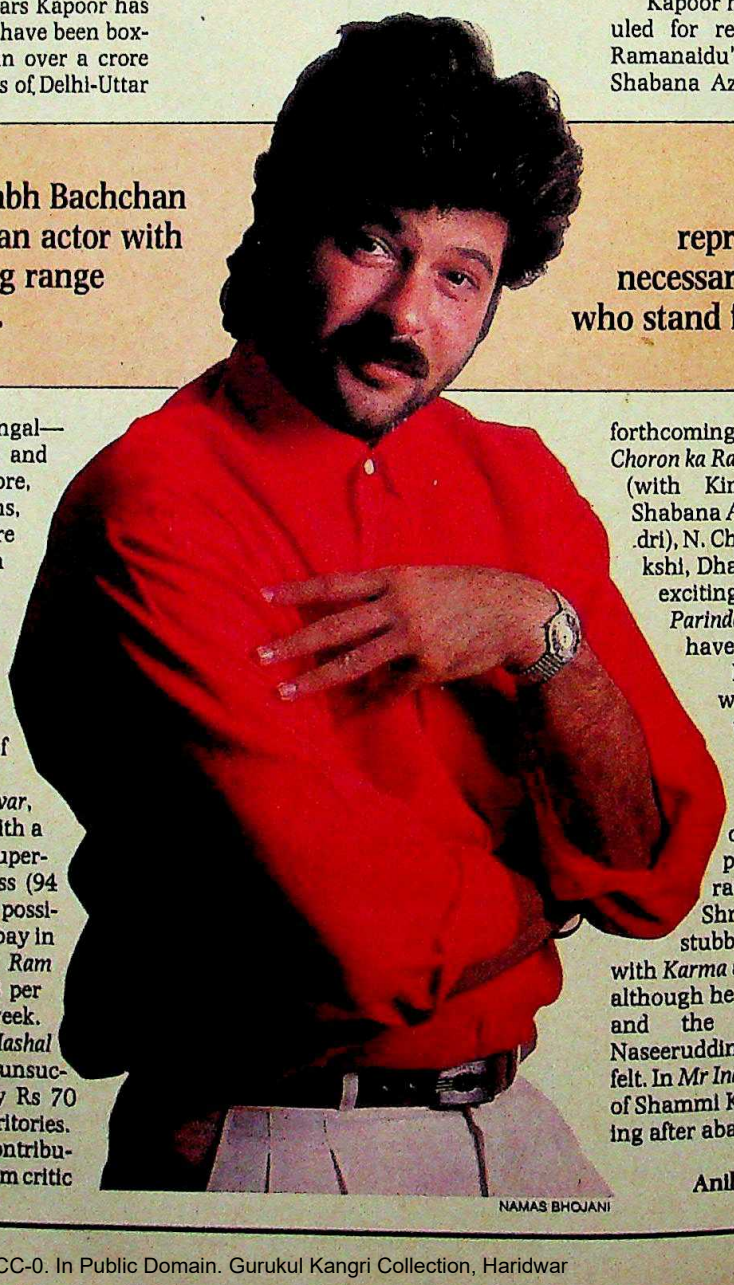
Kapoor has half-a-dozen films scheduled for release this year. In April Ramanaidu's *Rakhwala* (with Farha and Shabana Azmi) will be released. Other forthcoming films include *Roop ki Rani Choron ka Raja* (with Sridevi), *Kala Bazar* (with Kimi Katkar), *Amba* (with Shabana Azmi and Meenakshi Sheshadri), N. Chandra's *Hamla* (with Meenakshi, Dharmendra and Kimi), and the exciting Vinod Chopra venture *Parinda* (for which he is reported to have halved his price).

But it hasn't always been this way. Five years ago, when Kapoor was still languishing as an actor of small films (like *Paanch* and *Woh 7 Din*) who were willing to place a bet on Kapoor's success. He was part of the emerging triumvirate which included Jackie Shroff and Sunny Deol. But the stubble-faced Kapoor stole the show with *Karma* and later *Mr India*. In *Karma*, although he was contending with Subhash Ghai and the histrionic brilliance of Naseeruddin Shah, he made his presence felt. In *Mr India*, he brought back the memory of Shammi Kapoor in *Brahmachari*, playing after abandoned children. The film

Anil Kapoor: 'real man'

Not since Amitabh Bachchan has there been an actor with such astonishing range and versatility...

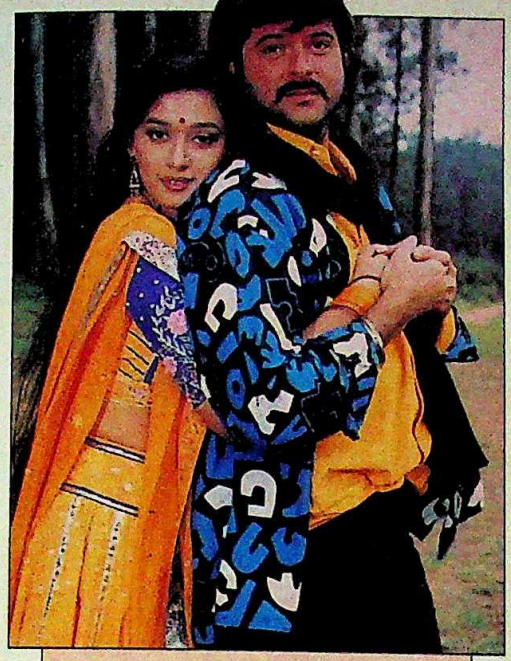
...Anil Kapoor represents people, not necessarily supermen, but who stand for certain values.



NAMAS BHOJANI

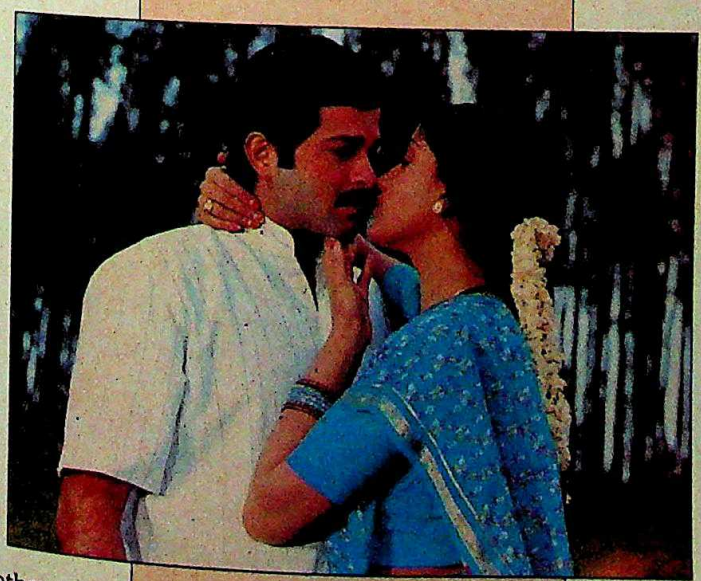
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



With Madhuri Dixit in *Ram Lakhan*

With Kiran Kumar in *Tezaab*



With Vijaya Shanti in *Eeshwar*

...replete with humour and Kapoor ...the comedian—as he does the ...dian—with aplomb.

...e that lies the secret of Kapoor's ...ess. Not since Amitabh Bachchan ...there been an actor with such ...ching range and versatility. In ..., Kapoor plays a country ...ar, Kapoor has a Raj Kapoor-like charm ...kin with Raj Kapoor-like ...sticity. Those who have seen a ...w of his forthcoming film ...t directed by Mahesh Bhatt, are ...g about his performance. Says a ...ritic: "He carries the film on his ...lders."

...t much of Kapoor's current suc- ...volves around his professional- ...e has gone out of his way to ...mmodate producers and directors ...e roles have interested him ...rned down lucrative roles other- ... Says an industry watcher: ...'s paid him is his choice of films ...directors." Besides, he is punctual ...complainingly re-shoots scenes ...convinced they could be ...e as in the case of *Mr* ... Says Ghai: "He is hard- ...ng and dedicated."

...t, nobody can deny. ...firmly believes in giv- ...least 100 days for each ...sometimes at one ...n, and therefore feels he ...n't do more than three ...films a year. (At ...e he takes on about ...dozen films a year). ...Kapoor: "If I want to ...that kind of time—and ...the only way you can ...od films and give good ...rmances—then I can't ...of taking on 15-20 films ...way others are doing." In ...sizzy where quantity is ...ed upon more than ...y, Kapoor stands out for ...courageous approach. ...er than recklessly taking ...ry project he is offered, ...cking up his price (re- ...d to be Rs 25 lakh per ... he has been selective. ...t. Kapoor's decision to ...ce the number of films, ... says: "That is wise. I ...hope he doesn't raise his ...e. If he becomes a market- ...commodity, he will lose ...artistic touch."

...Kapoor is well aware of ... Last year he caused a ...ss by reneging from com- ...ments in 13 films. Says brother and ...ucer-director Boney Kapoor: "He couldn't have functioned otherwise." In striking contrast to other stars who've taken on scores of commitments, Kapoor has turned down films where he was reportedly offered Rs 35 lakh. Says he: "I want to reduce the number of films I act in. You should remain underexposed so that people look forward to your films." Shekhar Kapoor approves: "Stars should be like fast bowlers, they should pace themselves, otherwise they will burn out in one season."

Yet, it may be too soon to describe Kapoor as the next Bachchan. As Shekhar Kapoor says: "It requires a series of hits or flops to make or break a star. As a people we are very loyal to our heroes, our social structures. Trends may change in urban India, but rural India is not so quick in discarding its heroes." It is also believed that Kapoor needs a good director and the right ingredients to produce an outstanding performance. Says a film buff: "He isn't as versatile as Amitabh; rather, he is a cultivated actor, not a natural. But he is very efficient and hardworking."

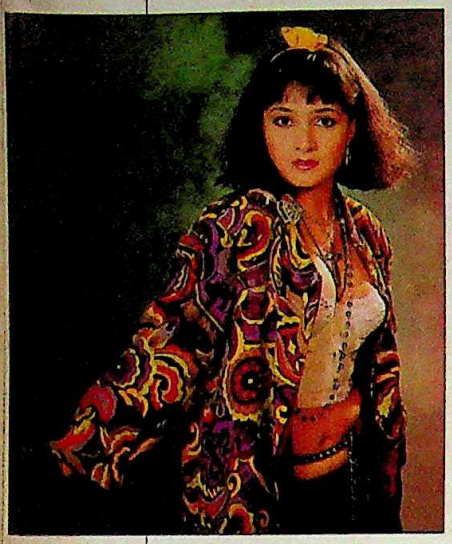
There can, however, be no doubt that a new generation has now emerged. Aamir Khan and Kapoor represent more easily identifiable aspirations—not necessarily supermen, but who stand for certain values. Kapoor concedes: "My roles are of people who are certainly not larger than life." Just like his lifestyle. He presents a clean, family-man image to the media even though he displays some of the star trappings—an ornate, filmy-style bungalow tucked away in a corner of Bombay's Juhu-Vile Parle Scheme. But at heart, Kapoor is a devoted family man—he married his teenage sweetheart, Sunita, a fashion designer. He is also deeply religious. Last fortnight, his daughter's birthday was celebrated with a 90-minute pooja. He does yoga every morning to keep fit and prays regularly.

The prayers seem to have been answered. The times are good for Kapoor who has now reached a stage where it is possible for him in real life, not just in reel life, to become Mr India.

—SALIL TRIPATHI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

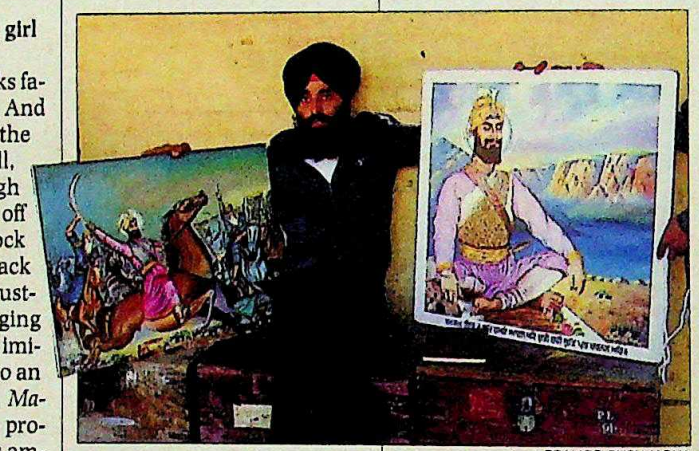
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Alisha Chinai: material girl

◆ The belly button looks familiar. As do the clothes. And the sex-appeal. And the songs. And the voice? Well, not quite, but close enough for **Alisha Chinai** to pass off as India's answer to rock queen Madonna—and pack in the crowds at her just-concluded four-city singing tour. Chinai's Madonna imitations have already led to an album called, what else, *Madonna*, and the tour is to promote the record. Chinai's ambitions to recreate the Madonna magic do not end with just writhing the way the super-singer does and belting out her original songs in Hindi and English—for which Chinai's had to pay heavy royalties to a publishing firm in New York. "I am working on a musical on Madonna's life and music," she cooed. "I'm a great fan of hers." They say imitation is the best form of flattery but it can also be pretty profitable. A true *Material Girl*?

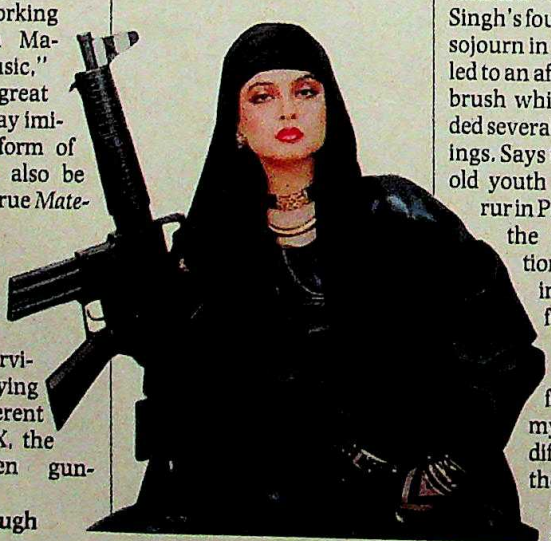
◆ **Rekha** acting in an X-rated film? Not exactly. Indian cinema's Great Survivor is, however, playing a radically different role—as Madame X, the tough-talking, sten gun-wielding, female don of the underworld. And enjoying every take. Says Director Deepak Shivdasani: "Rekha has given her best performance to date in *Madame X*." That will be decided by the audience, used only to her sensuous hip-swinging. Rekha also has a bonus to offer. Apart from playing a Mafia Ms, she plays a double role in the film, a more traditional one opposite former Pakistani cricket star Mohsin Khan. Trust her to keep her flanks well covered.



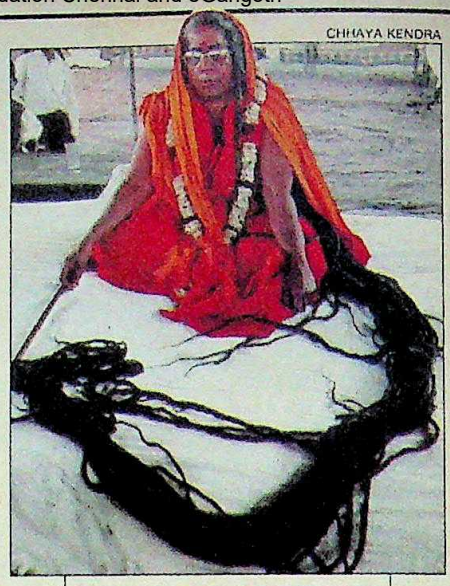
PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Bhupinder: busy behind bars

◆ Ram, Lakshman and Sita rubbing shoulders with Guru Gobind Singh in a high security jail housing Punjab terrorists? That unlikely picture of communal amity was created by **Bhupinder Singh**, one of the Jodhpur detenus released by the Government last fortnight as part of the new initiatives for working towards a solution in Punjab. Singh's four-year-long sojourn in Jodhpur Jail led to an affair with the brush which has yielded several such paintings. Says the 27-year-old youth from Sangrur in Punjab: "I got the time, isolation, and inspiration inside the jail." His favourite themes: depicting human agony and gods from Hindu and Sikh mythology. "I don't differentiate between the gods," he pronounced, holding aloft his creations.



Rekha: acting tough

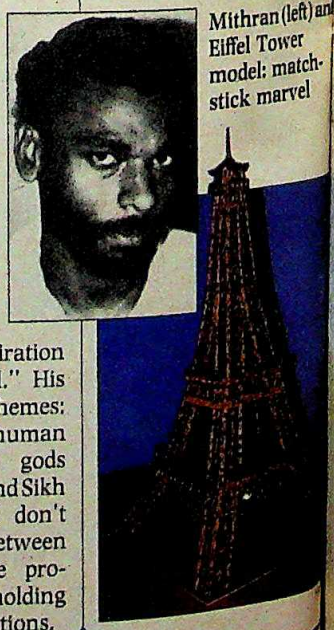


CHHAYA KENDRA

Jagadamba Mata

◆ When she lets h hair down, records t like ninepins. Ja damba Mata, a 74-ye old yogin from Ujjai recently came to th capital where her disc ples discovered that sh had a world record, we on her head. All 21 ft It—the longest an woman has been able t grow her tresses. B Jagadamba Mata says her crowning glory: have grown used to m hair as you grow used t your moustache." Th yogin's secret recipe milk and honey—imbibe through the nose.

◆ Matchsticks are for burning. But what do you do with 30,000 of them? Ask Mithran 26, from Trivandrum who thinks they make for excellent architectural material—he knocked together nothing less than the Eiffel Tower itself. While the French celebrate their year in India, the matchstick wizard has decided they deserve his 984 mm-high version of the tower. So he is packing off his wonder for the 100th anniversary celebrations of the Tower this month. From Mithran to Mitterrand.



Mithran (left) and Eiffel Tower model: matchstick marvel

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Eye of the Storm

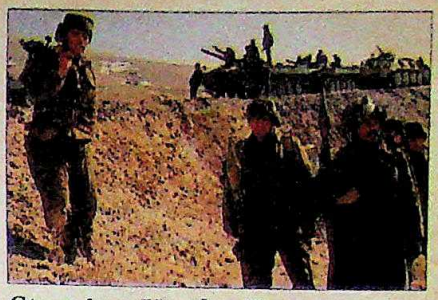
While the Thakkar report has cast scarce illumination on the conspiracy leading to Mrs Gandhi's assassination, the brouhaha accompanying its release has shown how democratic institutions are being undermined, and how the highest echelons of the Government are riven by mistrust.

COVER STORY 28

A New Mood of Aggression

Following its rout in the Tamil Nadu elections the AIADMK seemed to have lost the will to fight. But after the drama surrounding Jayalalitha's letter of resignation from the Assembly, the party has been galvanised. And as the pandemonium in the Assembly showed, it is all set to take the DMK head on.

SPECIAL REPORTS 38



Stepping Up the Fire

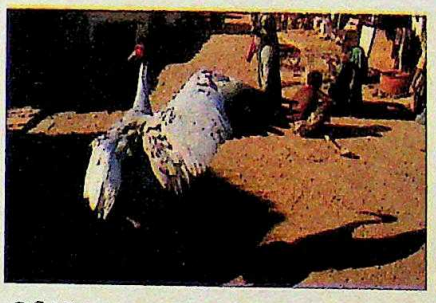
As a major step in their move towards Kabul the rebels last fortnight intensified their offensive against the town of Jalalabad while opening new fronts elsewhere. Their progress was slow and they suffered heavy losses. Yet, for the government forces, the battle was far from being won.

SPECIAL REPORTS 44

ıdecent Exposures

Pamella Singh Bordes was one beauty een who did not fade away. Last fortnight, sultry Miss India 1982 had the spotlight rned on her after Britain's tabloid press, ixing fact with fiction, alleged she had dded top British ministers and Libyan intelligence officials.

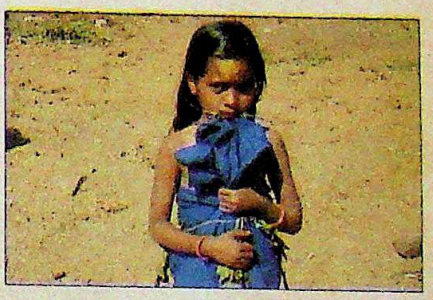
SPECIAL FEATURE 72



Of Human Bondage

In the village of Khajuraho lives a strange sarus crane. Unlike others of its species, the four-foot-high water bird does not brandish its sharp beak at the approach of a human being. It cuddles up to the widow who raised it, gobbles chapatis and follows men around like a tame dog.

PHOTO ESSAY 83



Nobody's Children

In the sordid world of prostitution, the child prostitutes constitute a yet more sordid hell. At an age when other children are innocently laughing and playing, they are forced to sell their bodies. And everyone seems to acquiesce in exploiting them—their customers, the police, even their own parents.

SPECIAL FEATURE 124

TENTS

IMENT 14
ITALOOK 19
FORTNIGHT THAT WAS 27
ER STORY
Dhawan: Eye of the Storm 28
AL REPORTS
K: A New Mood of Aggression 38
anistan: Stepping Up the Fire 44
T. Rama Rao: Facing the Recoil 52
RRENT EVENTS
ajasthan:
Heading for a Compromise 56
unjab: On a Collision Course 58
dhya Pradesh: Simmering Crisis 63
arnataka: Expanding Trouble 66
est Bengal: Border Chaos 68
outomline: Shake, Rattle and Roll 69
ATENOTES 70
PECIAL FEATURE
Pamella Singh Bordes:
Indecent Exposures 72

PHOTO ESSAY
Of Human Bondage 83
TRADE WINDS 99
BUSINESS
Marketing: Changing Tack 100
Telecom Commission:
A New Line 102
Conferencing: Face to Face 104
Tamil Nadu: Cleaning Up 104
Compact Discs: An Overture 105
Prices: No Relief 106
Rajasthan: Booming Business 111
The Markets: Ups and Downs 115
THE ECONOMY MONITOR 118
SPECIAL FEATURE
Child Prostitutes:
Nobody's Children 124
HEALTH
AIDS: A Bloody Scam 130
SPECIAL FEATURE
Agriculture: A Golden Revival 138

LIFESTYLE
Accommodation:
An Urban Nightmare 146
SPORTS
Cricket: Torrid Test 156
ARCHAEOLOGY
Junagadh: Monuments of Neglect 162
DEVELOPMENT
Karnataka: Magic Seed Scandal 167
BOOKS
Reliving The Times 170
Getting Even 176
EYE-CATCHERS 180

पुस्तकालय
डॉ० विश्वविद्यालय
बिहार
4410

Cover Photograph by BHAWAN SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RIGHT TIME.

RIGHT PLACE.

SPRINGFIELD FOR SAFAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WRONG AUDIENCE.

Raymond's
The final word

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAGIC OF OLD SPICE MUSK

OLD SPICE MUSK
SPLASH ON THE
MASCULINE AROMA.
ON YOUR FACE.
ON YOUR BODY.
AND MAKE HER
SECRET FANTASIES
COME ALIVE.

ALSO AVAILABLE
BODY TALC
LATHER SHAVING CREAM
COLOGNE

A MENEZES SHIRLTON ENTERPRISE

0. In Pu ul Kangri Collection, Haridw

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA TODAY
THE COMPLETE NEWSMAGAZINE

VOLUME XIV NUMBER 7
FOR THE FORTNIGHT APRIL 1-15, 1989

EDITOR
AROON PURIE

EXECUTIVE EDITOR — INDERJIT BADHWAR
DEPUTY EDITOR — DILIP BOBB
SENIOR EDITOR — PRABHU CHAWLA
PICTURE EDITOR — RAGHU RAI
FEATURES EDITOR — SHEKHAR GUPTA
ASSOCIATE EDITOR — RAMINDAR SINGH
ASSISTANT EDITOR — P.G. MATHAI

CORRESPONDENTS
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT — RAJ CHENGAPPA
NEW DELHI — MADHU JAIN
PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA
SIMRAN BHARGAVA
DAVID DEVADAS
PANKAJ PACHAURI
SURAJEET DAS GUPTA
AHMEDABAD — UDAY MAHURKAR
BANGALORE — CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA
BHOPAL — N.K. SINGH
BOMBAY — M. RAHMAN
SALIL TRIPATHI
S.N. VASUKI
CALCUTTA — FARZAND AHMED
KAMALJEET RATTAN
CHANDIGARH — VIPUL MUDGAL
HYDERABAD — AMARNATH K. MENON
LUCKNOW — DILIP AWASTHI
MADRAS — C.S.G PRASAD
PATNA — UTTAM SENGUPTA
TRIVANDRUM — RAMESH MENON
NEWS COORDINATOR — SANDHYA MULCHANDANI

ART EDITOR — SHIRLEY JOSHUA

CARTOONIST — AJIT NINAN MATHEW
CARTOGRAPHER — B.K. SHARMA
PRODUCTION IN-CHARGE — ANURADHA KAPOOR
LAYOUT ARTISTS — ANUP GUPTA
PEALI DUTTA GUPTA
PRABAL MANDAL
KAMINI SINGH

ASSISTANT PICTURE EDITOR — BHAWAN SINGH
PHOTOGRAPHERS — PRAMOD PUSHKARNA
PRASHANT PANJIAR
NAMAS BHOJANI
SHYAM TEKWANI

COPY DESK — SABA NAQVI BHAUMIK
NANDITA SARDANA
VIDHU KHANNA

MARKETING DIRECTOR — MOHINI BHULLAR

REGIONAL MANAGERS ADVERTISING
BOMBAY — NEENA MONGIA
NEW DELHI — NAGINDER RISHI
CALCUTTA — MEERA PAUL

ADVERTISING MANAGERS
MADRAS — R. ANAND
BANGALORE — S.J. NAIDU

● EDITORIAL OFFICE: LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD, F-14/15, CONNAUGHT PLACE NEW DELHI 110001. PHONE: 3315801-4, TELEX: 31-61241 INTO IN CABLE: LIVMEDIA, NEW DELHI ● SUBSCRIPTIONS: INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT, POST BOX 69, FARIDABAD HARYANA ● TRADE CIRCULATION: INDIA TODAY CIRCULATION MANAGER, F-14 CONNAUGHT PLACE, MIDDLE CIRCLE NEW DELHI PHONE: 3313076-8, TELEX: 31-62634 INTO IN ● ADVERTISING OFFICES: 28 A&B JOLLY MAKER CHAMBER II, NARIMAN POINT, BOMBAY-400021. PHONE: 2026152, 2029326, 2029515, TELEX: 11-5371 THOM IN, CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BOMBAY ● 14 CONNAUGHT CIRCUS, NEW DELHI-110001, PHONES: 3325378, 3321123 AND 3321273, TELEX: 31-62124 THOM IN, CABLE: LIVMEDIA NEW DELHI ● FACUN CHAMBERS, 26 COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ROAD, MADRAS-600105, PHONE: 477188, 479163, CABLE: LIVMEDIA MADRAS ● 74/1 ST. MARKS ROAD, BANGALORE-560001, PHONE: 568448, 579037, 579089, CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BANGALORE ● 12C EVEREST 46C CHOWRINGEE ROAD, CALCUTTA-700016, PHONE: 445398, 447726, CABLE: LIVINMEDIA, CALCUTTA ● (T&T RIGHT 1967 LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. REPRODUCTION IN ANY MANNER IS PROHIBITED. PUBLISHED BY AROON PURIE FOR LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD, NEW DELHI AND PRINTED AT THOMSON PRESS INDIA LTD, FARIDABAD HARYANA ● INDIA TODAY DOES NOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RETURNING UNSOLICITED PUBLICATION MATERIAL ●

FOR periodicals like INDIA TODAY, *there is no higher court of judgement than its readers. Thankfully, they have so far given the magazine consistently high marks for its content and presentation. But there is, nonetheless, a special sense of pride in being similarly judged by our peers. Last fortnight,* INDIA TODAY *was judged Asian Magazine of the Year by the Asian World Publishing Congress at a glittering international function in Bangkok. It was chosen from 200 entries from all over Asia.*

Besides the main award, the magazine also won awards in two other categories—the best written editorial matter as well as the best use of photography. The award for the best written editorial was for the cover story of the February 29, 1988 issue titled "The Changing Face of Rajiv Gandhi" by Executive Editor INDERJIT BADHWAR *and Senior Editor* PRABHU CHAWLA. *Staff photographer* PRASHANT PANJIAR*'s pictures of the Bihar earthquake, featured in the September 15 issue, won the photography award. For us, an additional sense of pride is that the Indian media is making its presence felt internationally.*

The awards won by INDIA TODAY

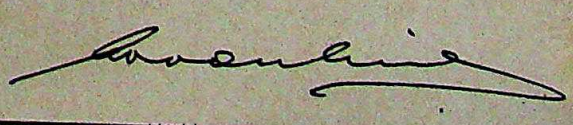
I would like to use this opportunity to share the laurels with our readers. Your reactions and feedback have served to keep us on our toes and inspired us to maintain the highest of journalistic standards. The awards are a welcome recognition of this.

TRAGICALLY, back home, the policies of the Government of India appear aimed at reversing the growth and standards of excellence that the media has been trying to achieve. Instead of encouragement, the Government has dealt magazines an economic hammer-blow. The recent budget has imposed a vicious hike in import duty on their most important and essential ingredient—newsprint. Customs duty on glazed newsprint—a special paper used exclusively by magazines which is imported because it is not manufactured in India—has been hiked by a massive 25 per cent. No other product has been subjected to as much additional taxation in this budget—televisions 10 per cent to 20 per cent, computers 10 per cent, Marutis 8 per cent, and watches 3 per cent—as newsprint.

During the last two years, the cost of glazed newsprint has gone up by 90 per cent, inclusive of the budget increase. This massive rise in the cost of a raw material which constitutes 55 to 60 per cent of the direct cost of production of periodicals is bound to have a crippling effect on the entire economics of publishing magazines. In the face of such unnatural hikes, magazines will have no option but to raise their cover price as well as advertising rates substantially to meet the extra burden. The Government cannot but know this.

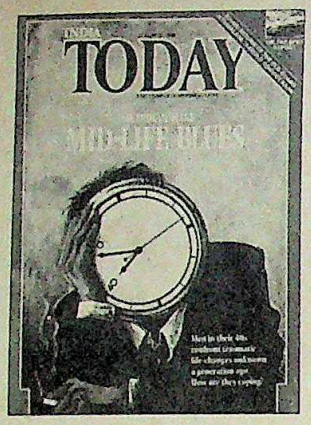
Financial strength and health are the best insurance for a free press and its ability to withstand government pressures. And magazines have now become the obvious new target. It is a pity that the Government should sacrifice on the altar of political expedience the larger objective of encouraging the growth of a free press.

In 1981, the Government had imposed import duty on all newsprint and several newspapers had pleaded in the courts that this amounted to an unconstitutional restriction on the freedom of the press. The Supreme Court directed the Government to consider reducing the duty—and it did. Justice E.S. Venkataramiah had commented: "It is on account of this special interest which society has in the freedom of speech and expression that the approach of the Government should be more cautious while levying taxes on matters concerning newspaper industry, than while levying taxes on other matters." This plea has, like other sane advice, fallen on deaf ears in this administration.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



FRUSTRATING FORTIES

The cover story on mid-life crisis ("Mid-Life Blues", March 31) was of great interest. In 1982 when I had published a novel called *Dopahar Ka Tehrao* on the same theme I was criticised on the ground that this theme had no relevance to the Indian situation. Your in-depth study has proved that I was right about it.

New Delhi — OMESH SAIGAL

■ The mid-forties is a transitional period in a man's life when he engages in introspection. It is usually during this time that even his own life partner starts neglecting him.

Lucknow — NARENDRA MOHAN PANT

ILLUMINATING REPORT

Your cover story on Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* ("Satanic Storm", March 15) was absorbing, but the so-called agents of Prophet Mohammed are raising a storm in a tea-cup. Their parochial attitude has given undue importance to a book which would otherwise have faded into oblivion.

Patna — BHANU PRATAP SINGH

■ Thank you for letting us have a clear picture on this whole idiotic episode.

Rameswaram — SHYAM P. KUNTE

■ As Indians we are pained by the role being played by the Indian press and intelligentsia. For how long will we allow the West to think for us? It is astonishing how the perpetrators of some of the worst crimes in recent history are now teaching us about human rights. The victims of the Bhopal gas disaster are getting no more than lip service from the US.

People ask what right Khomeini has to sentence Rushdie to death. What about the Iranian airplane that was shot down by the US forces? Or the air attack on Libya? Why should there be two sets of rules?

Aligarh — Students of J.N. MEDICAL COLLEGE

■ I find it difficult to believe that I would ever, unless I was overtired and overemotional, recommend that if I was Salman Rushdie I would grovel before the Ayatollah. What I said was that as myself and as a supporter of the right of Salman to be free of fear, I would stand naked on my head in Trafalgar Square and play the tambourine with my toes if it would deflect the murderous purpose of those who have threatened a writer. I fear that only state level negotiation or the intervention of powers beyond outraged and sympathetic bands of scribblers will lure the mullahs back to cancel out half a line.

London — FARROKH DHONDY

■ The right to freedom of expression should be protected, but not abused by writing blasphemy. What hurts a believer most is Rushdie's calling himself a Muslim and other Muslim writers' supporting him for his blasphemous work.

Bombay — MOHAMMAD FEROZ

■ It is incorrect to say that the Prophet "wrote" the verses and then "expunged" them. According to Islamic history, he is the messenger who had only "revealed" the verses. The Koran is believed to have been written over a period of 30 years after the Prophet's death.

Bombay — DARA KADVA

■ I would like to point out that there are two more books that were banned during the Emergency in Tamil Nadu. One was *Vazhum Kedayamum* by Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi and the other was *Vanakkamum Vazhuthum* by the then Rajya Sabha member and opposition leader T.K. Srinivasan of the DMK.

Madras — T.K.S. VILLALAN

A MEGA SELL-OUT

The $470-million settlement ("Unsettling Verdict", March 15) is a sell-out of the Bhopal victims' interests.

This is not the first time Carbide has gotten away with paying a pittance. The Hawk's Nest tragedy in West Virginia, in the early '30s resulted in most of the 4,929 workers (70 per cent black) contracting silicosis; 476 died on the job and nearly 1,500 died elsewhere.

Though $6 million was claimed in lawsuits, the first court cases were settled out of court for $130,000 by their lawyers. Each victim received $213 after deducting legal fees and court costs.

Bloomington, Indiana — JOSEPH G. DAVIS

■ The Supreme Court has rightly hastened a settlement to ensure immediate relief to the gas victims. Otherwise, legal procrastinations might have denied justice. Had the company been an Indian one even this would not have been possible. The row over a low compensation is only because of the high expectations from a multinational.

Ahmedabad — RAJ KAPOOR

■ The three equally guilty parties involved in the Bhopal tragedy have since paid the price. The carelessness of the workers in UCIL resulting in the loss of life; the Government which has exposed itself to ridicule; and the company which has paid a huge compensation.

Singapore — S. RAJAGOPALAN

■ You have rightly made the point that the compensation of Rs 715 crore seems adequate. However, one hopes that whatever was spent by the Government and others is not deducted.

As for the criminal responsibility, why does no one think of it in air crashes, train and boat accidents? Many of them are due to human error and negligence.

Dehradun — B.N. SHUKLA

SHOCKING OPINION

I was shocked to read Justice Bhagwati's guest column ("Travesty of Justice", March 15). We felt that the judiciary was the only upright element left in this country, and it is a pity that the ex-chief justice has chosen to present his ex-colleagues in such a manner.

Bombay — K.S. MENON

■ The acrimonious debate generated by the Supreme Court's sanctification of the settlement makes one wonder what all the bother is about. Knights in shining armour like former justice P.N. Bhagwati who decry it seem to betray their callow ignorance of stark realities. As Brooke Adams remarked, in a capitalist democracy "law is merely the expression of the will of the strongest".

Chandigarh — DR D.C. SAXENA

■ I humbly request the former chief justice not to bother us about the Bhopal judgement as we shall forgive and forget the same in due course like we did Bofors.

Vilathikulam, Tamil Nadu — M. GNANAJOTHI

INEPT PROGRAMME

The article on the implementation of the IRDP ("A Methodical Fraud", March 15) was informative. It is not possible for the Government to provide employment

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

One of the few things on which age does not leave its mark

A Kelvinator refrigerator knows how to age gracefully. Serving you with the same efficiency year after year.

One of the reasons for its long life is its 'Power-Saver' compressor. It cools fast, makes ice even faster. Irrespective of the atmospheric temperature outside.

Kelvinator has another surprise in store for you – the spacious storage area. Its thoughtfully designed interior does away with nooks and corners for maximum space utilisation.

Tough, all-steel construction and sturdy ABS liner lends extra strength to its exterior as well as the interior. Giving it a longer life.

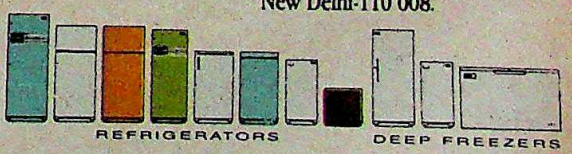
And a wide range of models and colour schemes give you the widest choice available.

When you want to buy a refrigerator only once in a lifetime, buy a Kelvinator.

Sold and serviced by :

Expo Machinery Limited

Pragati Tower, 26 Rajindra Place, New Delhi-110 008.



Kelvinator®

Refrigerator

"It's the coolest one."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It takes TISTECH to pione ndia's

TISCON TMT 42 and 50 grades (IS:1786) are available in the range of 8 mm to 22 mm diameter

CC-0. In Public Dom Mukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Produced by
"Tempcore T

TISCON TM
from Tata Ste
the world's m
Tempcore Pro
Thermo Mech
(TMT) instead
twisting to im
the bar. Introc
first time unde
de Recherche
(CRM) of Belg

A premium c

Tata Steel c
sources and h
combination
and Concast
superior chem

TISCON TM
most technolo

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

India's first Thermo Mechanically Treated rebar

Presenting

TISCON TMT from Tata Steel

Produced by world class "Tempcore Technology"

TISCON TMT. Yet another first from Tata Steel. Produced by the world's most advanced Tempcore Process that uses Thermo Mechanical Treatment (TMT) instead of conventional cold twisting to impart high strength to the bar. Introduced in India for the first time under licence from Centre de Recherches Metallurgique (CRM) of Belgium.

A premium quality product

Tata Steel owns its raw material sources and has the perfect combination of blast furnace, LD and Concast facilities. This ensures superior chemistry.

TISCON TMT is rolled in India's most technologically advanced Bar & Rod Mill to close dimensional tolerances and a superb surface finish.

As a result, TISCON TMT has a package of properties superior to the standards specified in IS: 1786.

Unique benefits

TISCON TMT can be used on its own or in combination with any conventional twisted bar to give unique benefits to the construction sector.

- High strength, guaranteed to IS: 1786 standards, coupled with superior ductility makes structures extremely safe.
- Extra high bendability leads to ease of fabrication.
- High corrosion resistant characteristics can be used with great advantage in all concrete structures.

TISCON TMT. First in technology. First in quality. First in benefits.

TATA STEEL

The first and still the foremost

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NOW GET TWO WORLD LEADERS TO WORK IN YOUR FACTORY

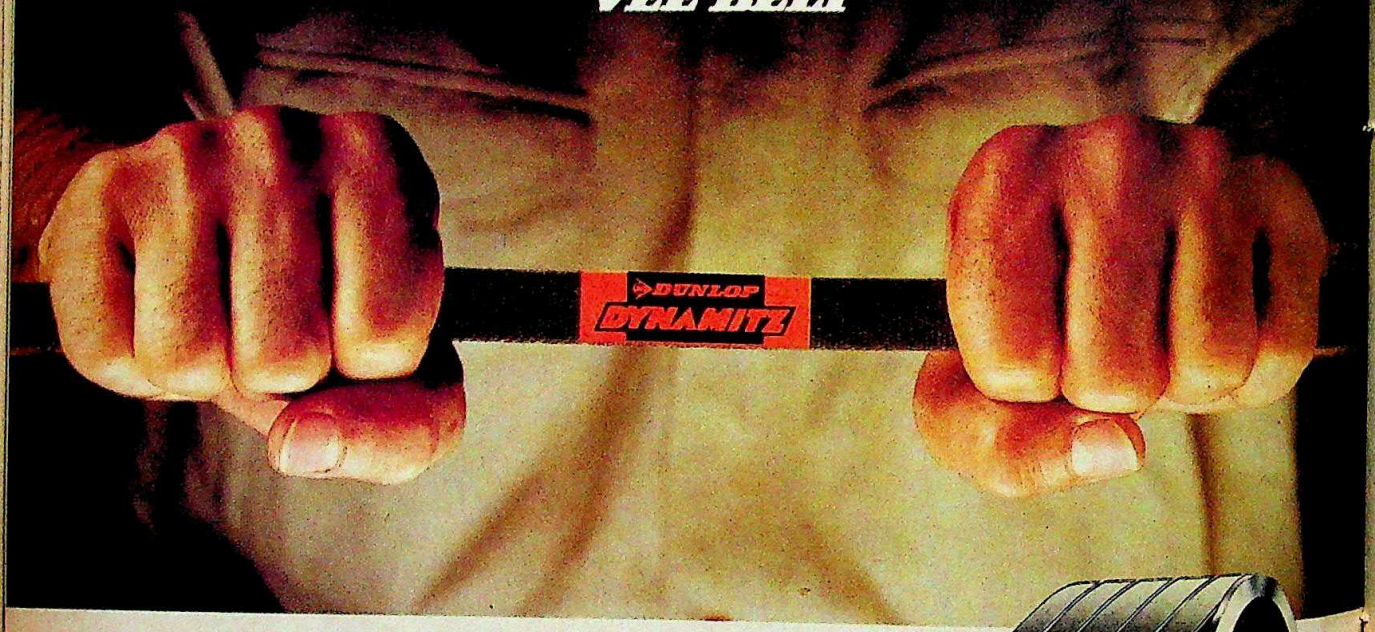
Dunlop India in collaboration with Mitsuboshi of Japan presents

NEW

DUNLOP

DYNAMITZ

POLYESTER CORD VEE BELT



The signature of leadership

New Dunlop Dynamitz Vee Belt is engineered by Dunlop India with state-of-the-art technology from Mitsuboshi of Japan. World-renowned for power transmission technology.

Torture-tested for matchless performance

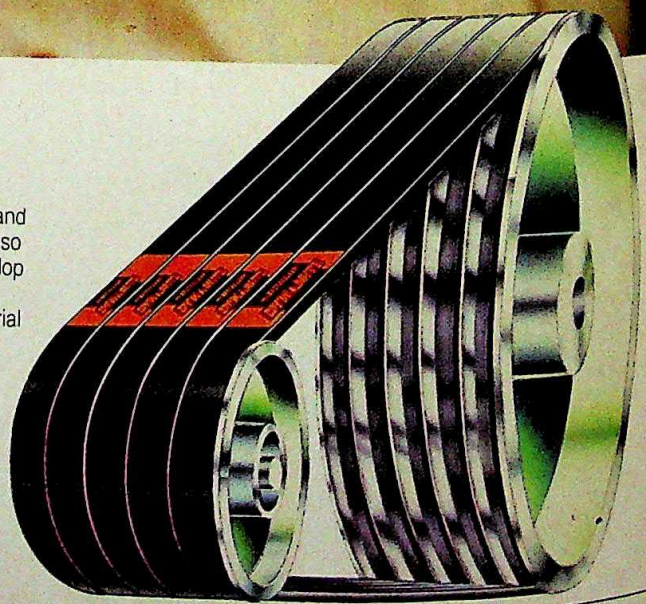
Dunlop Dynamitz has been subjected to extensive field trials as well as rigorous tests under simulated operating conditions in Japan and in Dunlop's most sophisticated Vee Belt Testing Centre, the only one of its kind in the country.

Setting a new pace for the future

Dunlop has set the pace in belting development in India. Equipped with the latest plant and machinery from Japan, it will also storm Indian markets with Dunlop Dynamitz Cut Edge Belts for automotive and specific industrial applications.

The new power pact

With the coming together of the best in the business, Dunlop Dynamitz represents the new-generation Vee Belts that spell more power for your money.



DIL DVB-1

Dunlop is Dunlop. Always ahead.

MORE POWER FOR YOUR MONEY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to all. But if it makes sincere efforts it would be enough.

R.V. NAGI REDDY
Tirupati

RECONSTRUCTIVE ASPECT

Your article on plastic surgery ("Invasion of the Body Sculptors", March 15) has laid more emphasis on the aesthetic and cosmetic part of the field and less on the reconstructive aspect. There cannot be many women in India who can afford to uplift their breasts or their faces. On the other hand, the facility of reconstructive surgery should be available in the industrial belts, where accident rates are very high.

A.B. SEN
New Delhi

APPORTIONING BLAME

For the whimsical acts of N.T. Rama Rao ("Sweeping Clout", March 15) it's the statureless ministers, quarrelling Congress(I) leaders, and other spineless opposition leaders and lastly the gullible voters who are responsible.

G.S.V.S. TILAK
Hyderabad

POWER BROKER

The manner in which the media has reacted to R.K. Dhawan's come-back ("The Return of the Faithful", March 15), shows the importance of being Dhawan. Obviously some special trait is required to keep Congressmen under control and win elections.

V. SAGAR
Delhi

■ The recall of Dhawan is a step toward streamlining the administrative set-up. His experience will assist the Centre in fighting growing regionalism and anarchy.

J.V. NAIK
Bombay

GOVERNMENT APATHY

The report on the dam ("Grassroots Initiative", March 15) reflects poorly on the Government, which turns a blind eye to the problems of farmers.

R.N.PUROHIT
Kharagpur

DISGRACEFUL SITUATION

The special feature on Indian roads ("Potholed Path to Progress", February 28) was precise. Our pitiable roads are a national disgrace and should be treated as a priority sector.

SANDEEP KARWA
Dibrugarh

■ While I agree with the views expressed in your article, I would like to bring up one point. It is probably a blessing in disguise that vehicles are unable to go very fast due to bad roads. If they could, there would probably be more accidents than the 45 in 10,000 figure quoted in the article.

R. MURALIDHARAN
Ahmedabad

HORNETS' NEST

Even if God became the chief minister of Bihar ("Carriers of Discord", February 28) dissidents wouldn't spare him. It has become a virtual tradition that the day a new chief minister comes in dissidents start lobbying for his ouster.

GYAN BHADRA
Patna

QUEER PROBLEM

Your story on homosexuals ("Out of the Closet", February 28) brought to my mind the fact that in India when it comes to homosexuality honesty doesn't pay. In 1977 I was honest with my parents about this. The result was a rushed marriage, and threats of ostracism from both family and friends. If gays confide in a 'straight' friend at work and the friendship sours, they ultimately face harassment. My advice to fellow gays in India is to tread cautiously as far as revealing their true identity is concerned.

NITIN SHAH
Bombay

LOW OUTLAY

Your article on defence expenditure ("Heading for a crisis", February 28) clearly shows how the lack of foresight has led to the near derailing of the defence modernisation plan. This year, to my surprise, the budget outlay for defence has been maintained at Rs 1,300 crore. In real terms it will be even less if inflation gathers momentum. The outlay should have been raised to keep pace with the defence plans of neighbouring countries.

I.A. KHAN
Surat

■ In addition to long-term security plans we should also have safeguards against diseases like crisis of character, corruption, economic difficulties and other such problems.

SUCHA SINGH
Jalandhar

■ Our military machine does seem to be dwarfed by the rising Pakistani one which has massive Sino-US backing. We have been watching this perilous build-up since 1972 forgetting the wise old adage of not allowing grass to grow under one's feet.

B.N. KOHLI
Faridabad

FILL UP

this coupon and listen to your favourite sound: a child's laugh.

Fun and laughs are as vital to a child as the air he or she breathes. And good clean fun is what the Disney Today comic magazine is all about.

So why not fill up this coupon and make everybody happy.

Save upto 20% on cover price

Mail to:
Living Media India Ltd.
Subscription Department
Thomson Press Building
P.B. No. 69 Delhi-Mathura Road
Faridabad-121 007 (HARYANA)

I want a subscription for my child. Here is my ☐ Annual: Rs. 96/- ☐ 6 monthly Rs. 50/-subscription for the English edition.
I am paying by :
Cheque/M.O./D.D. No. _____

Please mail my copy to:
Name _____
Age _____ Sex _____
Address _____
_____
_____
School _____
Parent/Guardian's signature _____

Please draw remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd.

114

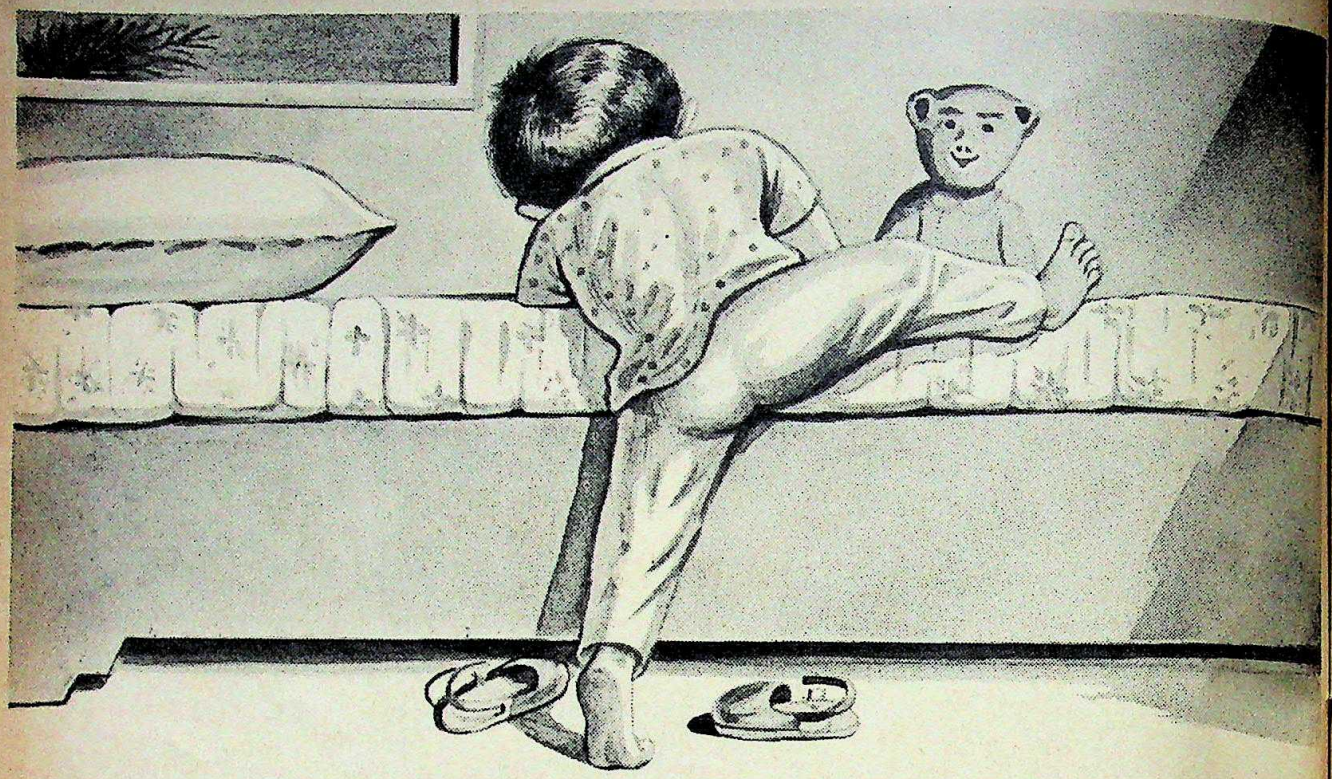
Walt Disney TODAY
Available every fortnight in English and Hindi.

© 1987 THE WALT DISNEY CO., USA.

MILESTONES/DT/114 a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Make Sure He Sleeps On A Safe Mattress ...Not On A Health Hazard.

If he suffers from skin rashes, allergic itching, coughing or sneezing, sore eyes or runny nose, the reason may be toxic chemicals or dirt, dust, bedbugs and other vermin present in the mattress he sleeps on.

But now you can protect him.

Totofoam Is Totally Clean

A Totofoam mattress is made with natural rubber. Its high latex content enables it to be machine washed by a unique hydroextractor process, making it the only totally clean, chemical-free mattress you can buy.

Totofoam contains no vegetable fibre (coir, cotton, etc.). Insects and vermin cannot breed, lay eggs, die and rot inside it. So not only does Totofoam come to you totally clean...it also stays clean.

Totofoam Is Totally Safe

Made with natural rubber, Totofoam is never scratchy, lumpy or uncomfortable like most non-rubber mattresses which disguise this fact under a quilted cover padded with potentially lethal synthetic PU foam.

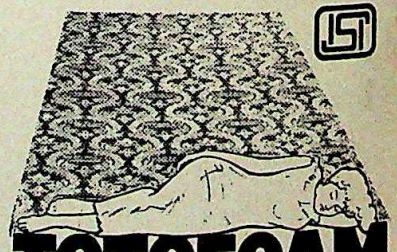
Britain has outlawed the use of synthetic PU foam. *"...At least 300 people a year die in Britain alone from...the hydrogen cyanide fumes of the inflamable polyurethane (synthetic PU foam)...short-term exposure (to the gas) itself is sufficient to cause death"* [Times of India, Jan. 17, 1988].

Don't gamble with the lives of those you love. Get Totofoam.

Totofoam Is Total Comfort

Users prefer the year-round total body comfort and the deep, night-long relaxation of a Totofoam mattress. Its high latex cushioning adjusts independently to individual parts of your body to give each part precisely the support it requires... not too hard... not too soft... just exactly right.

Clean, safe, comfortable : Only Totofoam honestly delivers the three qualities the perfect mattress should have.



TOTOFOAM

Comfortable. Clean. Chemical-free.

Made with natural rubber

AJANTA RUBBER
Office & Showroom :
90 Punchkian Road, New Delhi
Ph : 310554. Telex : 31-77036 HPL IN

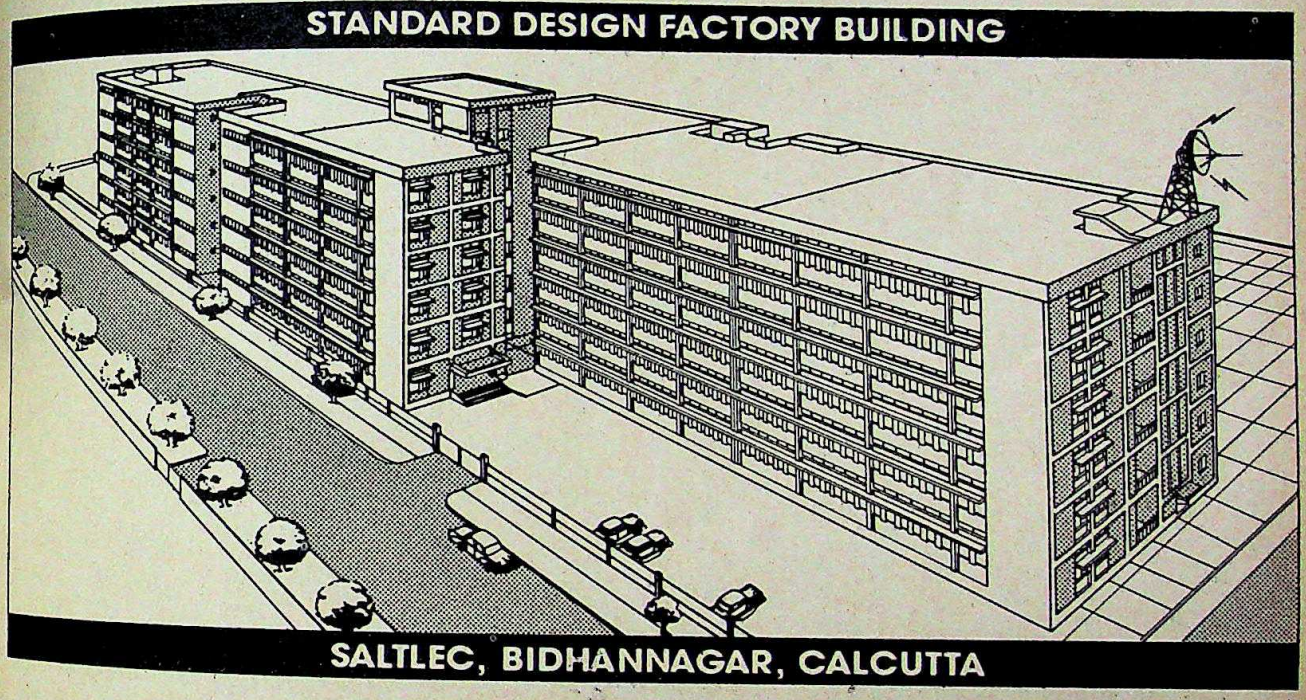
TOTO FOAM Mattresses • Cushions • Pillows • Bus Seats • Tractor Seats • Cinema Seats • Aircraft Seats TOTO FOAM

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Saltlec takes another major step forward

Webel



For the small and medium scale sectors

The ideal site for Electronics Manufacturers

Right in the heart of **Saltlec,** the 93-acre Electronics Complex in Bidhannagar, Salt Lake City, the **Standard Design Factory (SDF)** Building is fast nearing completion.

- **SDF** is a six-storey building housing 175 modules of 125 sq. mts each. For sale as single or multiple modules at prices ranging from Rs 3.10 lakhs to Rs 3.54 lakhs per module.
- Built with meticulous care by the West Bengal Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation, the SDF is specially designed to meet the requirements of the small and medium scale manufacturers.
- The ground and first floors offering 60 modules will be ready for occupation in February '89, the rest of the building shortly thereafter.

The Amenities

- Double-circuit power network to eliminate load-shedding. Security services, water supply, passenger and cargo lifts.
- Telecom network, fire and police services, post office, creche, shopping plazas—all provided for in the **Saltlec** master plan.
- All the advantages of being situated in the Calcutta Metropolis.

The Ideal Atmosphere for Electronics

Saltlec represents the most refined development of the concept of an integrated industrial estate. With so many large and medium scale electronic manufacturing units as next door neighbours, the SDF units will have the ideal opportunity for providing vendor and ancillary services.

R & D/Testing Facilities

One of the four National R & D Centres of the Department of Electronics (DOE) will be set up jointly with Webel in **Saltlec**. The comprehensively equipped Electronics Regional Test Laboratory of the DOE will also be operational shortly at the next-door 40-acre Electronics Complex.

The Time to Apply is Now

This is an opportunity you cannot miss. **Write for Brochure along with postal order for Rs. 25/-** before it is too late. There are only 175 modules. Priority will be given to those who are ready to commence production right away.

West Bengal Electronics Industry Development Corporation Ltd.
225E Acharya J.C. Bose Road
Calcutta 700 020 Telex CA 2242
Phones 442645, 431981, 431915

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

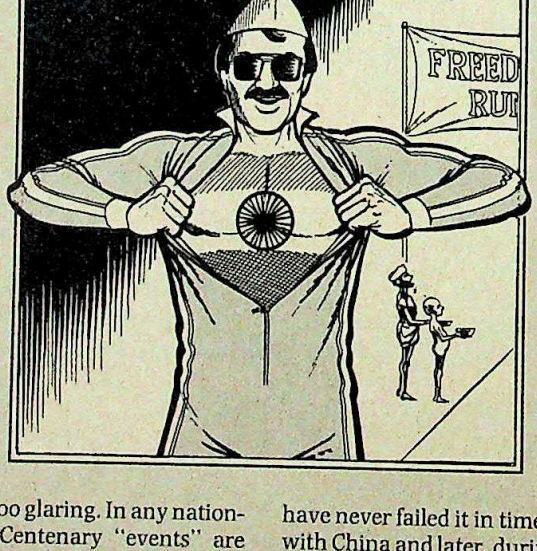
Designer Patriotism

THE second coming of the Freedom Run in which the track suit-clad participants appeared to be panting more because of a desire to be photographed with the prime minister rather than due to any particularly inspired patriotism to "run for their country" is to be followed by another patriotic extravaganza—an evening of western classical music by a 130-member orchestra conducted by Zubin Mehta, the New York Philharmonic's baron of the baton. The "I ran for my country" T-shirts will, presumably, be followed by ones emblazoned with "I played for my country".

All of this is neither to denigrate jogging and running, physical activities which any health-conscious nation should encourage, nor to belittle Mehta or the patronisation of the fine arts. Brahms, Bach and Beethoven are ever welcome to the shores of India whose people have always demonstrated a healthy tolerance of cross-cultural fertilisation.

But must all this be done in the name of patriotism? In some fashion or the other, the tamashas to which the nation has been exposed over the last couple of years in the name of the Nehru Centenary—which seems to have become a catchphrase for instant nationalism—are becoming counter-productive. They have become a spectator sport designed by advertising men in which the high-powered enjoy a ringside seat while the masses are left to sweat it out in the pit or to watch with incomprehension from beyond the pale of the arena.

Illustration by AJIT NINAN



The social, cultural, and economic divides in this nation are all too glaring. In any nation-building exercise—as the Nehru Centenary "events" are presumably designed to be—the aim must be to bridge these gaps, to unify people within the context of their own diversity, not to widen the chasms. But the last is what the runs and the concerts appear to do.

To most ordinary people—and now increasingly to critics even within the ruling party—the extravaganzas are a foolish waste of money. They view them as essentially elitist phenomena in which the participants or spectators are from the upper crust of the social ladder. The people who come in track suits for the marathon run are more or less the same who will flock to Zubin Mehta. Only the dress is different—for the music show the track suit-set dons neckties or designer *kurtas*. The most obvious impression created by these events being billed as nation-building is that even in what is supposed to be a patriotic exercise only a chosen elite is involved. And this rather than bridging the gap simply serves to widen it. Nationalism then becomes a game of insiders versus outsiders—a dangerous game.

In any event, patriotism cannot be imposed from on high. It cannot be force-fed to the public through cultural events masquerading as nation-building workshops. It can certainly be encouraged to take deep root through education starting at the primary school level in which young minds can be taught to fight communalism, casteism, degradation of the environment, lack of hygiene, and social evils such as dowry and crimes against women, all of which constantly threaten to rip the country and its society apart. Universal education about the duties of citizenship, starting at the school level, and continuing through college, would have a far deeper impact on creating a creative, nationalistic mental psyche, than television spots showing actors and actresses singing songs about national integration. Only the tune—if it is catchy—remains in the mind. Not the message.

As the wise man said: "Priests are no more necessary to religion than politicians to patriotism." He could well have been thinking about India. For the diet of instant nationalism that is now being shoved down the country's throat is the handiwork of politicians. People in the country just don't feel good about their leaders any more. They regard politicians as a bunch of knaves and con-men who have plundered their land and gathered up a harvest of shame. The sight of these politicians ladling out doses of patriotism from behind their pulpits of pious pedagogy is simply unacceptable. It is seen as an effort to create a smokescreen of nationalism behind which the politician can hide his daily depredations. Politics is indeed now viewed as the last refuge of the scoundrel.

So far, the nation's people have never failed it in times of need. In 1962, during the war with China and later, during the two wars with Pakistan, the country stood united. And it needed no runs or utsavs or *mera Bharat mahaan* posters accompanying Nehru's pictures to stiffen its sinews and summon up the nationalistic blood. Patriotism is innate. And it takes on its best form when nurtured by leaders of direction, vision, and sureness of purpose.

There is little doubt that patriotism is a necessary ingredient for boosting the morale of a nation. But a patriotism that is induced by pampering or coddling cannot be lasting. And it will evanesce if the public at large perceives itself to be the victim of indifference or injustice at the hands of its government, or exploited by an officialdom possessed of personal ambition or ineptitude. These have become the distinguishing marks of Indian politicians who would do well to listen once again to Nehru in whose name all the neo-patriotic fervour is being whipped up: "I have looked into the eyes of millions of my countrymen. I have seen a shining light in the eyes of the millions. I have felt the enthusiasm of the millions. I have felt a fire in these millions." The enthusiasm. The fire. They seem to have died out. And it will take a lot more than runs and festivals and concerts to re-ignite them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Say it with flowers for all those wanting to fly non-stop to duty-free Singapore.

Shopping savants and orchid connoisseurs alike feel at home in Singapore, what with its profusion of duty-free bargains and multi-hued blossoms, waiting to be snapped up all over the city as well as at the Changi Airport. To make their day, here's a timely reminder: our twice weekly Bombay-Singapore flights with convenient morning departures on Sundays and Tuesdays. Our excursion fare to Singapore and our world-renowned hospitality, born and bred in Switzerland, add zest to every shopping expedition, making it an occasion to celebrate, maybe with flowers.

For details call your IATA travel agent or the nearest Swissair office.
AHMEDABAD 449149 • BANGALORE 571983 • BOMBAY 2872210 • CALCUTTA 444643 • COCHIN 360380 • DELHI 3325511 • HYDERABAD 224244 • KATHMANDU 222452 • MADRAS 861583

swissair

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Sa
The sou
Indian
A sensu
through
garmen
Yet, thi
possesse
Vimal d

The Bo
Born
as a co
colour
To give
a define
And tu
a simpl
cloth in
complete
Soon,
this str
design
mood.
Or acce
main a

The bor
By Vim
For a w
who exp
in many
And Vim
is one q

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Saree.
The soul of
Indian feminity.
A sensuous expression
through a simple
garment.
Yet, this simple saree
possesses many facets.
Vimal discovers these.

The Border.
Born
as a contrasted
colour stripe.
To give the saree
a defined visual form.
And turn
a simple length of
cloth into a
complete garment.
Soon,
this stripe took on
design to express
mood.
Or accent the saree's
main design.

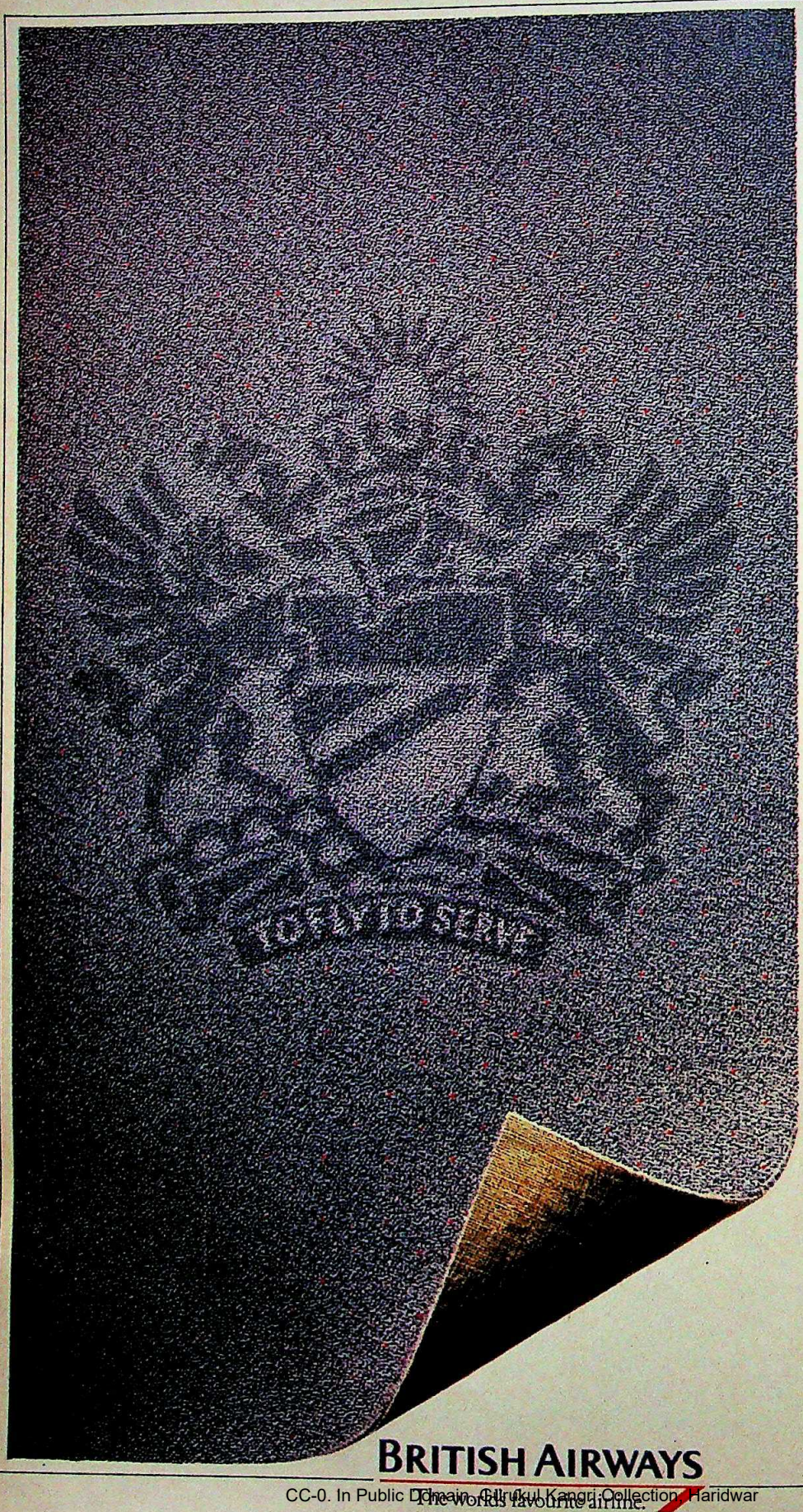
The bordered saree.
By Vimal.
For a woman
who expresses herself
in many languages.
And Vimal
is one of them.

VIMAL
Sarees

Mudra:A:RIL:4639

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



ON MARCH 1, BRITISH AIRWAYS RELAUNCHED FIRST CLASS.

IN 12 WEEKS, WE CHANGE THE CARPET AGAIN.

And we change it again every twelve weeks thereafter.

Not that it isn't superb wool carpet. It's simply that we understand and respect the needs and expectations of you, our First Class passenger.

So we have designed our new service totally around your comforts, in every detail, in every area, on the ground as well as in the air.

Now, wouldn't it be a shame to spoil all that with a carpet that's thirteen weeks old?

FIRST *class*

BRITISH AIRWAYS

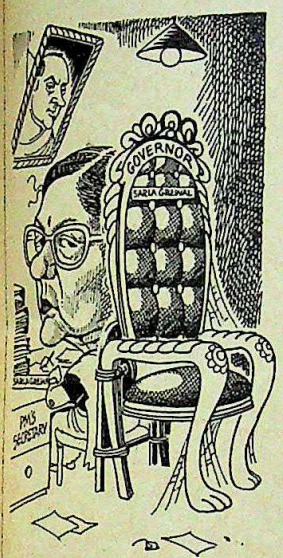
The worlds favourite airline.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Staying On

● Veteran civil servants have been looking askance at the extensions routinely handed out to bureaucrats attached to the prime minister. Under a general rule of thumb IAS officials are not supposed to serve more than five years at the Centre and IFS officers no more than three. But



among those who continue on extension well after the expiry of their terms are Mani Shankar Aiyer, Gopi Arora, Sarla Grewal, and, more recently, R. Vasudevan. But what was most unusual was that Grewal continued to function without interruption as secretary to the prime minister, handling politically sensitive duties, more than a month after she was named governor of Madhya Pradesh to replace K.M. Chandy.

According to convention, gubernatorial nominees are supposed to give up immediately whatever positions they have been holding in order to avoid any conflict of interest with their new appointment. On paper, at least, governors are supposed to be strictly apolitical. Or at least give that impression. For example, the very moment Jagannath Pahadia was named governor of Bihar he quit his post as AICC(I) general secretary and went into relative isolation till he took the oath of office.

Insiders pointed out that Grewal was "merely holding the fort" until a new secretary could take charge. But they admitted that at a time when governors are becoming increasingly controversial there lay little sense in adding fuel to the fire.

Piloting Ploy

● That the prime minister's always been a high flier is a cliche. From charting stratospheric heights in cockpits to sitting atop pinnacles of political power has been a way of life. But since indulging in the latter does not give a commercial licence for the former, Rajiv Gandhi has been driven back to piloting Boeings.

And in his quest for keeping his commercial pilot's licence valid, Rajiv recently combined love with labour and flew himself to work. All the way from New Delhi to home turf Amethi, where sundry melas and exhibitions are being constantly mounted. His passengers aboard the prime ministerial Boeing 737

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN

included the now familiar addition to his entourage, the glamorous Simi Grewal and her filming crew. And while the prime minister peered through the clouds at the near horizon, Ms Grewal trained camera lenses on him—to capture him for posterity in the cockpit.

Television Travails

● Those who live in Mandi House can afford to fling canards at others. Or so it was till recently. But now the licence to deride which the command of the airwaves conferred on the Government may begin to flounder, what with several opposition luminaries mounting frontal attacks on Doordarshan. And this time using the law as an arm.

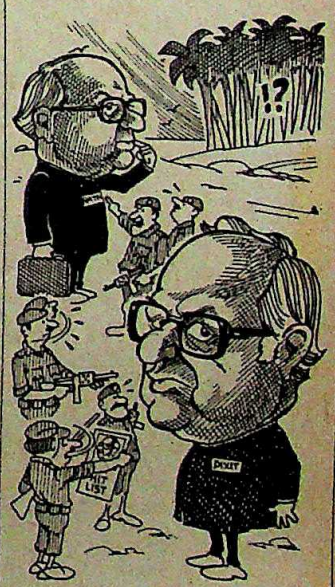
Ramakrishna Hegde's Rs2 crore suit claims his refutations of Subramaniam Swamy's charges never made it to the idiot box; V.P. Singh is also in the process of seeking damages for a 'sustained misrepresentation' of his views; and Arun Nehru has harked back to the Czech pistols case to pick a legal bone with Doordarshan.

The latest in line seeking a violent interface with the TV folk is Arif Mohammad Khan, who is threatening Doordarshan with a Rs10-lakh suit for having broadcast an 'incorrect statement' on March 15 that he had raised his hand in the Lok Sabha against Sheila Dixit, minister of state for parliamentary affairs. Arif claims he had gone to pick up papers from the table, on the other side of which Dixit was seated; hence even an attempt was impossible. Arif is demanding an unqualified apology. Let's see how many suits Doordarshan can stomach before it can belch out some objectivity.

Troubling Likeness

● That India continues to give top diplomatic priority to its relations with Sri Lanka was in evidence last month when Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Natwar Singh hosted a farewell party for Colombo's departing High Commissioner Bernard Tilakaratne. The protocol is for the Foreign Secretary to play host at such functions.

And the atmosphere was one of light banter and reminiscences. Tilakaratne, after all, had served in New Delhi for more than a dozen years. The ambassador remarked that his new posting, almost simulateneously with that of India's ambassador Mani Dixit out of Sri Lanka to Pakistan had caused his governmemt to heave a sigh of relief. This is because Dixit and Tilakaratne, small of height, dark of complexion, and portly, look somewhat alike.

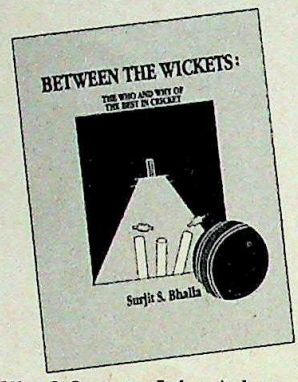


Whenever Tilakaratne visited Colombo, while Dixit was still there, Lankan officials—including his driver—constantly feared that he'd be, mistaken for Dixit who's on extremists' hit list—might be gunned down. With Dixit in Islamabad, Tilakaratne can breathe easier in his new job.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NO CRICKET LOVER SHOULD BE WITHOUT THIS BOOK.



Why ? Over to John Arlott.

"... he does all those who think and argue about cricket a service. Let us check our prejudices by these computerised judgements. A salutary and illuminating book on which the author is to be congratulated."

Illustrated. 208 pages. Hard Cover. Rs. 125. Available at all leading bookshops or through this coupon.

I'd like a copy immediately.

☐ I'll pay the postman Rs. 125/- on delivery.

☐ My cheque/D.D. for Rs. 125/- in favour of Living Media India Ltd. is enclosed.

Name _____

Address _____

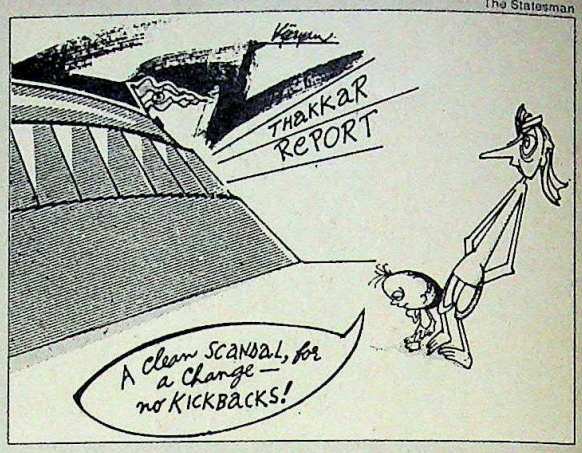
_____

Mail coupon to

LM BOOKS

LIVING MEDIA (INDIA) LTD.
316, Competent House
Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001

The Statesman



● *If the inferences and constructions of (Justice) Thakkar are far-fetched, what does the report tell us about our judges?... If they are not, what does the report tell us about the Government which has fallen back on Dhawan to save it? That it feels as secure as Rajiv looks on* TV *or that it is in panic?* ■ ARUN SHOURIE, on the Thakkar Commission's suspicions of R.K. Dhawan, in *Indian Express*

● *(Dhawan) was not involved in any crime or conspiracy connected with the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi.* ■ BUTA SINGH in the Lok Sabha

● *Even if the teething troubles (of the Janata Dal) are over, there are the wisdom teeth and toothaches.* ■ R.K. HEGDE in *The Telegraph*

● *I have only just got a taste for politics. Earlier, I was a badmash.* ■ HAJI MASTAN in *Newstrack*

● *I think Rajiv is going to blame me for everything. He'll probably say that I was the one who forced him to become prime minister.* ■ ARUN NEHRU in *Sunday Mail*

● *As an old Congressman, I personally favour a discussion on it.... after all, they (the Opposition) are fighting for some information.* ■ A.G. KULKARNI in the Rajya Sabha, on the refusal to allow discussion on the Thakkar Commission report

● *It was an elegant gesture, but it's probably three years too late.* ■ Comment in *The Economist* on the release of the Jodhpur detenus

● *Before 1966 Punjab and Haryana were one state. I don't see why the interests of both cannot be reconciled.* ■ S.S. BARNALA in *Frontline*

● *I don't know why (Tariq) Anwar didn't take the oath. I have conveyed to him the decision of the high command.* ■ S.N. SINHA, chief minister of Bihar, in *The Indian Post*

● *I feel sadness, but I try to look at other aspects as well. In the long run, in terms of world sympathy, it may help us.* ■ DALAI LAMA, on the killings in Lhasa, in *Time*

● *My amazing secrets could also bring the (British) Government down—just like Christine Keeler did.... It would cost a million pounds for me to tell who I've loved and bedded.* ■ PAMELA SINGH (a.k.a. Pamela Bordes), in an interview to the British tabloid *Sunday Sport*

● *I do believe a child needs her father while growing up, but it's too bad my daughter doesn't have her father here.* ■ NEENA GUPTA, in *Postscript*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Take the world in your stride.

dinesh

Exclusives ▲ Suitings ▲ Co-ordinates ▲ Safaris

The choice of leading fashion houses, internationally.

CC-0. In Public Domain: Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TWIN ACTION SATISFACTION

NEW

7 O'CLOCK EJTEK PII

India's first twin blade shaving system with platinum enriched edges is here – for the closest shaves ever.

When you shave with PII, the two blades together work better than any single blade ever can.

The first blade stretches the hair and cuts it close to the skin.

The second blade, following behind, cuts off the remaining stub.

Naturally, your shave is closer and more comfortable than what a single blade razor can give – even with two shaves.

Experience twin action satisfaction. For twice the closeness. Twice the comfort.

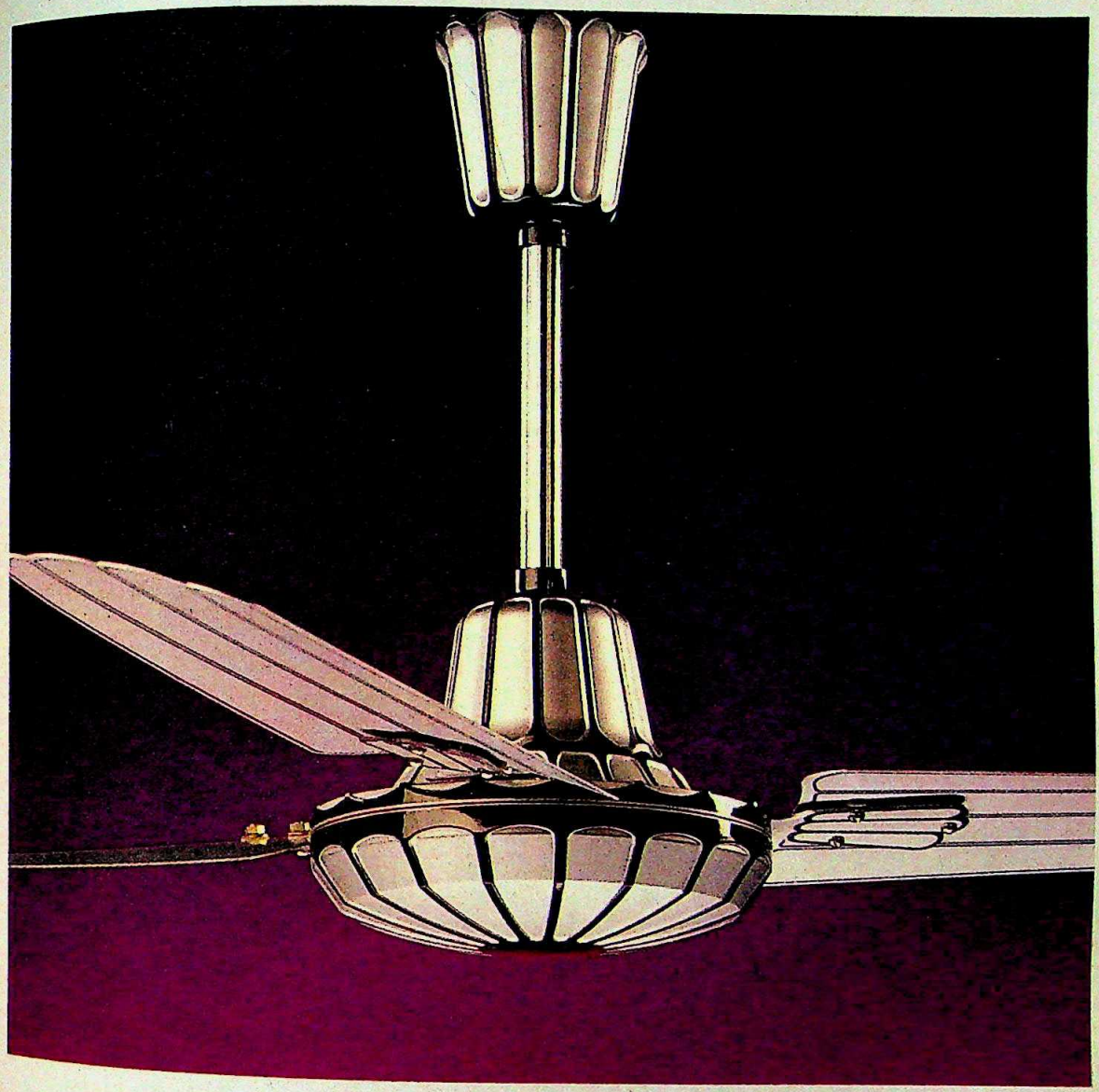
Available in single cartridge refill pack

7 O' Clock is the Registered Trade Mark of Gillette U.K. Ltd.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OH! WHAT A FAN!



TYCOON RAINBOW

khaitan

the name is enough

3653

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Orange ☐ Pineapple ☐ Lime ☐ Shahi Gulab ☐ Kala Khatta ☐ Kool Khus ☐ Kesar Elaichi ☐ Masala Soda (Jal Jeera) ☐ Tooti Fruiti ☐ Mango Ripe ☐ Grape Glory

Refreshing Rasna

11 lovable flavours at a lovable price.

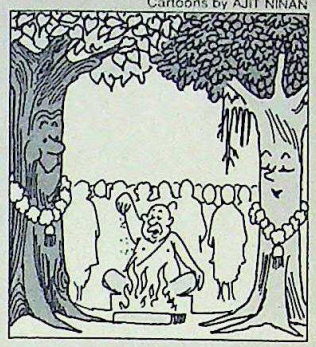
Mudra:A:EAMR:4570

CC-0. In Public Domain. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TREE TIES

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN



■ It was a marriage all right but there was none of the trappings nor the attendant hoopla of an Indian marriage: no trumpet-blowing, no food-laden tables, no crowded pandals. And the most surprising part of all—there was neither a bride nor a bridegroom at the recent marriage in a Shiva temple near Guwahati. No, the couple had not eloped at the eleventh hour. The reason was that the marriage being solemnised was between a banyan tree and a peepal tree in the temple compound.

Although the festivities were missing, all the nuptial rites were performed according to Vedic tradition. The purpose behind the tree marriage—like that of the frog marriage held in some village to please the rain gods—was to seek peace and prosperity for the local people. If, perchance, the peepal and banyan trees are far apart, their saplings are planted side by side. Then they grow happily ever after, and perhaps even bear fruit.

MOSQUITO MENACE

■ A new item may soon be added to the checklist that Indian Airlines pilots tick off before take off. The airline is issuing a mosquito alert following an incident aboard a recent flight from Calcutta to Guwahati. As passengers were boarding, the commander heard a strange buzzing in his ears. He remembered not having had a drink, so he looked around, only to see a cloud of mosquitoes in the cockpit. A swarm of mosquitoes had taken over the plane. He must have visualised the havoc the winged invaders could create: he and his co-pilot frantically swatting away at the mosquitoes inside the cockpit

while they should be looking out for birds outside, passengers complaining, bitten hostesses spilling tea and coffee. The captain refused to take off with the unauthorised passengers. It took a full two hours before the insects could be shooed off. Only then did the first ever flight to be grounded by mosquitoes take off for its destination.

BONE BOX

■ When the Bharatiya Janata Party member of the Madhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha carried a box into the Assembly and sought permission to table its contents, ruling party members might have taken it to be another Pandora's box of allegations against the state Government. But the contents of the box were more gruesome: the skeletal bones of a person who had died, the MLA claimed, after drinking polluted water.

The legislator had hit upon this method to shock his colleagues about the woeful lack of potable water in the state, as he thought mere vocal complaints would have little to no effect.

He had gone to the necrophilic extent of digging up the remains of a victim of water poisoning. However, his fellow legislators were not in the least amused, nor was the Speaker who asked him to express regret for his unparliamentary behaviour. Moral of the story: let sleeping skeletons lie.

FREE BIRDS

■ Bird trappers, who sell caged parrots and pigeons in most cities, definitely do not qualify as bird lovers. Pedestrians in the capital's Connaught Place were therefore taken by surprise recently when they saw a parrot seller opening a dozen wire cages hanging from his bicycle and releasing the green birds into the air.

But the bird-seller's change of heart, it soon became evident, was occasioned by the fat wallets of two men sitting on a scooter nearby. The two had bought all the caged parrots and were instructing the bird-man to

release them one by one.

As the last parrot hopped happily out of his wire cage and fluttered away, the curious crowd which had gathered round to witness this cameo broke out in spontaneous applause. Two birds in the bush are definitely better than one in hand. Ask any bird lover.

DOG DAYS

■ Calcutta's citizens have by now acquired the rare quality of stoic suffering. Not the least of their problems are stray dogs, many of them rabid, which pounce at unwary ankles, moving along the crowded pavements. The Calcutta Metropolitan Council has tried its best to get rid of the dogs, a process which takes a big chunk—Rs 12 lakh every year—out of its meagre outlay.

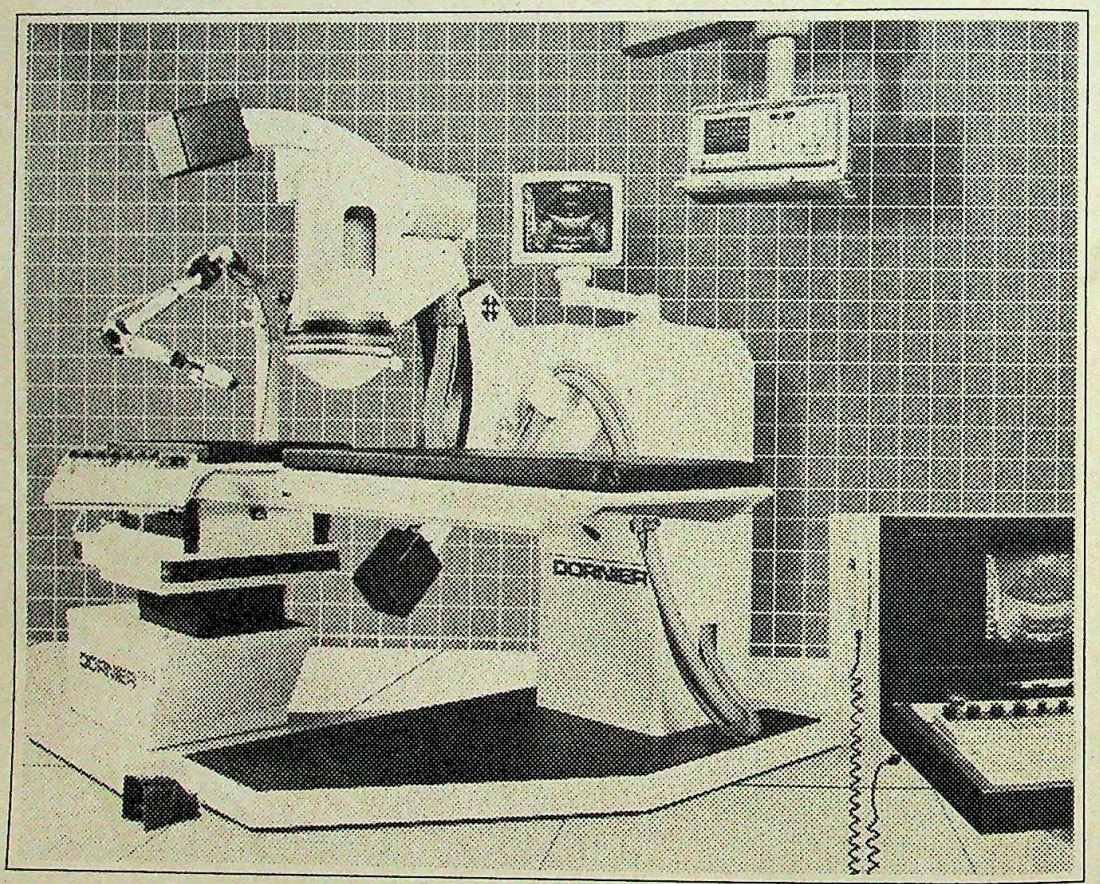
But none of their efforts was of any use and so the corporation has thought of the one way out: broadcast the message through BBC, hoping that there might be millionaires in the West willing to adopt the mongrels, so that the menace can be leashed. The corporation had tried in vain to sell the dogs to Malaysia, South Korea and even Nagaland—where dogs are a culinary delicacy. But the BBC should end Calcutta's dog days, hopes the mayor-in-council Dr Subodh Dey.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dornier Lithotripter *MPL 9000*

Technology of the Future for Human Gall-bladder/Kidney Stone Therapy



From Dornier Medizintechnik GmbH of West Germany, the inventors of the machine. Installed in 400 centres world wide, and over 1 million patients treated. The most up-to-date method of providing therapy for most stone patients. The Dornier Lithotripter MPL 9000 provides:

- Easy and positive stone location,
- Disintegration of stone into fine grain,
- Easy and best positioning of the patient at the touch of a button,
- Computer aided,
- Safe and reliable.

All this without anaesthesia, and of course without the scalpel.

Sales Representatives

All India (except South India), Bhutan, Nepal, Sri Lanka & Bangladesh.

DSSI

DYNAMIC SALES SERVICE INTERNATIONAL (P) LTD.

210 Din Dayal Upadhya Marg (Rouse Ave), New Delhi-110 002.

Phone: 3310130/3310135/3310136/3318722
Telex: 31-61896/65129. Cable: PRESBUTTON
Fax: 011-3312720

In South India

HEALTH WARE

6-3-456/22, Dwarakapuri Colony, Hyderabad-500 482

Phone: 226204, Grams: ITMA.
Telex: 0425-6699 VIJAY IN
Fax: (0842) 242072

Now available in India

F.N./XIII-388

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

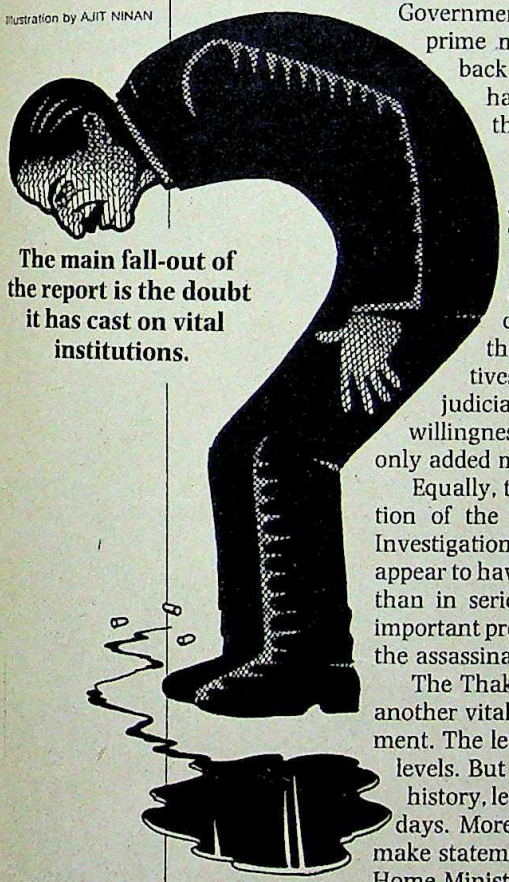
Ides of March

THE ides of March infected the fortnight that was with its augury of ominousness. Suddenly, yet another controversy threatens to inflame political passions and drape the shadow of suspicion over individuals and alleged conspirators. Justice Thakkar's report and its 'needle of suspicion' has, by virtue of its potent political implications, overshadowed all else and become a Damoclean sword hanging over the very people who commissioned it—the Rajiv Gandhi Government.

For the ruling party, the forced publication of the report has already caused considerable embarrassment—the suspicions, however facile, it casts on R.K. Dhawan, a key aide of the prime minister; the statements by ministers and the vice-president in Parliament which proved ludicrous in the light of the Government's turnabout on the issue; the prime minister himself being forced to back down in public. And last but hardly the least—the needle of suspicion regarding the source of the original leak.

By virtue of its potent implications, the Thakkar report has become a Damoclean sword hanging over the very people who commissioned it.

Illustration by AJIT NINAN



The main fall-out of the report is the doubt it has cast on vital institutions.

But the more significant fall-out of the Thakkar turmoil has been the damage and doubts it has cast on important institutions. Thakkar's motives in not wanting the report made public may have less to do with the security aspects than with the level of credibility such commissions of inquiry will carry in future. That the report was tailored to suit the political imperatives of the time is only too obvious. As it is, the judiciary has come under increasing criticism for its willingness to toe the Government line. Justice Thakkar has only added more fuel to the judicial fire.

Equally, the Thakkar report exposes the political subjugation of the country's investigating agencies. The Special Investigation Team, comprising senior police officers, clearly appear to have spent more time in satisfying political demands than in seriously investigating what is certainly the most important probe in the country's post-independence history—the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi.

The Thakkar imbroglio has also done serious damage to another vital but fast-eroding institution—the Indian Parliament. The level of debate had already reached disheartening levels. But the Thakkar imbroglio has, for the first time in history, led to the entire Opposition being suspended for two days. Moreover, senior cabinet ministers were inspired to make statements in Parliament that were patently untrue—Home Minister Buta Singh, for instance, dismissed the *Indian Express* leak as a figment of the imagination when he was the one person who should have known that was not the case.

Five years after her death the ghost of Indira Gandhi has returned to haunt the country and its politics.

But more than that, what the events of the fortnight most clearly revealed is that the political wheel has come full circle. The ghost of Mrs Gandhi has returned to haunt the political stage. The man most closely associated with her—Rajinder Kumar Dhawan—is back at the centre of power—and of a political storm.

And, with increasing evidence, her son Rajiv's political style is now in step with that of his late mother's—the mistrust of ministerial colleagues, the preponderance of committed bureaucrats and the rapid turnover of chief ministers in Congress-ruled states. There will be further signs as the general election inches closer. Having failed to deliver on his promise of change, Rajiv has no other choice. Five years after her death, Indira Gandhi continues to cast an eerie shadow over India.

—DILIP BOBB

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

R.K. DHAWAN

Eye of the Storm

THE atmosphere was as if the party had been passing through a major battle in a war Congressmen had waged against themselves. Within a few minutes of the controversial report being tabled in the Lok Sabha, dozens of MPs trooped into Room Number 6, Rajinder Kumar Dhawan's new office in Parliament. They hugged him and congratulated him in the manner they would a victorious general. The much-awaited Thakkar Commission report, finally unveiled, had hardly any convincing evidence to prove—as had been made out—that Dhawan had conspired to murder Mrs Indira Gandhi, his protector and mentor of 20 volatile political years.

In Parliament's central hall, Murli Deora, the flamboyant president of the Bombay Congress(I) Committee, exuded triumph, as if it was not Dhawan but he who had been rehabilitated. Other senior Congress leaders like Makhan Lal Fotedar and AICC(I) Treasurer Sitaram Kesari wore a look of defeat on their faces. Said Deora: "Dhawan's loyalty was never in doubt. Only an insane mind can think that Dhawan would be a part of any conspiracy. He was himself the victim." Retorted an anti-Dhawan Congress(I) MP: "The allegation against him may not be true. But his return has caused a lot of embarrassment. It marks the return of power brokers and schemers."

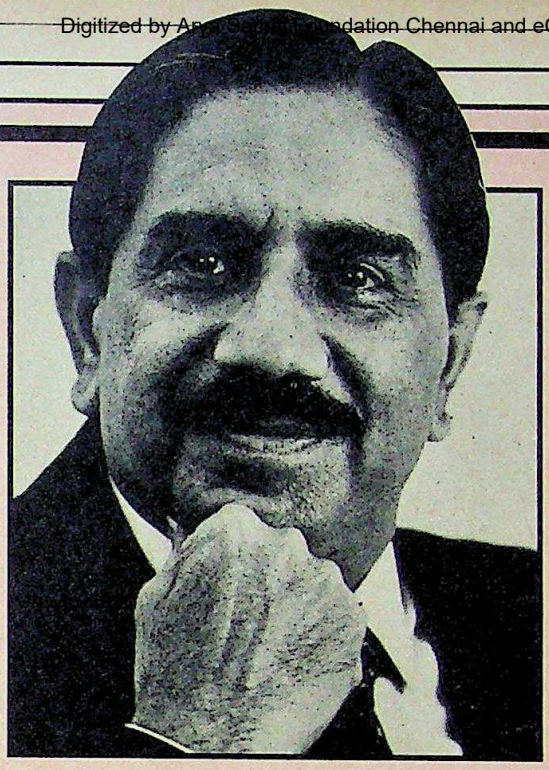
The battles are far from over. In fact, they may just have begun. The official release of the Thakkar Commission report and the leak that preceded it were signals of serious factional fighting in the ruling

Rajiv and Dhawan at Mrs Gandhi's samadhi: full circle

RAGHU RAI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



INTERVIEW

"I was a victim of political conspiracy"

FOR one stuck so inextricably in the firing line, Rajinder Kumar Dhawan, 48, could hardly have projected a jauntier countenance. The former stenographer who rose to be one of the most powerful men in Mrs Indira Gandhi's durbar was facing his life's greatest crisis. A judge had written scores of pages casting suspicion on his role in the assassination of the very leader he had often called "my mother". Worse, he had accused him of lying, of "spying and snooping" on his leader rather than being loyal to her, and had darkly suggested links with the CIA. Yet, as the report was tabled in the House, Dhawan was claiming victory and vindication.

All the powerful ministers and ruling party MPs who were till recently his enemies, were crowding around him, underlining the fact that no matter what the report contained, the person who mattered, Rajiv Gandhi, had decided to back him to the hilt. Dhawan again exuded the confidence of old times as he spoke to Senior Editor PRABHU CHAWLA *in his first interview after the report's presentation. Excerpts:*

Q. How do you feel after the release of the Thakkar Commission report?

A. I have been vindicated. There is not even a shred of convincing evidence against me. Anyone can go through my replies to the commission and decide. Here was a judicial commission which had clear terms of reference and established norms of functioning. But it hardly bothered to follow the rules. Since it was I who was being investigated and it was my career which was at stake, don't you think I should have been given an opportunity to personally appear before it?

Q. But there are adverse comments against you. Do you see any political machinations in the observations?

A. I can only say one thing: I have been the victim of a political conspiracy hatched against the Gandhi family and against me in particular. It was slow poisoning. They were just waiting for an excuse. Since they enjoyed enough clout, they were able to intimidate certain officials and force them to do things which were patently illegal.

Q. What do you mean by this?

A. It is clear from the way I was treated by the Thakkar Commission. It was almost an illegal probe. I was not even allowed to send my advocate to represent my case. The commission would not give me sufficient time to prepare a defence. I would receive a letter at 12 o' clock with directions to reply within two hours. Some of the questions put to me made no sense. For example, I was asked why I resigned after Mrs Gandhi's defeat in 1977. Were they expecting me to serve a government which was out to demolish Mrs Gandhi? I have no doubt in my mind that some people were out to fix me. I was asked to give my service records which were already with the Government. It was apparent they were out to extract from me any word with which they could hang me. I was not even allowed to see my service records.

Q. How did you react to the investigations against you? Was the treatment meted out to you worse than that received from the Janata government?

A. I have gone through one of the worst periods of my life. I was subjected to round-the-clock surveillance by the intelligence people. My phones were tapped. It wasn't possible even to go to a temple or attend a private function without being followed. People close to me were afraid of visiting me because they were threatened with dire consequences. Even those who looked at me from their cars were questioned. And worst of all, female members of my family were followed and interrogated at odd hours. In my 22 years of service, such humiliation and ignominy is unparalleled.

Q. What could be their motive? You were after all just an assistant to the prime minister. Or had you come to wield enough clout at the cost of others?

A. To me the motive is very clear. It was to remove and hound everyone from the Prime Minister's Office and house who was loyal to her and her family. The conspirators didn't like anyone who was totally loyal to her and yet had no political ambitions. Their attempt has always been to shut the prime minister off from anybody who would provide correct and true information and carry out instructions without any change. Since none of my family members was in politics, I refused to be influenced by anybody.

Q. Is there any substance in V.C. Shukla's allegation that you have named Mrs Sonia Gandhi in your deposition to the Thakkar Commission?

A. Such false and malicious charges can only be made by a sick mind. Such fantasies can be concocted only by frustrated politicians like him.

Q. Do you feel that this report was leaked out to embarrass you and put you on the defensive so that you might not acquire more power?

A. How can I answer this question?

Q. What kind of role do you see for yourself given the current environment in the party and the Government?

A. I have never lobbied for any role for myself. Nor do I have any such intention now. I will do anything whereby the prime minister gains and the party becomes stronger. My only aim in life is to serve the prime minister's family without expecting anything in return.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

party. While those who have ruled the political roost until recently were out to make life difficult for Dhawan, whose return threatened them, the have-nots, especially those considered to be Dhawan 'loyalists', were equally determined to consolidate their new position.

After more than two weeks of acrimonious debate in Parliament—a debate that turned into bedlam and pandemonium in which nearly the entire Opposition was expelled from the Lok Sabha—the tabling of the report came as somewhat of an anti-climax. In the end, what was more significant than the contents of the report (*see box*) was the controversy over the leak and its timing as it gave some vital insights into the functioning of the Government and the prime minister.

It showed that the Union Cabinet does not quite function as a team—the prime minister does not trust it. That the judiciary and the police force can be manipulated for fixing political opponents or exonerating them. That the Congress(I) is being rocked by a new power game in which the equations remain dangerously unsteady.

OBVIOUS above all was the fact that Dhawan's return is the most sweeping of all the political changes that Rajiv Gandhi has made in his political and administrative palace guard since the exit of Vishwanath Pratap Singh.

It also showed that no matter what Rajiv does, no matter how well-intentioned his moves, things simply explode in his face. A close Rajiv-watcher said: "He is like a trapped political animal that tries to escape from one cage only to find himself in another."

For, each time Rajiv has tried on new political clothing he has been exposed as an emperor who has no clothes. The return of the Dhawan era could well prove to be a development whose time has gone. Another experiment in governance that now threatens to blow up in the very crucible in which it is being conducted. The young Rajiv—how he has aged politically in four years!—started out operating with high-efficiency executive-style parliamentary secretaries such as Ahmed Patel, Oscar Fernandes and Arun Singh. But the stalwarts in the party quickly shoved these secretaries-come-lately off centre-stage and reasserted their old hegemony through people like Arjun Singh and V.P. Singh.

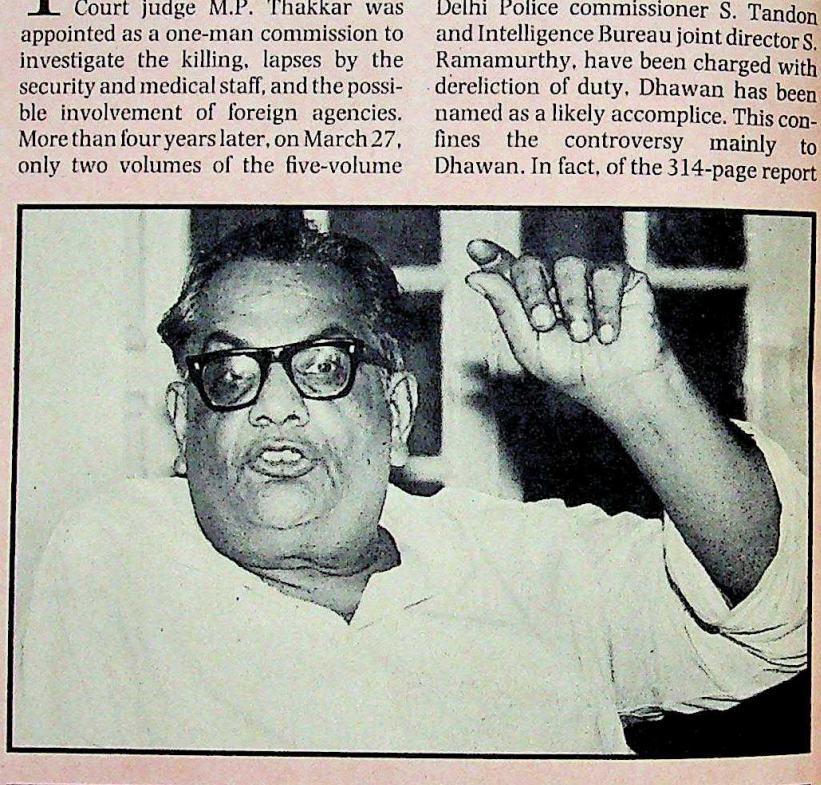
But even the two stalwart Singhs, Rajiv's most effective political buffers for a while, were driven out and Rajiv again found himself in the arms of old-guard general secretaries like Nawal Kishore Sharma and R.L. Bhatia. Ever distrustful

THAKKAR COMMISSION REPORT

Credibility Problems

TWENTY days after the assassination of Indira Gandhi, Supreme Court judge M.P. Thakkar was appointed as a one-man commission to investigate the killing, lapses by the security and medical staff, and the possible involvement of foreign agencies. More than four years later, on March 27, only two volumes of the five-volume Thakkar report were unveiled in Parliament, but even these add up to a damning indictment of the security environment around the prime minister, the handling of the medical emergency, and most crucially, the role played by R.K. Dhawan, then special assistant to Mrs Gandhi. "There is no escape from the conclusion that there are weighty reasons to suspect the complicity or involvement of Dhawan in the crime," Thakkar has concluded. He also did not rule out foreign involvement.

Dhawan is not the only official indicted. But while others, including security adviser Ram Nath Kao, the then Delhi Police commissioner S. Tandon and Intelligence Bureau joint director S. Ramamurthy, have been charged with dereliction of duty, Dhawan has been named as a likely accomplice. This confines the controversy mainly to Dhawan. In fact, of the 314-page report 213 are devoted to Dhawan.



> "There is no escape from the conclusion that there are weighty reasons to suspect the complicity or involvement of Dhawan in the crime."
>
> Justice, M.P. THAKKAR

Thakkar has charged Dhawan not only with being responsible for posting back Beant Singh and Satwant Singh after they were removed from Mrs Gandhi's security, but also of manipulating the timing of Mrs Gandhi's television interview on the morning of October 31, 1984, to facilitate the assassination. Later, Thakkar says, Dhawan doctored the interview entry in the appointments diary to cover his tracks.

Thakkar alleges that Dhawan lied about his closeness to Beant Singh, a fact

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

other witnesses—Satwant Singh, Beant's widow Bimal Kaur Khalsa and police officials—had testified to. Thakkar also attaches significance to Satwant's claim that Beant asked him to make sure Dhawan was not hurt. Finally, he questions Dhawan's conduct in not coming to Mrs Gandhi's aid after she had been shot. Going back to the pre-assassination period he accuses Dhawan of withholding from Mrs Gandhi top secret Intelligence Bureau files relating to her security and says that far from being loyal, he was "snooping and spying" on her. There are also dark hints of a CIA link.

But while Thakkar's allegations are forceful some of his assumptions are being questioned by Dhawan's backers. Also, Thakkar does not seem sure of Dhawan's motives in assassinating the person to whom he owed his entire political existence. He says Mrs Gandhi had reprimanded Dhawan two months earlier for his role in toppling the N.T. Rama Rao government and was seeking to replace him. But was that enough for him to see "reasonable grounds to suspect the involvement of Dhawan...in the crime"?

In retrospect, if the Thakkar report accomplished anything, it was to leave the Government confused, unable to decide when it was on Dhawan's side and when against him. Obviously, given the clout he wielded he had left behind many enemies and some friends among circles close to Rajiv. It now seems that initially the Government decided to go along with Thakkar's line of thinking and let him use the Special Investigation Team (SIT), his only investigating arm, against Dhawan.

Significantly, the entire investigation against Dhawan was conducted by the SIT headed by S. Anandaram, the same body which was finally asked by the Government to sit in judgement over the parts of the Thakkar report dealing with Dhawan. So while the SIT had initially provided Thakkar the ammunition for his fusillade on Dhawan, it was now used to provide the Government a shield for him. The Home Ministry weakly told Parliament that the SIT had concluded that Dhawan "had no hand in the conspiracy...and there is nothing to indicate that R.K. Dhawan was in any way involved in the crime or the conspiracy". To make the whole exercise even more curious the Government did not table the SIT's 50-page, point-by-point reply to Thakkar's indictment of Dhawan even though it contained credible answers to some of Thakkar's charges. For example, it explained that one guard who had the same blood group (O Rh negative) as Mrs Gandhi was always posted near her; Beant had that blood group. The SIT also clarified that Mrs Gandhi may have ordered that Sikh guards be brought back, since she had boasted to some delegations that Sikhs were still guarding her. And, according to the SIT, the change in the timing of the interview did not matter as both Satwant and Beant had come on duty at 7 a.m. and would have been there till 1.30 p.m. But it is evident that the SIT reply, based entirely on the case diaries contained enough material to keep the controversy alive.

Anandaram's Special Investigation Team has concluded that Dhawan had no hand in the conspiracy.

Moreover, in connection with the report of the Ranganath Misra commission looking into the anti-Sikh riots after Mrs Gandhi's assassination the Government had conveniently taken the stand that a police inquiry could not review the findings of a judicial commission. This was done to dismiss demands for prosecution of the Congress(I) men named as being responsible for the riots by the post-Misra police inquiry. Now, to protect another favourite the Government reversed the same argument only proving yet again the usefulness of commissions of convenience.

—RAMINDAR SINGH

of them, he soon discarded them and began to operate through the old guard among his ministers—P. Shiv Shanker, M.L. Fotedar, Buta Singh, P.V. Narasimha Rao—who had manipulative clout within the party but no power base of their own. And then they, too, had to be defanged.

And so, within the last few months, searching for that ever-elusive A-team Rajiv had begun to rely increasingly on senior bureaucrats with whom he felt comfortable—Gopi Arora, Montek Singh Ahluwalia, G. Parthasarathy, Bob Murari, Suman Dubey, R. Vasudevan and S. Venkatiramanan. But the much-needed astute political hand was still missing. And this he found in Dhawan, a shrewd manipulator of men and politics, an earthy operator with an ability to create a strong power centre while remaining loyal and politically monogamous.

During an election year, Dhawan was believed to be the only person around from the Indira Gandhi era capable of outguessing and outsmarting Arun Nehru. Rajiv had been told that Dhawan's return would be welcomed by the party, especially by the old Indira loyalists who were in tune with his style of functioning and were at ease with his accessibility. But once again, as the leak of the Thakkar report showed, this move boomeranged by generating an ugly confrontation between pro- and anti-Dhawan factions, the latter naturally being the politicians for whom Rajiv would have little use after Dhawan's return.

Dhawan's supporters claim that all those who have wielded power during the last four years were upset over his return and were out to embarrass him. And Dhawan's returning clout became obvious right away.

During the very first fortnight of his comeback, he was closely associated with the selection of S.N. Sinha as the new chief minister of Bihar and the taming, even if temporarily, of the troublesome Jagannath Mishra, considered a staunch Dhawan ally. He was also involved with the reconstitution of state cabinets and restructuring of the PCC(I)s—which had been the responsibility of Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs Sheila Dixit and various members of the high command, who had been called 'Rajiv's flying squad' as they blundered from state to state trying to scotch dissidence which threatened to turn against the Centre.

It was in the direct wake of these acknowledged failures that Dhawan—demonstrably a good political manager, steeped in experience—was finally ushered in. Said Anand Sharma, former

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Youth Congress(I) president: "Dhawan may not be the answer to every problem but he will definitely provide better inputs to the prime minister than those who were neither loyal to him nor had any political training."

And it was not long before Dhawan was being invited for dinners and other social functions, not only by some senior bureaucrats and politicians sidelined during the last few years, but also by senior ministers and powerful MPs.

Above all, Dhawan, with four different offices—at his new official residence at 85, Lodi Estate, in South Block a floor beneath that of the prime minister, in Parliament, and at the prime minister's house at Race Course Road—was clearly becoming an alternative system for direct feedback to the prime minister. And in any case, he had already begun to spend more time with Rajiv than the regular set of advisers.

FOR the Opposition, Dhawan's return symbolised the return to politics of those who were once declared corrupt, intriguers and power brokers. And as the Opposition mounted its pressure on the Government in the aftermath of the leak of the report, anti-Dhawan forces in the ruling party took advantage of the situation to try and manipulate his ouster. Several MPs from Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh began a signature campaign requesting the prime minister to ask Dhawan to quit and thereby save the Congress(I) from further embarrassment. But the prime minister ordered its immediate cessation.

Rumours that Dhawan would return to the Rajivist fold go back to more than a year. But Dhawan's supporters in the party say his return was continually sabotaged by the party's power brokers and new power centres, prominent among them Makhan Lal Fotedar, K.K. Tewary, Buta Singh, P. Shiv Shanker and Shiela Dixit. Dhawan's gain has been their collective loss.

What the leak of the report does is underscore Rajiv's now near-total distrust of his senior ministers. Proof of Rajiv's suspicion of his senior partymen was evident in abundance in the immediate aftermath of the leak.

While cabinet members were excluded from access to the report after its completion, a few trusted aides in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) were allowed to see it when the parliamentary rumpus broke out following the *Indian Express* story. Not having seen the report, ministers present in Parliament were unable to chalk out a comprehensive strategy on how to deal with the opposition

THE LEAK

Needles of Suspicion

THE whole world, it seems, had a community of interest in leaking the Thakkar Commission report: the ruling party's power brokers who feared the scuttling of their influence; the intelligence men who feared retribution; R.K. Dhawan himself, for the leak would force the Government to exonerate him in public; Thakkar, who felt threatened by Dhawan's return; and Arun Nehru, who wanted to embarrass Rajiv for taking Dhawan back.

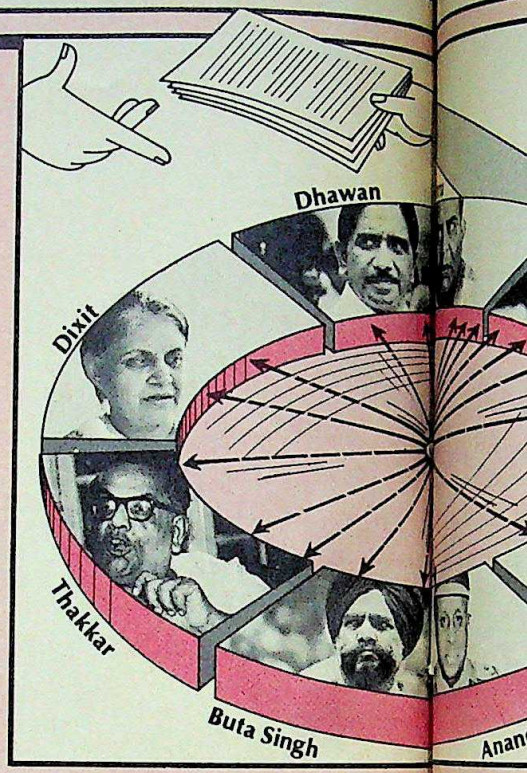
However, if one believes the official records being quoted, it seems the needle of suspicion points at none other than Nehru. According to a note prepared for the CCPA, this is how the report travelled:

► November 1985: A preliminary report by Thakkar on the prime minister's security was submitted to S.B. Chavan, the then home minister. It was sent to the prime minister without being seen by anyone in the Home Ministry.

► November 1985 to February 1986: Its recommendations were scrutinised by officials in charge of the prime minister's security, including Arun Singh.

► February 1986: Thakkar submitted the final report to Chavan in his chamber in the presence of G.C. Sommaiya, then home secretary, and L.N. Gupta, additional secretary. Home Ministry sources say one copy was presented to Chavan and another to Gupta for the Home Ministry's records. Chavan dutifully sent the report to the prime minister without even looking at it. Another copy given to the home secretary was forwarded to the cabinet secretary.

► March 1986: According to Home Ministry sources, Gupta has recorded on the files that he was summoned by Nehru and was asked about the report. Gupta sent the report to Nehru with a covering note. Curiously, it is also recorded that Gupta was in possession of yet another copy which he was given unofficially by a senior functionary of the commission. This copy too, he has testified, was sent to Nehru's residence.



The Government has been trying to accuse Arun Nehru of being the main culprit...

► May 1986: Nehru suffered a heart attack during his visit to Srinagar and returned to Delhi only in August. He sent his resignation to Rajiv on September 20, 1986. But it was not accepted.

► September 23, 1986: Nehru wrote a note to the prime minister, with a copy to Home Minister Buta Singh, that he was sending all copies of the report in his possession to him in a sealed leather bag.

► October 22, 1986: Nehru relinquished charge as minister.

Many perplexing questions remain: Who could have had access to the report? What could be the motives behind its being leaked at this stage? Nehru stoutly denies he has read the report even though he had kept copies of it with him for some time: "Whoever says I had access to it is a congenital liar. The prime minister had the reports all along and no one else was allowed to see it."

For over eight months, the report was lying with the PMO and the cabinet

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

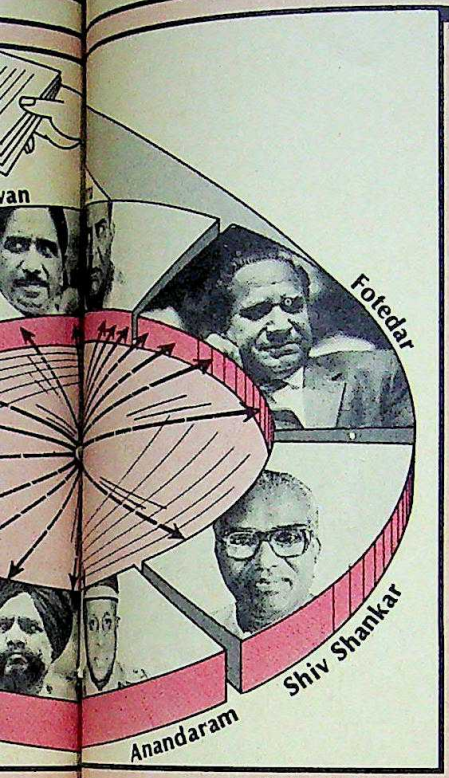


Illustration by B.K. SHARMA

...But confusion prevails because ruling party politicians also had an interest in leaking the report.

secretariat. Portions were circulated amongst the intelligence agencies and the SIT. In fact, portions with references to Dhawan were sent to SIT for further inquiry and since only these have been leaked out, it gives credence to the theory that only someone with access to SIT documents could have leaked it.

It also seems more logical, considering that some key police officials serving SIT had gone out of their way to investigate and harass Dhawan and feared that once he was ensconced in power, he might turn revengeful. A well-timed leak, some of them might have felt, would pre-empt a Dhawan strike.

According to sources in the Government, the report was seen partly or wholly by officials in the IB, the CBI, the secretary (prime minister), the director of the Special Protection Group, the chief of RAW, the cabinet and home secretaries, G.K. Arora, now finance secretary, and R. Vasudevan, an additional secretary in the PMO who is handling the Home Ministry, besides Buta Singh, P. Chidambaram, Arun Singh and Arun Nehru.

While there is no conclusive evidence about who leaked the report, what is certain is that all along civil servants had better access to the report than even ministers of cabinet rank. This is substantiated by the fact that the parts relating to Dhawan and Zail Singh were leaked to selected journalists—briefed by officials in the PMO—when the rift between Rajiv Gandhi and Zail Singh was at its peak. The first salvo against the President was, in fact, fired by the Government when *Blitz*—which was toeing the Government line and not losing any opportunity to sling mud at the President—carried a lead story (March 21, 1987), stating that, "reliable sources say that Justice Thakkar did recommend that Zail Singh's role should be investigated after he demits his office as President". The very government which had leaked portions of the report had to retract it in an official letter to the *Blitz* asserting that, "the report as printed is factually incorrect".

But selective leaks were to continue. Not long after in an unprecedented move, journalists were handed a report on Zail Singh's activities and the so-called comments of the Thakkar Commission. Obviously, the Government was in favour of denigrating Dhawan and Zail Singh at that time. Says a senior official then in the Home Ministry: "We were told in no uncertain terms that the political leadership was convinced that both Dhawan and Zail Singh were to be probed thoroughly. Some of us went beyond the brief and tried to create a totally imaginary scenario."

Officials feel that the report was more the handiwork of a few pliable officials who were out to oblige their political masters. Since the report was so weak that its publication would have made a mockery of the commission, besides causing ripples in the Congress(I), these civil servants were able to convince Rajiv it should not be made public. The request came from Justice Thakkar himself and Rajiv went to the extent of amending the Act, thereby authorising the Government to withhold the report, even from Parliament which had appointed the commission.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

onslaught. The formulating of strategy was left, instead, to trusted bureaucrats in the PMO.

When the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs (CCPA) met twice last month to discuss the question of tabling the report in the Lok Sabha, it was R. Vasudevan, an additional secretary in the PMO—and not the home minister or home secretary—who briefed the members about the contents of the report. While the Home Ministry was represented only by its minister and secretary, the PMO was very well-represented. Four officials from there, as well as Sheila Dixit, sat through an over 90-minute-long meeting.

Said a senior minister, with frustration in his voice: "This is clear evidence that the cabinet ministers have been reduced to just rubber stamps. They are called in to endorse the decisions and statements which have already been formalised by a select coterie of bureaucrats in the PMO."

At least for the time being, Dhawan seems to be enjoying an unexpected advantage. The irony has been that even those in the Government who are opposed to him have been forced to defend him in public.

In the confusion that followed the leak, the Government's predictable and all too familiar reaction was to try and bulldoze the Opposition into submission by invective, innuendo and the sheer weight of its majority. Under no circumstances, said government spokesmen in Parliament, would the report be tabled. Buta Singh even went to the extent of dismissing the report as "puerile writing, wholly mischievous and politically motivated to defame some people in the Government".

Finally, unable to deal with the Opposition's determined clamour, the ruling party took the unprecedented step of suspending 63 members of the Lok Sabha, including several who were not even present in the House. The previous day had witnessed pandemonium and chaos the likes of which have never before been seen in Parliament. Members almost came to fisticuffs on several occasions and the House had to be adjourned as many as three times in a single day. The next day, the Opposition walked out of the Rajya Sabha in protest.

The ruling party was clearly distraught and the tensions soon began to burst out at the seams. Some members even spoke out against the party whip on the floor of the Lok Sabha—an action treated as seriously as treason in the Congress(I) culture. But on March 16, the Congress(I) Party issued a statement signed by over 150 of its 550-odd MPs,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN EXPRESS

Trading Punches

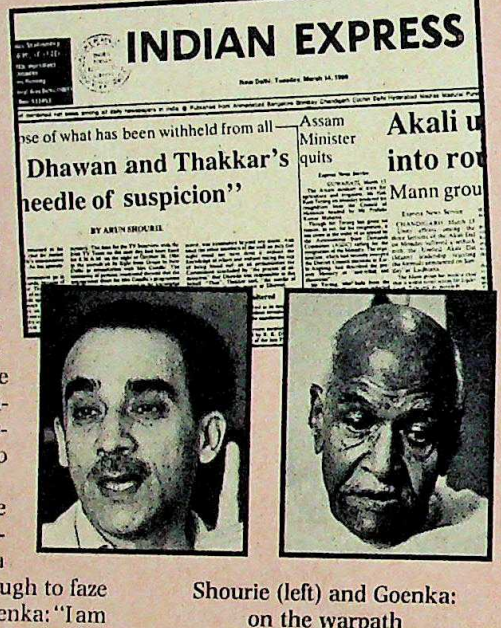
THERE is an air of self-righteousness pervading the warring sides. While the *Indian Express* calls it a fight between the pen and the Government's might, the Congress(I) terms it a tussle between truth and irresponsible journalism.

Whatever the colour of your perspective, the facts of the case are that newspaper baron Ramnath Goenka—with investigative journalist Arun Shourie as point man—and the Central Government are terminally locked in the fiercest power game being played in the country. The Government strikes at the *Indian Express* on the flimsiest of pretexts. The newspaper, in turn, fires salvo after salvo of exposes.

For this temerity, the Express group of newspapers has often to pay a heavy price. But not enough to faze the doughty Ramnath Goenka: "I am here to protect democratic institutions. They want to close down my paper but they will not succeed." The Directorate of Revenue Intelligence has a typically bland response. Says a senior official: "We are treating the Express cases like any other instance of economic offence."

That is definitely an understatement. Last month Doordarshan carried a lengthy news item on the latest income tax raids, and even said that incriminating documents had been found. Asks S. Gurumurthy, Goenka's all-purpose right-hand man: "Which other raid have they announced on the national network?"

The Government's strategy is simple: hit the Express where it hurts most; choke its finances and extract the maximum out of it. Public undertakings have been told to refrain from issuing liberal advertisements to the Express. Also, the Express has not received about Rs 3 crore in rent from its building in New Delhi. It was on the Government's request that the Delhi High Court had attached the rent. Though the hearing on the case concluded last year, no judgement has been pronounced yet.


INDIAN EXPRESS

...se of what has been withheld from all—

Dhawan and Thakkar's needle of suspicion"

BY ARUN SHOURIE

Assam Minister quits

Akali u... into ro...

Mann grou...

Shourie (left) and Goenka: on the warpath

For Goenka, the power struggle is nothing new. In 1967, he took on Mrs Gandhi herself, only to be bested. But he extracted revenge in 1977, by supporting the Janata Party. With Rajiv Gandhi, he had a brief, rather surprising period of rapport. Predictably, however, the honeymoon lasted only a few months.

But this time he and his paper will have to do some hard work before taking a stand on the Thakkar Commission's recommendations. In December 1987, the *Indian Express* had termed the report as 'Made to Measure'. It had accused Thakkar of supporting the Government and passing illegal strictures against V.P. Singh and Bhure Lal. And now that Thakkar has condemned Dhawan, the paper may find it difficult to reverse its earlier position.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

including senior MPs like former Punjab chief minister Darbara Singh, four PCC(I) chiefs (of Karnataka, Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh) accusing the Opposition of denigrating Parliament, and backed the Government's decision not to make the report public.

The flip-flop came within a span of 72 hours. In a sudden about-turn, the prime minister announced his government's decision to table the report on the floor of the House. The decision was taken after the 90-minute meeting of the CCPA attended by the prime minister's civil service aides. A few minutes before the House was to adjourn for the day, the Lok Sabha speaker was informed that the prime minister would make an important statement. Said Rajiv: "The events of the past few days have caused the people of India immense distress. I, for my part, have relived the terrible trauma of that time. The Thakkar Commission investigated the events leading to the assassination of the nation's prime minister. Those events are of the deepest personal concern to me and my family. She was my mother. I am her son."

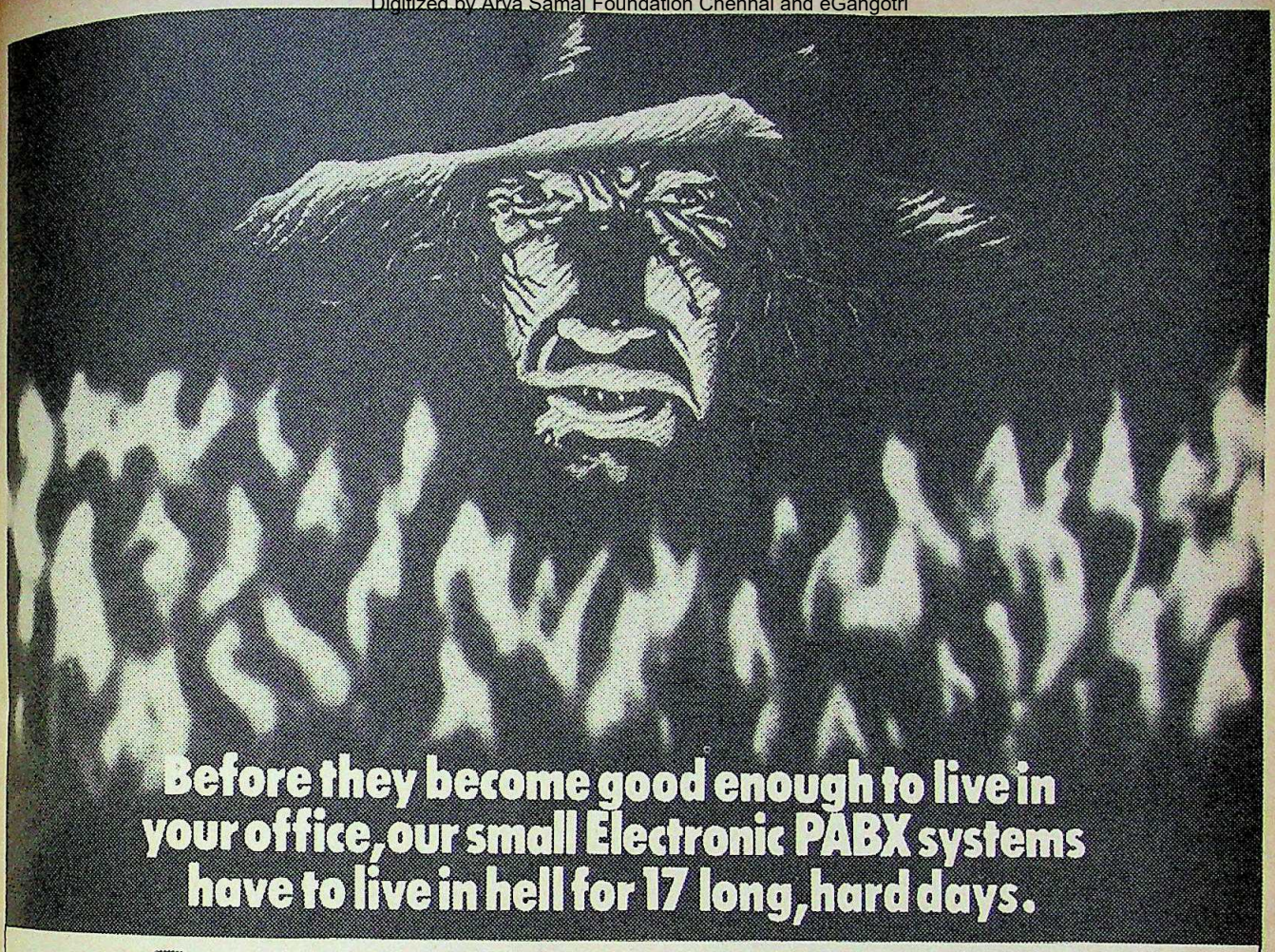
The action plan that finally emerged was based on a briefing by the bureaucrats who were left to spell out the pros and cons of releasing the document. The arguments presented against the release of the report were: Thakkar had recommended against it on the grounds that a premature release would jeopardise the continuing probe by the special investigation team headed by S. Anandaram; it would cause communal tensions and damage normalisation moves in Punjab because of the suspicions it casts on Sikhs; it would reveal the inner workings of the prime minister's security apparatus; it would affect relations with western democracies accused of having been part of an international conspiracy to destabilise India. There was also a strong recommendation against the release of 8,000 pages of annexures on the ground that they contained classified information.

The decision to release it was based on several factors, the main one being that the prime minister had become the direct target of the controversy and that the release would deflect some of the criticism to other areas. Also, members of the PMO opined that revealing the inner working of the security system posed no risk since it had already been restructured radically with the establishment of the Special Protection Group.

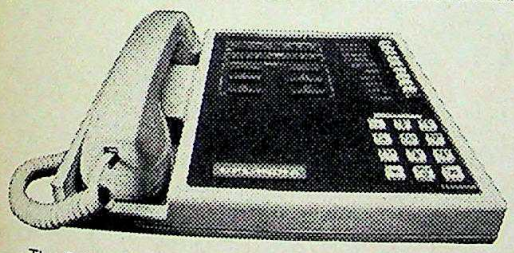
There were also the political angles to be considered, which Rajiv's aides advised could be turned in favour of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Before they become good enough to live in your office, our small Electronic PABX systems have to live in hell for 17 long, hard days.



The BPL P-Series. A small EPABX that will work. Through thick and thin.

Our **17-day 'hurt programme'** sees to that. 7 days at 125°c for components. Next, (for the survivors), 3 days at 70°c in the sub-assembly stage; and then, double-checked by an In-Circuit Component Tester. And finally, 7 days at 50°c for fully activated finished products. To ensure that only products that live the longest reach you.

The result: total reliability. And India's largest installed base of electronic exchanges.

The BPL 2700 Push Button Telephone. Totally compatible because it is a product of the same tough discipline that our EPABXs undergo.

A model that's tested for endurance: even the cord and handset are tested for 100,000 operations. And which comes with features like Auto Gain Control. And Auto Re-dial up to 23 digits. Plus, TRC-approval for interface with P&T network.

The P-Series comes in 3 models—from 5-57 lines. One is bound to suit you.

BPL-INDIA

In pursuit of perfection

CENTRAL MARKETING ORGANISATION

BPL Centre, 14, Church Street, Bangalore 560 001. Phones: 572321/2/6/575217, Telex: 0845-2511, Cable: PHISILAB

SALES OFFICES: **BANGALORE** Phones: 561598/574787, Telex: 0845-2511. **BHOPAL** Phone: 61046 **BOMBAY** Phones: 4925398/4925361/4922918/4922933/4938704/4938392, Telex: 011-73789. **CALCUTTA** Phones: 431658/448566, Telex. 021-2390. **COCHIN** Phone: 361506. **COIMBATORE** Phone: 31052. **HYDERABAD** Phone: 231091, Telex: 0425-6064. **MADRAS** Phones: 471378/ 479420/474309, Telex: 041-6507. **NEW DELHI** Phones: 6431886/6433689/6433865, Telex: 031-2692. **PALGHAT** Phones: 3241/2, Telex: 0852-213.

everest/S89/231

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

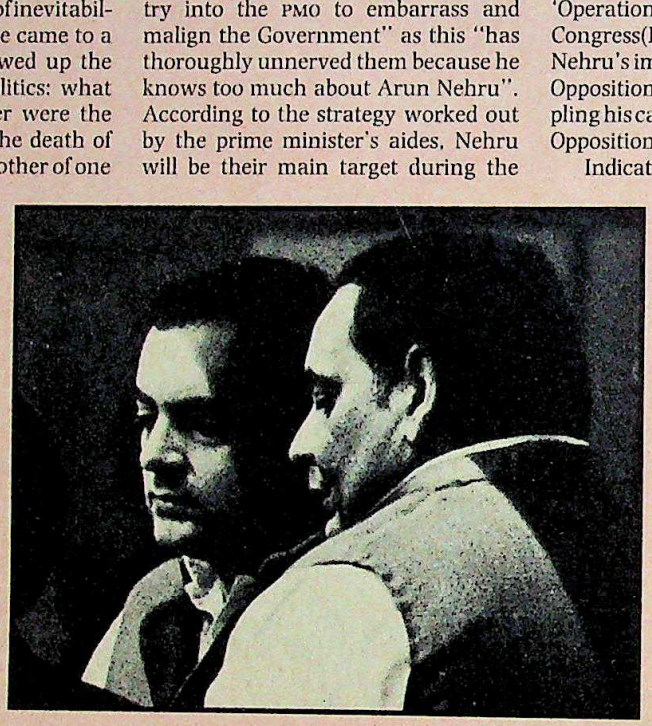
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAJIV vs NEHRU

No Holds Barred

IN the land of Mahabharat, the mere fact of cousins fighting bitter wars over political power is nothing new. So when the two scions of the Nehru clan locked horns two years ago, there was an air of inevitability about it. But as the issue came to a head last fortnight, it showed up the seamiest side of Indian politics: what the two were fighting over were the circumstances leading to the death of the woman who was the mother of one and an aunt of the other.

After skulking in the shadows for 15 months, Rajiv Gandhi and Arun Nehru have finally declared open season on each other. The first salvo was fired by the prime minister when the Home Ministry, under instructions from the PMO, moved swiftly to complete the probe by the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) into the Rs 3-crore Czech pistol deal. Then the Government withdrew security for Nehru's school-going daughter on the plea that Nehru's family was no more on the terrorist hit list. Screamed Nehru: "Great nations like India are not run by petty actions. If they think they can intimidate me and my family they are sadly mistaken."



At first there was no public expression of acrimony. Then last year Rajiv defied family relationships when he did not attend both the engagement ceremony and the marriage of Nehru's daughter.

Obviously, the Government decided to strike only after the Thakkar Commission report was leaked to the media. Rajiv bought the bureaucratic line that it was his cousin who was responsible. According to some senior intelligence officers, the Government had planned a raid on Nehru's house and wanted to arrest him under the Official Secrets Act. But some senior cabinet ministers argued that the action would make him a martyr. Still, the Congress(I)'s irrepressible propagandists like K.K. Tewary have declared war on Nehru. Said Tewary: "This time they (opposition leaders) have chosen Dhawan's re-entry into the PMO to embarrass and malign the Government" as this "has thoroughly unnerved them because he knows too much about Arun Nehru". According to the strategy worked out by the prime minister's aides, Nehru will be their main target during the debate on the report. He will also be held responsible for the deteriorating Punjab situation, for trying to sabotage the Kashmir accord, and for alienating Muslims by mishandling the Ramjanmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue during his tenure as minister of state for internal security. Said a senior Union minister: "We will pay him in his own coin now. We were silent till now because two brothers were involved. But the relationship is over."

After skulking in the shadows for 15 months, Rajiv Gandhi and Arun Nehru have declared open season on each other.

Instructions have already been sent to businessmen and those known to have done favours for Nehru to prepare a detailed report on Nehru's fund-collection methods. A Delhi-based hotelier, who was once close to Nehru, has been placed in charge of 'Operation Demolish Arun Nehru'. The Congress(I) feels that by tarnishing Nehru's image, it will be destroying the Opposition's main strategist and crippling his capacity to collect funds for the Opposition.

Indications of the assault became evident when the CBI summoned all Delhi-based arms dealers who bid for the Czech pistol for interrogation on the deal, which was concluded when Nehru was minister for internal security. The case files had been gathering dust since September 1987. What is curious is that the Government is trying to build a case of pecuniary benefit in a deal which was never concluded and in which no money was paid to the sellers.

The Government, however, asserts there is nothing unusual about the investigations. Said Home Minister Buta Singh: "The very fact that the CBI has taken so long to complete its investigations means that the Government is doing a fair job. The CBI will do what is legal and correct, irrespective of the persons involved. We don't interfere in such matters."

Nehru, however, feels that the case against him will be launched only when the elections draw near. And he has also decided to hit back. Last week he sued AICC(I) Treasurer Sitaram Kesari for criminal defamation and served a legal notice on *The Hindustan Times* newspaper for carrying a story holding him responsible for the leak of the Thakkar Commission report. Kesari had accused Nehru last year of stashing money abroad. Nehru had sent a legal notice then, but did not follow it up. Now, the situation is different. And as the run-up to the elections begins, politicians expect a lot of fire-works involving two determined claimants to the Nehru family's heritage of power.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

party and against his opponents. For one thing, if the portions of the report damaging to Sikhs caused communal tensions, the party could turn the tables on Arun Nehru—whom the PMO has been blaming for the leak—and attack him for sabotaging the new peace initiatives undertaken by Rajiv in Punjab.

But more important, the report could be used as a ready-made handle for the coming general elections for which the ruling party has neither an electoral agenda nor a catchy slogan. At several high-level meetings it was decided that the party's propagandists would emphasise portions of the report showing that there was a massive international conspiracy aimed at destabilising India by destroying the Nehru-Gandhi family. The aim being to go before the electorate and show that only a determined Congress(I) and a courageous Rajiv Gandhi, buffeted by personal tragedies and betrayals, have held and are capable of holding the country together.

And the Government media was quick on the job. When Doordarshan carried the prime minister's announcement in Parliament, it showed Mrs Gandhi's funeral scene with Rajiv and his family members in a pensive mood.

THERE were other equally compelling reasons why the prime minister—as he did on the Defamation Bill—caved in after an initial display of bravura and stonewalling. And again, these were political. The party, though outwardly united, was getting increasingly restive on the issue. A.G. Kulkarni, a veteran Rajya Sabha Congress(I) member, and Kamalapati Tripathi had warned the party and Rajiv that keeping the report secret would have irreparably damaging consequences for the party.

But what apparently clinched the issue was a 40-minute meeting that Arun Nehru had with President R. Venkataraman on March 16. Intelligence officials reported back to the prime minister that Nehru had requested the President to ask officially for the report and in case it was denied to him, Nehru had assured that he would give it to the President. This may have been a deliberate plant by Nehru who is the one person possessed of the ability to match the Government disinformation for disinformation. If it was, it seemed to have done the trick. A day later, the entire Opposition met the President and then decided to launch a national campaign against the prime minister and the Congress(I) for the release of the report. And Rajiv was simply not equipped or strong enough to handle it.

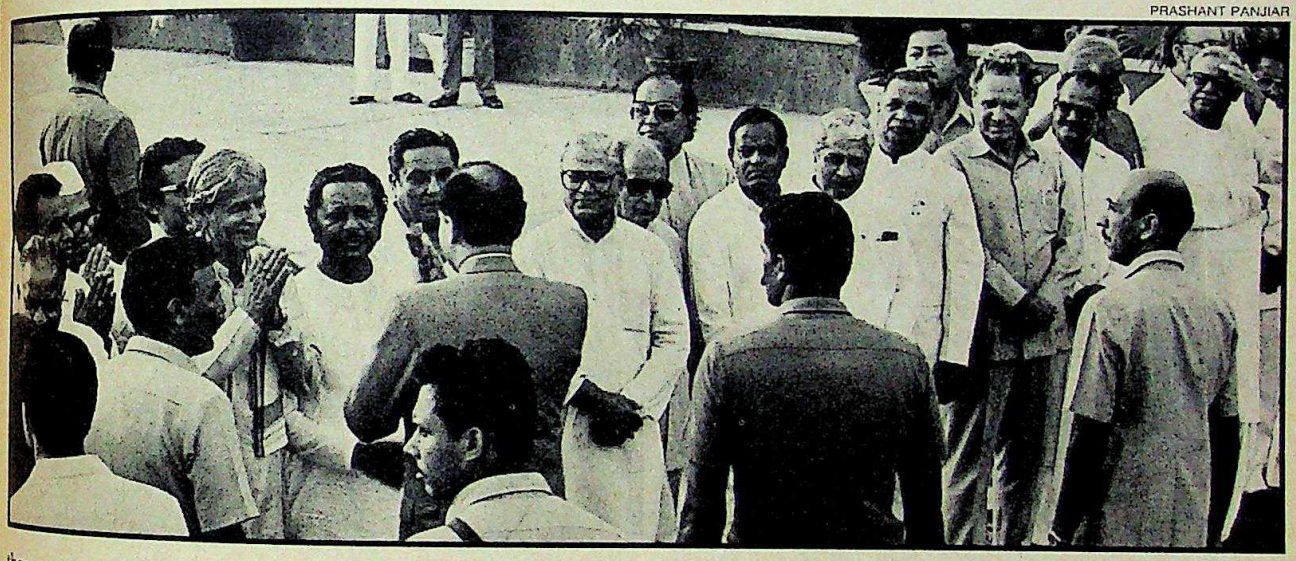
The report brouhaha has shown that the Union Cabinet does not function as a team—Rajiv does not trust it.

The Opposition has decided to use the Thakkar Commission report as a stick with which to beat the Congress(I). Even when the report was being laid on the table of the House, Madhu Dandavate, the affable leader of the Janata Dal in Parliament, made an unsuccessful bid to compel the Government to lay the proceedings of the commission—which ran into 8,000 pages—on the table of the House. Said Jaipal Reddy, the fiery Lok Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh: "The Government has hidden more than what it has disclosed."

Ironically, the lynchpin of the Opposition's campaign is also the Indira Gandhi card. The idea is to spread the word that those who are suspected of murdering Mrs Gandhi are now in fact ruling the country. But how far the Opposition's campaign will jell is uncertain. For one thing, not many people take Thakkar's case against Dhawan seriously. And the very same opposition leaders who attacked Thakkar as being biased and not credible during the Fairfax affair may find it difficult to exploit his findings now.

The entire scenario is one of ironies and conundrums and games of political convenience. Through all these there still moves the ghost of Mrs Gandhi. In power, out of power, and even in death, she continues to be a volatile presence within the Congress(I) and the Opposition, still dictating the agenda on the nation's political stage. The Thakkar Commission report marks the beginning of a historical regurgitation of suspicion, innuendo, latent communalism, and conspiracy theories to which time seemed to have given a decent burial after 1984.

PRASHANT PANJIAR



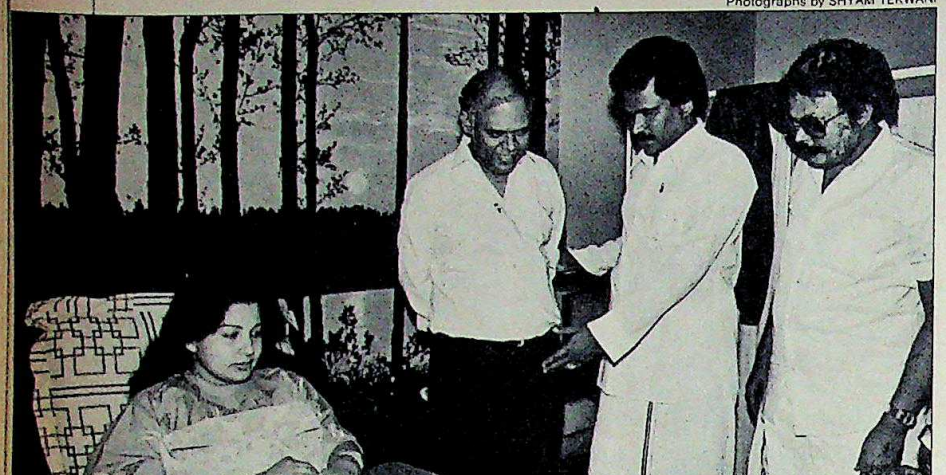
But the past cannot lie buried forever. It is back with a vengeance—like a massive wound reopened—and is polluting the atmosphere with the stench of acrimony and bitterness which the ruling party as well as the Opposition are hell-bent on exploiting for the maximum political benefit. Mrs Gandhi's funeral pyre and all that it symbolised was the subliminal issue on which the Congress(I) had swept to its thumping electoral victory in 1984. And now, as election eve 1989 draws near, her ghost has become the twisted symbol for what is emerging as one of the ugliest power-plays ever witnessed within the ruling party as well as out of it.

—INDERJIT BADHWAR and PRABHU CHAWLA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by SHYAM TEKWANI



Jayalalitha in hospital: retaliation plans

AIADMK

A New Mood of Aggression

Following its election debacle, the AIADMK seemed to be heading downhill. By trying to nail down Jayalalitha, the DMK hoped to speed it on. Instead, it only breathed new life into its rival.

A smart politician is one who turns adversity to advantage. And last fortnight, AIADMK General Secretary Jayalalitha displayed that she is nobody's fool. First, she adeptly managed to twist the resignation letter drama (*see box*) to her advantage. Then her party members—divided and dispirited after the debacle in the assembly elections—closed ranks and suddenly seemed possessed of a new energy following the battle in the Assembly.

The exchange of blows between AIADMK and DMK members on March 25—during which both Jayalalitha and Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi sustained injuries—may have shocked the state and nation. But it only made Jayalalitha—and the AIADMK—more determined than ever to take on the DMK.

The fracas began when the speaker refused to allow discussion on the breach of privilege notice against Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi for his alleged role in Jayalalitha's resignation drama. The ensuing chaos devolved into violence as Tamil Nadu's legislators once again displayed their proficiency in street fighting. Microphones, furniture and files were used as missiles by both the AIADMK and the DMK. Later, Karunanidhi—who had to be escorted out by marshals—said that the violence had been planned by the AIADMK. "While I was reading the speech, K.A. Sengottaiyan of the AIADMK rushed and punched me in the face and my spectacles were broken," said the chief minister. He insisted that Jayalalitha had encouraged her MLA "to punch me".

However, Jayalalitha too was at the receiving end. She had to be admitted to a private hospital with injuries on her head, right arm, back and knee. At the end of the melee, 28 AIADMK members had been suspended from the Assembly for a week, while no DMK legislator was hauled up for unruly behaviour, a fact the AIADMK will use to focus on victimisation by the DMK. Jayalalitha, in fact, has alleged that there was a plot to kill her in the Assembly itself. She announced that her party MLAs would attend the Assembly after their period of suspension was over but that she herself would not "until conditions are created under which a woman may attend the Assembly safely".

The war with the DMK had other repercussions as well. On March 26, Jayalalitha announced from her hospital bed that she and her party would work for opposition unity. Asked whether this meant that she was willing to join hands with the Congress(I), she replied: "I am saying there is an alliance." Tamil Nadu Congress(I) chief G.K. Moopanar refused to commit himself before the meeting of the Congress(I) Legislature Party scheduled for the same day. But Union Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh, who is attending the Congress(I) Legislature Party meeting as a central observer, said that the Congress(I) would cooperate with the Opposition to ensure that the

RESIGNATION DRAMA

Letter Bomb

IT was the classic late night break that newsmen dream of. Close to midnight on March 18, some newspaper offices in Madras got an envelope apparently delivered by a man in a red Maruti car. The contents of the envelope—a statement in Tamil and a one-line letter in English—set in motion one of the most bizarre events to shake Tamil Nadu politics in recent times.

It was a statement by Jayalalitha, general secretary of the AIADMK, saying she was quitting politics due to the indignities suffered by her, poor health and her inability to do sustained work. The letter in English was a copy of the letter Jayalalitha addressed to the speaker resigning her membership of the Assembly with effect from March 15.

AIADMK leaders tried their best to reassure their cadre that the whole episode was the doing of the police who had found the statement and resigna-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

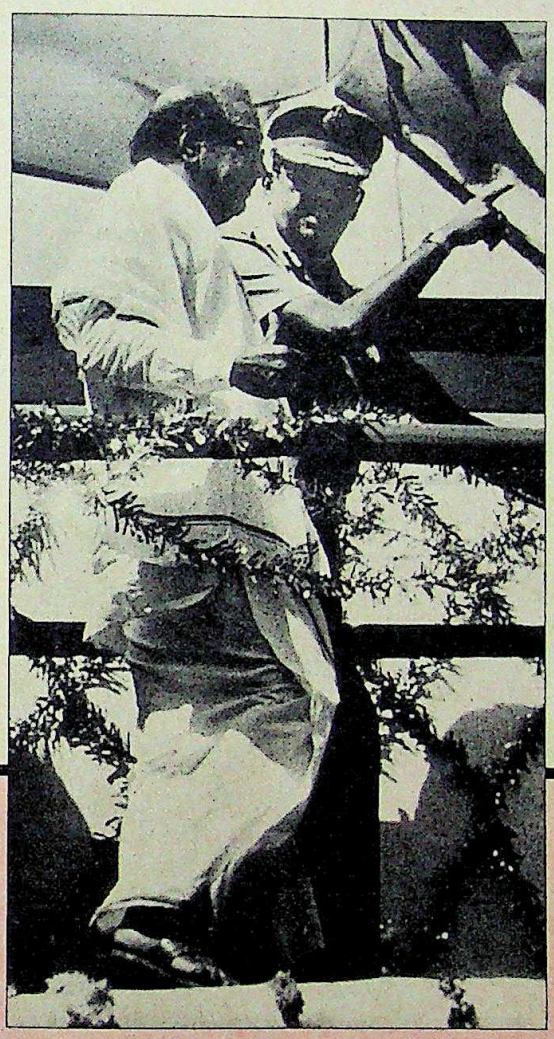
DMK Government maintained "public decency" in the Assembly.

The hectic political activity that the AIADMK is engaging in would have been unthinkable just a couple of weeks ago. Then the party had seemed seized of a peculiar apathy. Though Jayalalitha is the leader of the Opposition, she had rarely attended the Assembly; the party's general council had not yet met to approve the merger of the Janaki Ramachandran and Jayalalitha factions that took place more than a month and a half ago; and the AIADMK Legislature Party had not met formally since it elected Jayalalitha as its leader on January 25, though it had been briefed, off and on, by deputy opposition leader S. Thirunavakkarasu and Chief Whip K.K.S.S.R. Ramachandran.

The recent galvanisation notwithstanding, the future of the party remains in danger essentially because it has almost no policy. By winning two by-elections it succeeded in marginally reversing its poor showing in the January elections. But the fact remains that it still depends for its appeal, and survival, on two factors: Jayalalitha's personal popularity and the party's ability to garner the anti-DMK vote. Jayalalitha has reasserted herself with successful demonstrations and rallies after winning her first round against Karunanidhi in the resignation controversy. In the absence of a systematic party programme, however, such victories count for little.

A clear-cut programme was what kept the DMK going through its long years in the Opposition. Says a senior Janata Dal legislator: "For 13 years the DMK was in the Opposition. But it survived because, besides opposing MGR, it articulated policy positions on Sri Lankan Tamils, on the imposition of Hindi, on devolution of powers to the states and so on. This is necessary to enthuse the cadres. In contrast, the AIADMK has had only one policy—opposition to Karunanidhi. The strategy worked when MGR was alive, but it won't work now. What is the policy of the AIADMK on Sri Lanka, where does it stand on state powers? No one knows."

Karunanidhi with Commissioner Dorai



But Thirunavakkarasu vehemently denies this charge: "Our position on the Sri Lankan Tamils is clear. And we have always opposed the imposition of Hindi. People are unable to stomach our growing popularity. That is why they are coming up with all these allegations."

Not many will take him at his word. The AIADMK after MGR has rarely taken the initiative on any policy issue. Its programme has mostly been a reaction to the actions of the DMK. Says an AIADMK leader: "Our MPs did not react in Parliament when the Thakkar Commission report issue blew up. We did not

tion letter in the house of Jayalalitha's aide, M. Natarajan—which had been raided—and promptly released it to the press. The party's Chief Whip, K.K.S.S.R. Ramachandran told INDIA TODAY: "The chief minister cannot finish off madam politically. So he has misused the police to do his dirty work." Retorted the Police Commissioner P. Dorai: "It is an utterly false allegation. We seized only some copies and these will be produced in court."

The AIADMK had to accept that Jayalalitha actually wrote out her resignation letter and the statement. But, said Thirunavakkarasu, the party's deputy leader in the Assembly: "Leaders persuaded madam not to quit politics. So she relented. There was no question of her sending the letter to the speaker." The Speaker M. Tamilkudimagan who had received her resignation letter through an unidentified messenger, later accepted Jayalalitha's explanation and recognised her as the leader of the Opposition.

Tamilkudimagan

Meanwhile, Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi denied that the DMK had anything to do with the letter reaching the speaker. "We will not deprive anyone of his or her assembly seat by such methods, unlike the AIADMK which, when in power, threw out 10 of our MLAs in an action that smacked of vindictiveness."

According to a senior government officer, the whole episode was the fall-out of a tiff between Jayalalitha and Natarajan after which he was thrown out of her Poes Garden residence on March 16. The police waited for two days to confirm that he was not returning to Jayalalitha's house before arresting him. "If the police wanted, they could have passed on the letter without anyone suspecting a police hand," he said.

According to the official it must have been Natarajan himself who forwarded the letter to the speaker because when AIADMK General Secretary S.D. Somasundaram met him on March 16 and 17 and asked about the original, Natarajan said he had destroyed it. Yet, it turned up at the Assembly the next day. Somasundaram has however denied meeting Natarajan.

The AIADMK, with the significant exception of Jayalalitha, is defending Natarajan vigorously. The official version is that the police and the DMK do not know how the whole thing happened. But there are more shocks to come. As a senior official says: "Wait till we obtain some more information. You will then know the truth." —GUHA PRASAD

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

take a stand when the prime minister called opposition leaders unpatriotic."

So the party remains as it was during MGR's time, more or less dominated by one personality. Says another AIADMK leader: "When MGR was alive he carried the party around under his fur cap. Madam carries it around in her handbag. During MGR's time, we used to meet at least to rubber stamp his decisions. Now madam sends us instructions and we carry them out."

Another party leader echoes these views: "Occasionally you might see photographs in newspapers showing the political affairs committee of the party meeting to discuss some issue. But once the photographers go out of the room, madam tells us what she wants and we do it. Whenever she feels that we may not listen to her, she says she is sick or that she is resigning. Then all the leaders plead with her not to resign and she agrees but demands in return total loyalty. We give it to her."

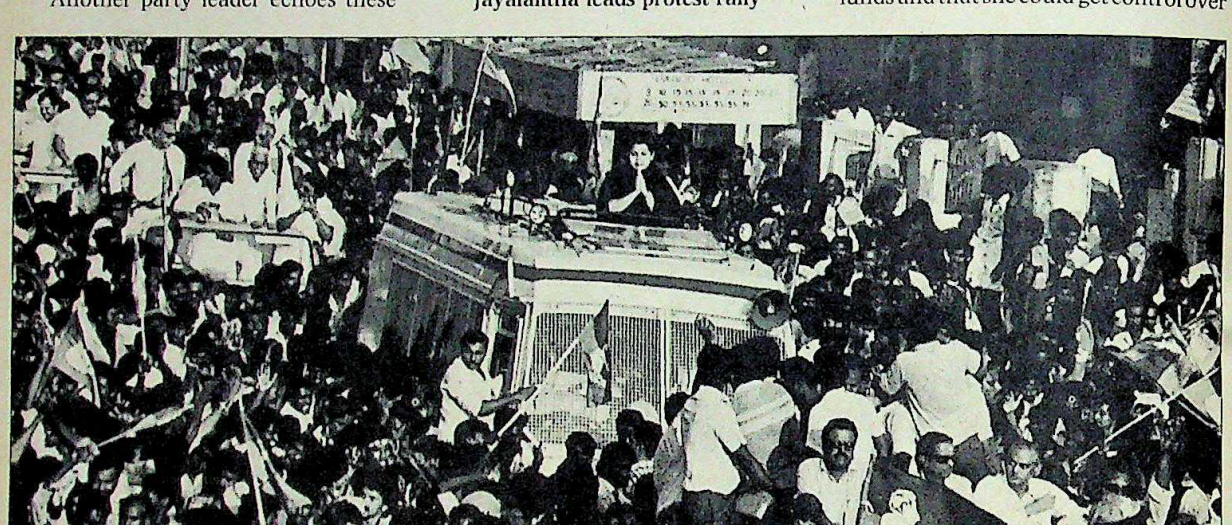
Last fortnight, the resignation letter that Jayalalitha wrote to the speaker but did not send was one among several written by her during her political career. She first started her resignation dramas while MGR was still alive. One of her resignation letters was held by MGR for six months. Then, when the fight between Jayalalitha and R.M. Veerappan reached a peak, he accepted it.

Around June last year, when V.R. Nedunchezhiyan, S. Ramachandran, C. Aranganayakam and Thirunavukkarasu left her faction, she announced that she was taking rest for two months on medical advice. It took all the persuasive powers of H.V. Hande, party deputy general secretary, and K.K.S.S.R. Ramachandran to dissuade her.

This time too, Jayalalitha required considerable persuasion before she relented and agreed not to send in her resignation. One leader who has observed her at close quarters says: "Madam will resign again after a month if something upsets her."

Behind these frequent resignation dramas is Jayalalitha's need to be constantly reassured that she is indispensable to her party. Also, as a senior party leader admits, they help to keep dissidents at bay.

Jayalalitha leads protest rally



Given the immensity of problems that confront the AIADMK, the party will find it difficult to take on the DMK.

Dissidence, however, is the least of the party's problems. The major worry is finance. As long as MGR was alive, money was no problem, liquor lobbies took care of the party's needs. For a time, these benefactors patronised Janaki Ramachandran's short-lived government and later Jayalalitha's faction too. But last November, this flow was abruptly cut off when it became clear that the Jayalalitha faction and the Congress(I) were not going to arrive at an electoral understanding.

The shortfall in funds was partly overcome by collecting deposits from those who sought party tickets for the assembly elections. Thirunavakkarasu admits that Rs 3.41 crore was collected in this way. But those who were not given tickets had to be refunded their money. And by then the Jayalalitha faction was in no position to do so as it had run out of cash.

Money was, in fact, the main reason for the unity move—Jayalalitha thought the Janaki faction was awash in funds and that she could get control over these. Says one leader: "Our estimate was that Janaki *amma* must be having close to Rs 10 crore." But the funds the Janaki faction admitted, had been invested in fixed deposits at the Bank of Madura, Royapettah branch.

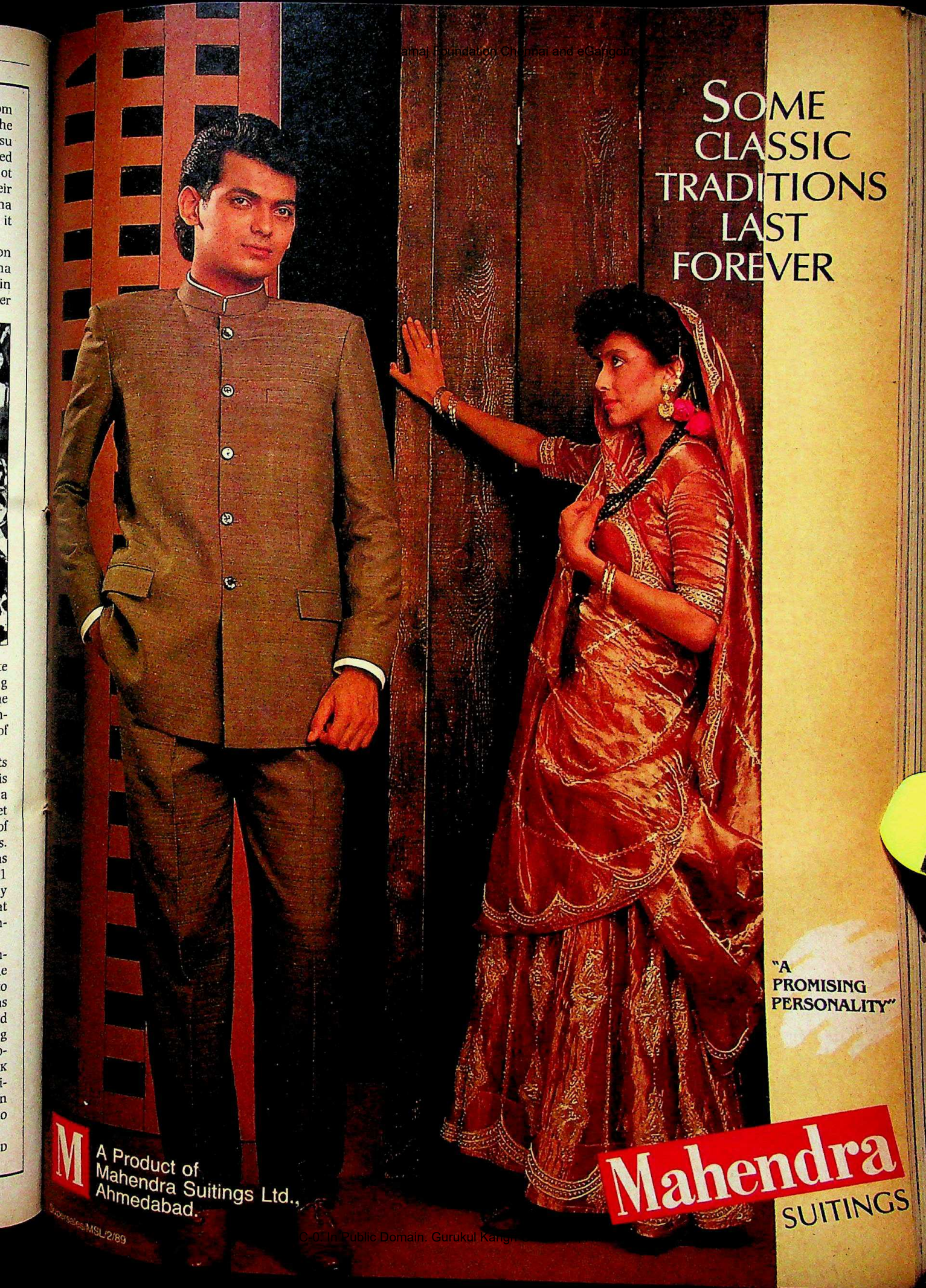
The recent spate of complaints against her close aide, Natarajan, his wife, Sashikala, and against Jayalalitha herself by ticket-seekers who did not get their deposits back, is an indication of how serious the financial crunch is. Thirunavakkarasu says the party has refunded Rs 3.20 crore of the Rs 3.41 crore collected. "We have to repay only about Rs 20 lakh. We are holding that money because these depositors indulged in anti-party activities."

Given the combination and immensity of problems that confront the AIADMK, the party will find it difficult to take on the DMK. And though it has managed to shrug off its lethargy and enter the arena and trade a few winning blows, unless it chalks out clear programmes and policies, the AIADMK might suddenly find that not even anti-DMK voters are interested in it. And then neither Jayalalitha's name nor the two leaves symbol will help it.

—GUHA PRASAD

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WHY YOU SHOULD BE EXCITED
A TYRE YOU'LL NEVER

The roar of a powerful Formula Car, if you're next to it, is an all-consuming sensate experience.

You actually feel the roar of engineered Power pulsing through the very blood in your veins ... and the adrenalin excites the senses.

But to us at MRF, it is a serious, sophisticated, hi-speed tyre-test machine. A unique way in which to TEST new tyre concepts to build better tyres for you.

At speeds close to 300 kms per hour, hi-performance tyres encounter extreme conditions of heat, temperature, traction and even molecular stability! To MRF R & D personnel it's an opportunity to test various rubber compounds that can withstand these extreme conditions.

That's why MRF raced forward to be the first in India to make a Formula Car tyre.

To PUSH Rubber and Tyre capability to a real-life TEST. To probe for structural stability in ultra high-performance conditions.

And after each Adventure, that brave, solo Formula Car driver will pull off his helmet and discuss the behaviour of his tyres with on-track MRF R & D technologists.

New knowledge is gained on how Rubber compounds, tyre-structure, and technology behave under extreme stresses against gravity.

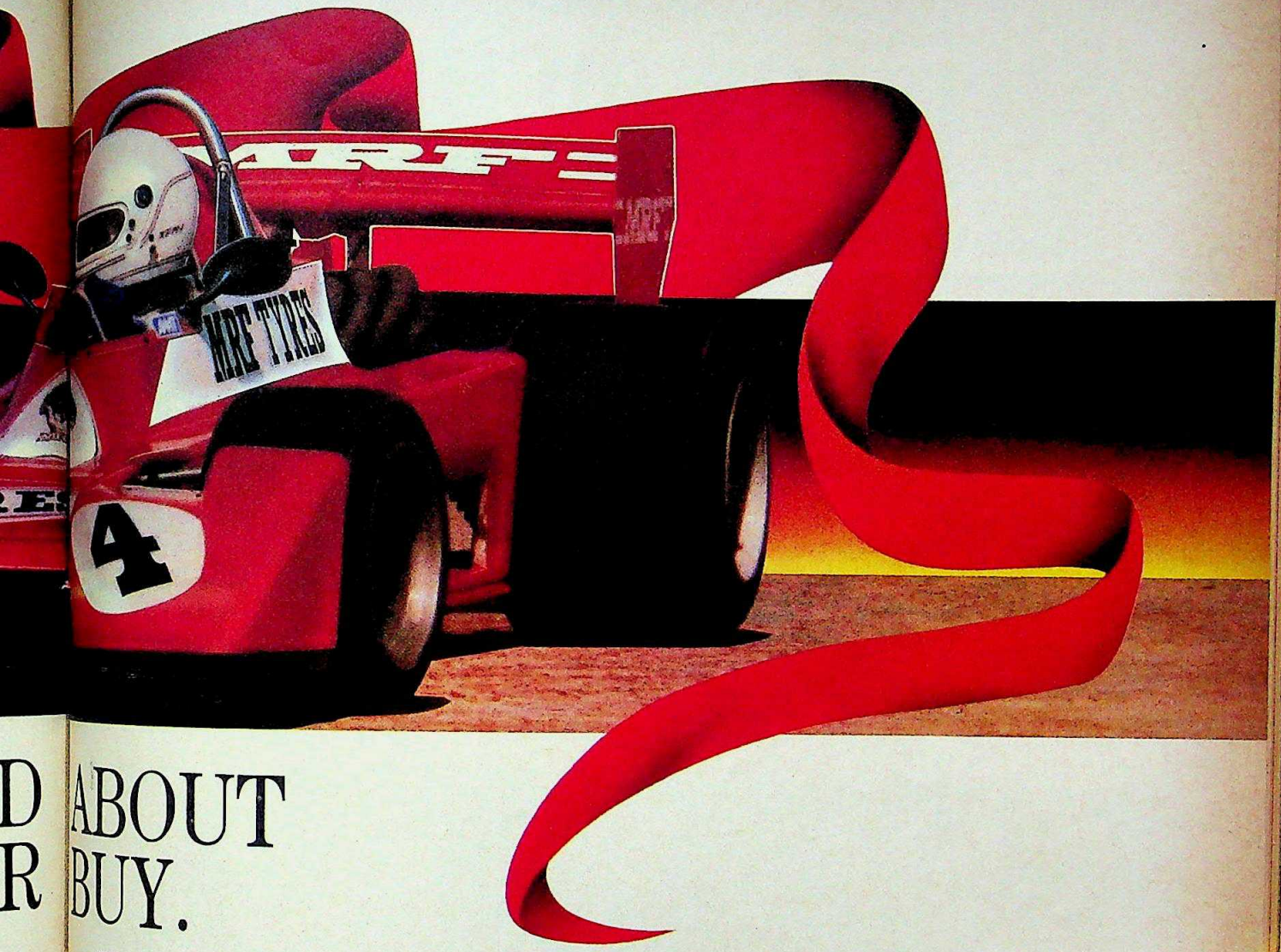
That knowledge is then translated into better materials and processes in the MRF Production-line: to build better, safer, hi-performance tyres for your city car.

Another race. One more Adventure towards new levels of tyre-technology. For you.

MRF TYRES: Flying solo to new levels

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



ABOUT BUY.

Yes, MRF now makes Formula Tyres in India...
On display here is the high-point in Indian Tyre Technology.
Another First for MRF.

DESIGN HIGHLIGHTS:
- Ultra Low Profile
- Compound Designed to 'Adhere' to the track
- Slick – No Pattern (more contact – better traction)
- Low Weight

OPERATIONAL FEATURES:
- Wide Contact Patch Along the Axis
- High Stability due to Low Side Wall
- Low Inertia – High Manoeuverability

TECHNICAL CHALLENGES IN TYRE DESIGN:
- High Speed Structural Stability of Tyre Components
- Low Weight
- Absolute Traction

SIZE:
- Front Fitment: 9.0/20.0-13
- Rear Fitment: 14.0/23.0-13

TYPE:
- Pneumatic
- Biasply
- Tubeless

SPEED CAPABILITY: Upto 300 KMPH

MRF TYRES
Tyres with Muscle

technology : for you.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AFGHANISTAN

Stepping up the Fire

The war between the Soviet-supported Afghanistan Government and the Mujahedin has intensified and threatens to become a regional conflagration as the superpowers pour in more arms and the UN watches helplessly. An on-the-spot report:

Nangrahar kor, Nangrahar gor.
(Nangrahar is our home, Nangrahar is our grave.)

THE Afghan soldiers' battle-cry had an air of blood-curdling finality about it, matched only by the Mujahedin's repeated Allah-o-Akbars. Fired by the spirit of jehad, the holy war, wave after wave of rebels hit the defences of Afghanistan's strategic eastern province, only to retreat leaving hundreds dead around the Government's heavily fortified positions guarding Jalalabad, the provincial capital.

But each attack also left the defenders a little more battered, bleeding and—more important—unsure of how long they were going to last out the most determined Mujahedin offensive in the decade-old war. "Jalalabad will never fall. The enemy will realise that finally, but only after the death of thousands of Afghans," thundered Abdul Rahim Hatif, the seniormost of President Najibullah's four vice-presidents in Kabul. But 150 km to the east the guerrilla leaders were making just the opposite claims with equal vehemence. Even as the awesome din of shells continued in the background, Haji Deen Mohammed, a guerrilla commander, told newsmen brought in by bus from Peshawar in Pakistan: "We have learnt from our mistakes. The fall of Jalalabad is a matter of time."

However, amid the claims and counter-claims, the main question still remained unanswered: when will war come to Kabul in right earnest? The portents were all there. The frequency of rocket attacks had increased and their accuracy had improved. And after a fortnight of government control along the highways, at least four large convoys were molested on the Jalalabad and Salang highways (*see map*). This despite the fact that the Government had just signed protocols with the elders of villages along Salang, buying security for the convoys in return for subsidised food and fuel. There were

■ Government cavalry patrolling Salang highway (below); and Mujahedin column advancing towards Jalalabad

Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR

CC-0. Gurukul Kangri Collection

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

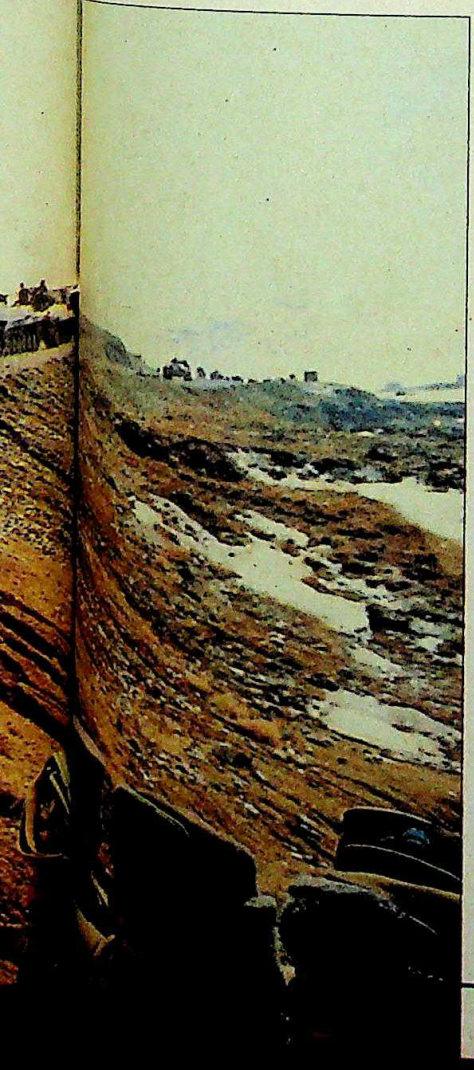
also other tell-tale signs of the approach of the fratricidal Armageddon.

Last fortnight the Government asked major construction companies in Kabul to stop ongoing projects and start building defences along the high ground overlooking the approaches to Kabul airport. Foxholes and pillboxes came up overnight and mines were scattered on the likely approaches. "It reminds you of Berlin in 1945," commented a UN official.

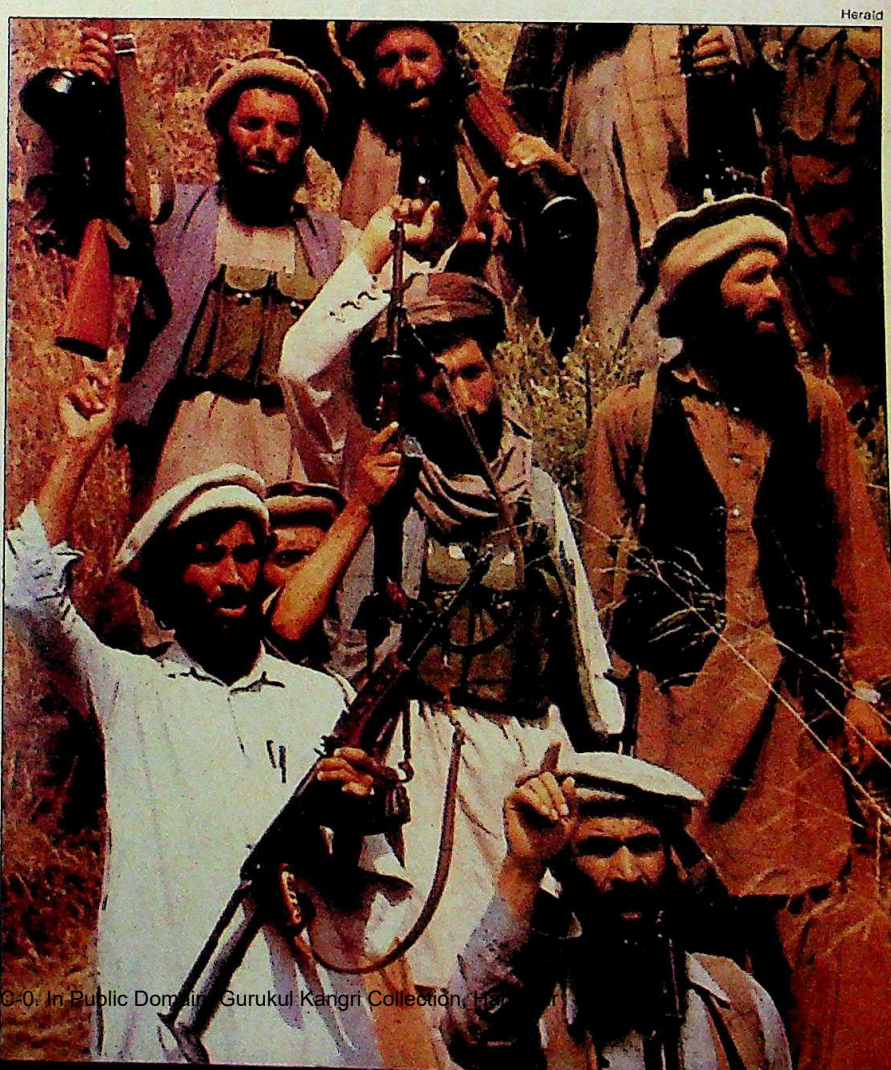
More than any other institution it was the UN which needed to do some introspection. With the first anniversary of the Geneva accord just a fortnight away, the decade-old war threatened to envelop the entire region and bring back the superpowers in more direct conflict. The Soviets made threatening noises against Pakistan and Yuli Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Kabul, even hinted that other regional powers (obviously meaning India) could get involved. And as India began to send in humanitarian aid for the Najib Government it was apparent that after months of self-doubts South Block had decided to continue backing the regime. "If there is fire in the homes of Afghans, the smoke will affect India," warned Hatif. Rajiv Gandhi described the Pakistani involvement in the war as "very disturbing" and called for an international conference to bring peace to Afghanistan.

The regionalisation of the war suits the Najib Government which has already exploited the Pakistani involvement to the hilt by appealing to traditional Afghan xenophobia. Now it is trying to convince the population that it is not really a communist regime and certainly not unIslamic. "We are talking about a moderately socialist government," says Zaher Tanin, PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) ideologue and editor of *Akhbar-e-Hafta*, a newly-launched semi-

Map by B.K. SHARMA



Herald



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, H

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

private newspaper that has signalled the arrival of the PDPA *perestroika*. "Some mistakes were made in the past," he admits, "perhaps we raised slogans that were too radical, without due respect for tradition."

Last fortnight the Government used the celebrations marking the Islamic new year to backtrack from the revolution. At the historic Mazar-i-Sharif shrine Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand read out a message to the devout congregation from Najibullah extolling Islam and calling for a quick end to *brotherkushi*, the Afghanistanism for fratricide. But as he flew to Kabul for another meeting of the defence council it was obvious that it was too late for conciliatory gestures.

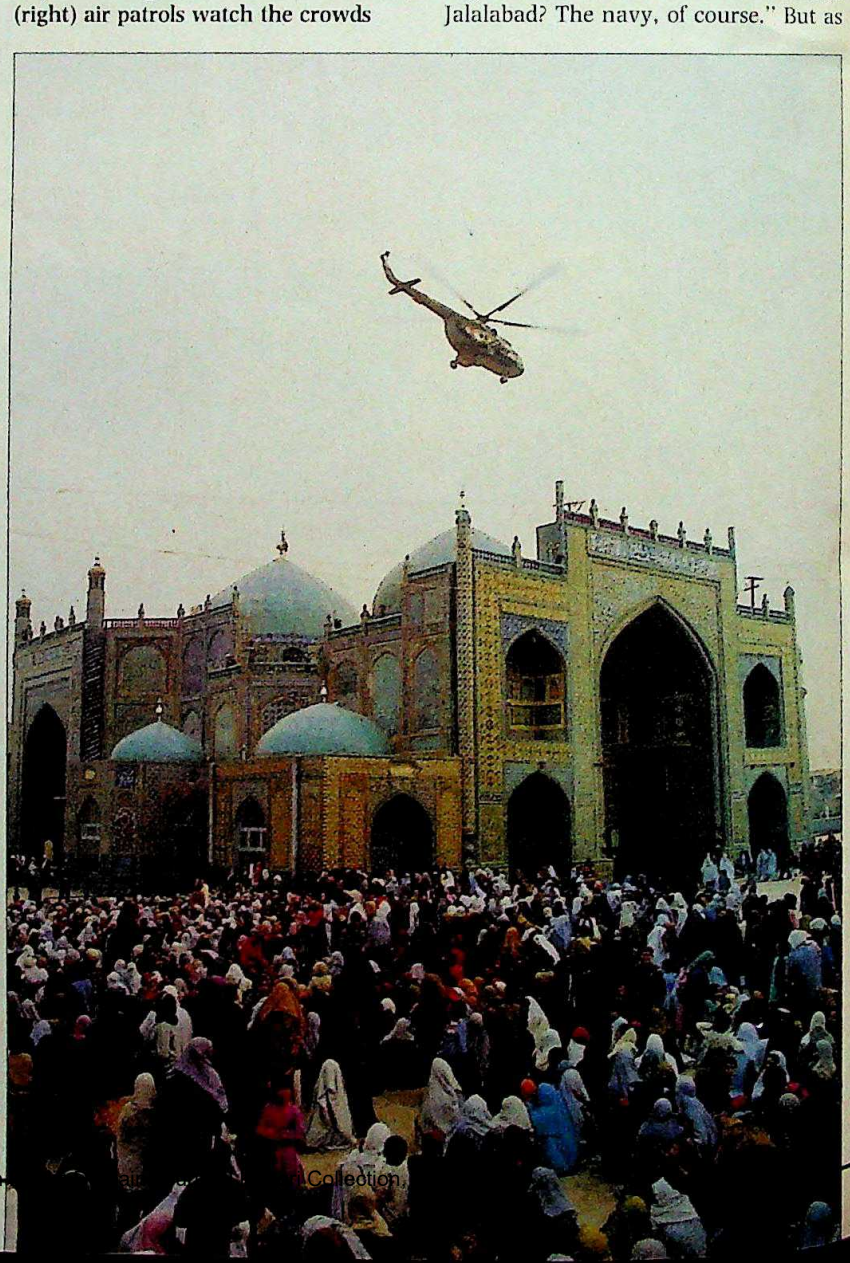
For the moment, the attention of the defence council—and of the rest of the world—was focussed on the battle for Jalalabad. Each day helicopters and trucks brought in loads of dead and wounded government soldiers to Kabul even as the Government, in daily press briefings, claimed minimal damage to its own forces. On the highway linking Jalalabad with Kabul, in the space of an hour, truck-trailers brought in at least four T-62 tanks disabled in the battle. "It really isn't tank country," complained the driver of one tank. At best, the tanks were serving as mobile pillboxes for garrison defence: which could turn out expensive if the opposition has wire-guided anti-tank missiles and recoilless cannons.

But while the Government had suffered losses, the toll on the Mujahedin side was fearsome: at least 1,500 killed by conservative estimates though the Kabul Government claimed more than 5,000. The losses forced even the most committed rebels to reconsider the wisdom of launching an all-out assault. Conceded Abdul Haq, the legendary rebel commander of Kabul region, in an interview with a western broadcasting network: "Sometimes now it becomes difficult to convince our people why we should go on fighting at such a cost when even the Russians have gone."

THE doubts were caused as much by the lack of a clear *casus belli* as by the impact of the arsenal the Government had unleashed on the rebel columns threatening Jalalabad. "They have pulled out all the stops. This is a no-holds-barred war now," said a member of Kabul's highly-depleted diplomatic corps. That statement was echoed—with typical Afghan earthiness—by Rehmatullah, a soldier moved back from Jalalabad after the first fortnight's fighting: "There is an old Afghan saying. War is war. You do not distribute sweets on the battlefield."

And the Government was by no means doing that. It rained Scud-B missiles and bombs on any area where a Mujahedin presence was likely, including the battered highway to Khyber which thousands of fleeing refugees shared with incoming rebel convoys. The rebels on their part were raining thousands of artillery shells and rockets into the town every day forcing the Government to fly out the families of its top officials and key party members. Both sides gave up their initial attempts to avoid harm to civilians. "Too many civilians are getting killed in this war...the whole thing is immoral, very immoral," said Vorontsov. His indignation notwithstanding, Vorontsov justified the Government's use of Scuds and other deadly weapons. "I think the Afghan Government has the right to use every weapon it has. Scuds are not all. They have something else, even more powerful," he warned. Among the press corps in Kabul, that remark elicited instant chuckles. "What weapons do the Afghan Government still have on hold in Jalalabad? The navy, of course." But as

■ **Prime Minister Keshtmand reading Najib's message at Mazar-i-Sharif shrine; (right) air patrols watch the crowds**



CC-0. In... Collection.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

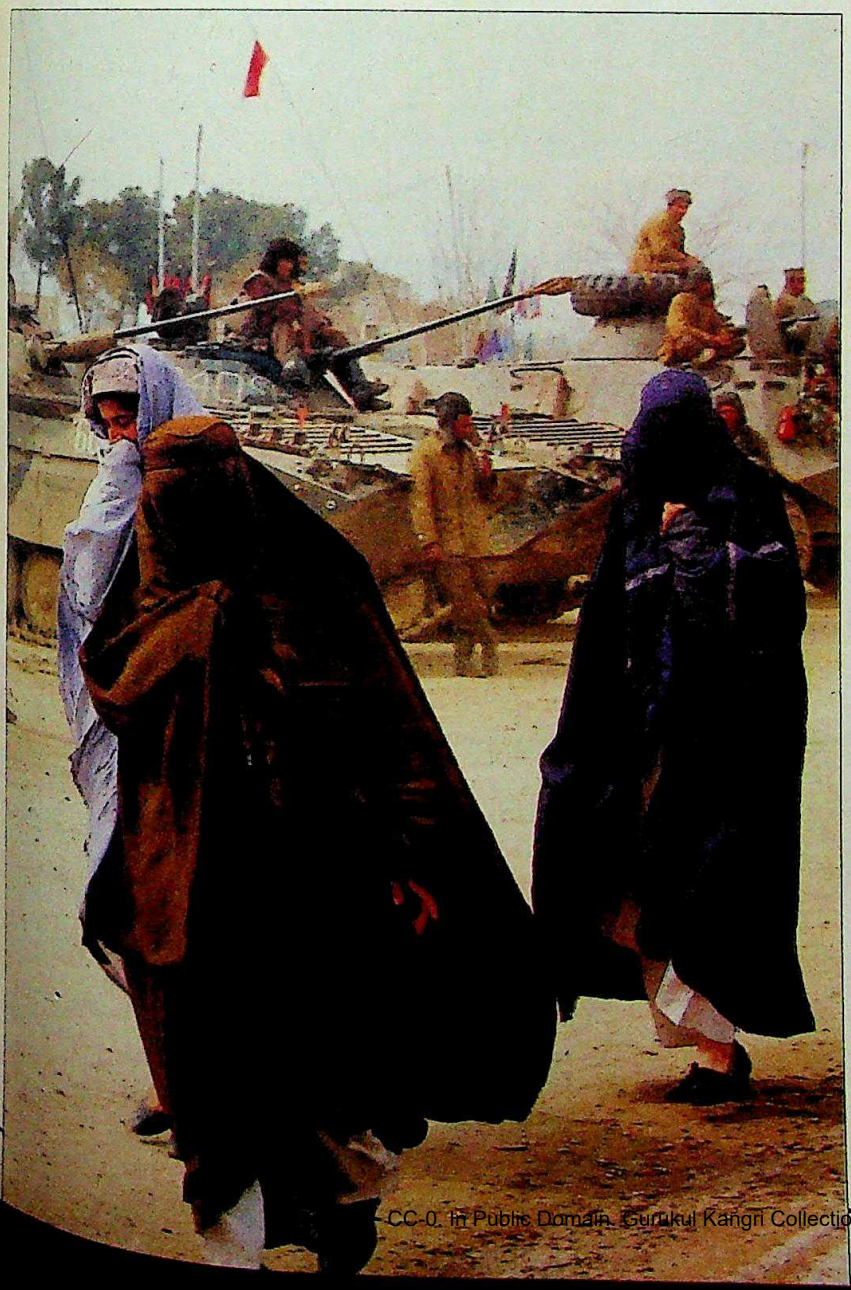
the battle for Jalalabad shaped up to be the last one before Kabul, it was clear that the Najib Government could not afford to keep anything in reserve.

The government forces had initially been taken by surprise when the Mujahedin stormed the garrison town of Samarkhel and killed in an ambush Lt-General Barag Zai, one of the Afghan army's most celebrated commanders. But they lasted out long enough to reorganise the defence of Jalalabad, thanks mainly to a lack of strategy and discipline among the Mujahedin. The Mujahedin, who have been fighting the Russians since 1979, have perfected the art of guerrilla warfare. But attacking well-defended strongholds on open ground proved to be a different matter. Euphoric after initial successes they walked straight into the defenders' killing fields.

The guerrilla leaders concede that the Afghans piloting the helicopter gunships and fighter strike aircraft have shown greater determination than the Russians who trained them. The first phase of the battle claimed the life of Major General Mukhtar Gul, one of Afghanistan's most decorated soldiers and a feared gunship pilot. But the others picked up from where he had left and slaughtered the Mujahedin columns on the open ground.

THE extent to which control of the air determined the fortunes of the battle was evident from the way they shifted with changes in the weather. When thick cloud cover grounded the Government's aircraft the Mujahedin advanced a little. Next day the sun returned and with it the aircraft, swooping low and extracting a deadly toll. At one stage, frustrated rebels even alleged the involvement of Indian pilots in the war, an allegation supported by Xinhua, the official Chinese news agency. But no one believed them, not when the Indian embassy in Kabul has not even had an air attache since the last one completed his tenure two months back.

■ **Armoured column at Mazar-i-Sharif (below); a brigadier displays agreements signed with villagers to guard Salang.**

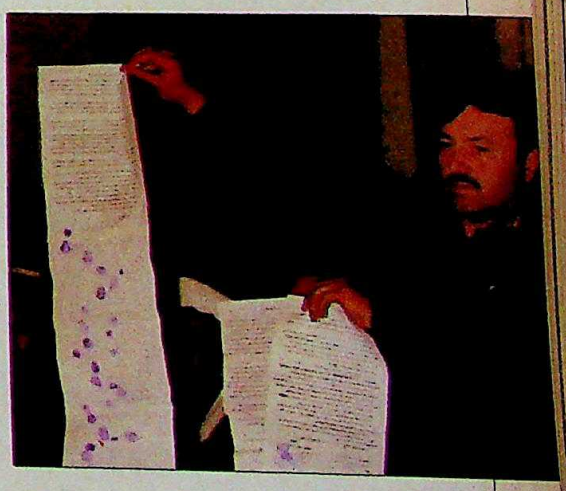


Chastened by the losses at Jalalabad, the rebels belonging to the Gulbadin Hekmatyar, Maulvi Khalis and Sayef groups licked their wounds and regrouped for yet another and better coordinated assault on the battered city. And in the same manner in which they had attacked Jalalabad, rebel forces carried out an enveloping offensive on the ancient western city of Herat, bordering Iran. But there too quick intervention by at least a score of Scud-Bs and intense Soviet diplomatic pressure on Teheran stopped the rebels in their tracks.

Gunfire rocked other key provincial capitals as well. Kandahar, Ghazni, Khost and Kunduz came under heavy shelling as the Mujahedin probed government defences. "The war is escalating," conceded Lt-General Abdul Haq Ulumi, secretary of the PDPA Government's higher defence council for the defence of the homeland. The confirmatory echo came from both government and rebel radio stations. All day long they played Afghan patriotic songs—often exactly the same numbers—interspersed with outrageous claims of victory.

The claims on the battlefield were only matched in their optimism by the claims of gains on the diplomatic front. With the Saudi recognition, the rebels had finally acquired some legitimacy. But the West was still hedging.

Washington, for one, no longer seemed to have an Afghan policy. The state department made sympathetic statements but stopped short of recognising the Mujahedin Government despite pressure from arch conservatives like Senator Gordon Humphrey. The Bush Administration was nevertheless considering closing down the Afghan embassy in Wash-



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HINDUS & SIKHS

Cowering in Fear

THEY came as the victors, they came as the vanquished. And for more than 500 years they have been an inseparable part of Afghanistan's chequered history, forming a distinctive motif in the country's colourful ethnic tapestry. But today they are assailed by doubts and fears, the worst since the partition of the subcontinent in 1947.

Statistically they form the bulk of the 1 per cent 'others' in predominantly Muslim Afghanistan. But the 50,000-odd Hindus and Sikhs constitute one of the most prosperous sections of Afghan society, dominating foreign trade and the money exchange business. "Without our Hindu and Sikh brothers, we wouldn't know how to count our money," says Ismatullah Muslim, the former guerrilla commander of Kandahar, now on the Government side.

The Hindus and the Sikhs can be divided into several categories. The pioneers were adventurers from Punjab who came to this primitive country centuries ago and settled down as businessmen. The second stream were brought as slaves, the booty of war, by the various marauders who swept the Indo-Gangetic plains through the Khyber. Later, many Sikh Gurus, beginning with Guru Nanak Dev visited Afghanistan leaving behind followers and converts. More came with the British in the 19th century. And, finally, came a large stream from Pakistan's North-Western Frontier Province—these were people who preferred to cross the Durand Line into the safety of a tolerant Afghanistan rather than risk the Punjab of 1947.

Till a few months ago there were large numbers of Sikhs and Hindus in towns like Kandahar, Khost and, most of all, Jalalabad. But now the fear of a war in which they have never been directly involved has brought many of them cowering in fear to Kabul. Though almost entirely Muslim, Afghan society has been secular in its approach to people of Indian origin. Barring an election dispute that led to the gunning down of 23 Sikhs at the Jalalabad Gurdwara on April 13 last year, there has never been any violence against the minorities. The prospect of a fundamentalist government coming to power is however proving unsettling.

"What will they do to us? They all think we are the richest people here and should be made to pay for our security. But we don't have all that much," says a prominent Hindu businessman. Adds Baldev Singh, a jobber in Shehzada Bazar, Kabul's financial hub: "There is fear, of course. We go to the gurdwara every morning and offer ardas." Others admit they are busy carting away whatever they can to India, by way of wealth and 'surplus' family members. Adds Harbhajan Singh, whose family migrated from Jalalabad the day the fighting began and has since been camping at the gurdwara in Karte Parwan, Kabul's prosperous, Sikh-dominated locality: "Who isn't scared of gunpowder and bombs? But is there any other place we can go to? This is our home."

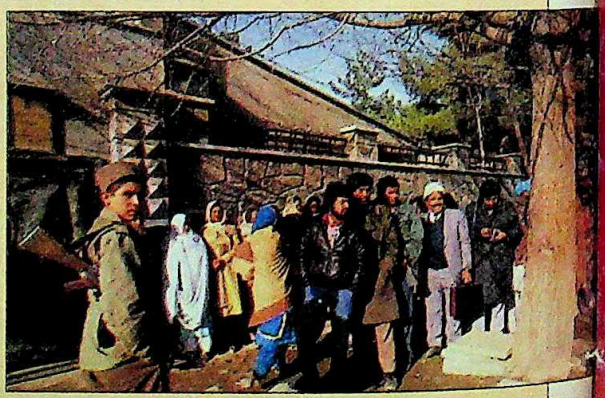
But many have been looking for a home away from home. At a Monday-morning congregation in the onyx-lined hall of the Karte Parwan gurdwara last fortnight as a thousand-odd men and women prayed, the atmosphere was grim. "In such times of difficulty we can only think of India," said Nasib Singh, a dry fruit merchant. "But more painful than the threat of fundamentalists is the treatment meted out by the Indian embassy."

The people of Indian origin complain that the Indian embassy is much too stingy in issuing visas. Allegations of corruption and bribery abound. But one look at the gate of the embassy, even at seven in the morning, in biting Kabul cold, shows the enormousness of the task the embassy faces. Queues of visa-seekers, a majority of them Hindu and Sikh, begin to form at sunrise. "We have just two men handling visas. We can't cope with this rush," says an embassy spokesman.

It is however believed the Indian Government is under pressure from Kabul not to issue visas too generously as en masse departures are hardly likely to buttress its claim that there is no panic in Kabul. Also, Kabul believes many people are fleeing simply to avoid conscription. In any case, Ariana Afghan Airlines' TU-154s leave Kabul seven times each week loaded with passengers, and only two return with passengers: the rest come back as cargo flights bringing everything, from icons for temples to tonnes of fresh meat.

Those of Indian origin could of course legitimately complain about the way South Block has ignored Kabul over the past few months. None of the six top diplomats, including the ambassador, who left in the recent past has been replaced. The embassy is reduced to a skeleton staff led by four diplomats. This hardly helps India express any solidarity with the Najibullah Government. Nor does it do much to reassure the increasingly panicky Hindus and Sikhs.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA



■ Hindus, Sikhs fleeing Jalalabad (above); queue at the Indian embassy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SEE BETWEEN THE LINES

INDIA TODAY
Presents

NEWSTRACK

The newsmagazine to watch

war in Afghanistan going.

The Pakistanis did deny that they were supplying arms, though it was no more than a pretence. Senior guerrilla commanders admitted that the blueprint for the attack on Jalalabad had been submitted to them by none else than Major General Hamid Gul, the powerful chief of the Pakistani directorate of inter-services intelligence. Also, scores of western and Pakistani newsmen escorted by the Mujahedin to the battlefield from Peshawar reported in graphic detail the massive supply operation run from Pakistani soil, with the open involvement of some Kabul spokesmen alleged that Pakistani troops had formed the third echelon of the attack on Jalalabad and had manned the Mujahedin's communications network.

As evidence last fortnight they produced at a press conference two "officers" of the Pakistani military intelligence—"Havildar-Major" Mohammed Ashraf, 25, and Corporal Mohammed Afzal, 26. Afzal sat nervously through the press conference, bleating occasionally like a lamb on its way to the slaughterhouse. But Ashraf, said to belong to 27 Baluch was garrulous, volunteered the information that he had been given a double promotion from lance-corporal after he had managed the defection of two Indian Sikh soldiers to Pakistan. He also claimed he was part of a subversive group led by Lt-Colonel Mohammed Aslam. Ashraf's enthusiasm invited scepticism. Newsmen at the press conference pointed out that the two men, even if Pakistani soldiers, were much too junior and caught far away from the main battle-zone. Yet, the Afghan Government had scored a propaganda victory of sorts.

But the final battle was yet to be joined. Information coming in from Peshawar indicated that the rebels had decided on a two-dimensional strategy depending on which way the battle for Jalalabad went. If the city fell soon, they would launch an all-out offensive on Kabul, ignoring everything else, including the northern stronghold of Mazar-i-Sharif which, it is speculated, is the PDPA Government's fallback position. In case Jalalabad held out they would increase the pressure on Kabul by doing what they are best at: hit-and-run attacks.

The Government says it is prepared for that. "I cannot guarantee anything after my own death. But as long as I am alive Kabul will not fall," said a defiant Lt-General Mohammed Hakim, the mayor of Kabul and a member of the PDPA's military committee. experts too think it will prove bly expensive to take Kabul by nless there are large-scale defec- nd desertions not just from the army but also from the armed ranks of the PDPA.

On current reckoning, that seems unlikely. Which means that Afghanistan is condemned to a fratricidal war unparalleled in modern history, one that could ultimately overshadow Korea, Congo, Cambodia and even Vietnam in its cruelty. If that is to be prevented, an all-out international effort is required, involving the UN and perhaps even the Non-Aligned Movement. But with the superpowers deciding to barter Afghan lives at the altar of their global interests the prospects for the hapless nation seem, at best, grim.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA in Afghanistan

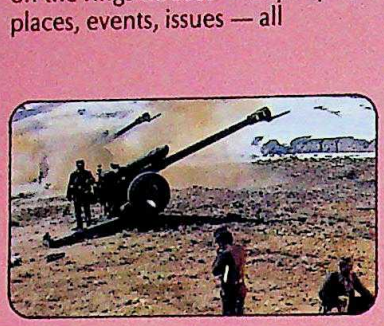
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

PLAY GO NEWSTRACKING THROUGH APRIL

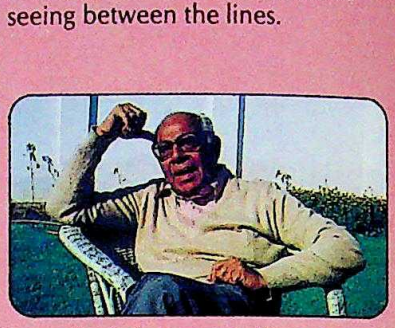
Even after you've heard about it all and read about it all — see it all on India's first newsmagazine on video cassette — *Newstrack*.

Press the play button and you're on the ringside seat — to people, places, events, issues — all covered incisively like on no other medium. And you get your own insight.

No wonder more and more people are going Newstracking; because there is no substitute to seeing between the lines.



Afghanistan: On the spot report from Kabul on the Soviet pullout aftermath.



Ram Jethmalani: Ace-criminal lawyer cross-examined on the controversies triggered off by him.

Haji Mastan: Top don reveals the mechanics of the underworld, blow by blow.

Child Labour: Exploited at work, deprived of the freedom to be children: burdened with premature adulthood.

Zoonie: Muazaffar Ali's multi-crore film is being made in a highly unique way in Kashmir. Dimple digs into her unusual role.

Available on subscription. See attached card for special offers.

HINDUS & SIKHS

Cowerin

THEY came as the victo
came as the vanquished.
more than 500 years th
been an inseparable part of A
tan's chequered history, formi
tinctive motif in the country's
ethnic tapestry. But today
assailed by doubts and fears, t
since the partition of the
subcontinent in 1947.

Statistically they form the bulk of the 1 per cent 'others' in predominantly Muslim Afghanistan. But the 50,000-odd Hindus and Sikhs constitute one of the most prosperous sections of Afghan society, dominating foreign trade and the money exchange business. "Without our Hindu and Sikh brothers, we wouldn't know how to count our money," says Ismatullah Mu
former guerrilla commander
har, now on the Governmen

The Hindus and the Sikh
divided into several categor
pioneers were adventurers fro
who came to this primitive
centuries ago and settled dow
nessmen. The second strea
brought as slaves, the booty o
the various marauders who s
Indo-Gangetic plains through
ber. Later, many Sikh Gurus, b
with Guru Nanak Dev visited
stan leaving behind followers
verts. More came with the Briti
19th century. And, finally, can
stream from Pakistan's North-
Frontier Province—these wer
who preferred to cross the Dur
into the safety of a tolerant Afghanistan rather than risk the Punjab of 1947.

Till a few months ago there were large numbers of Sikhs and Hindus in towns like Kandahar, Khost and, most of all, Jalalabad. But now the fear of a war in which they have never been directly involved has brought many of them cowering in fear to Kabul. Though almost entirely Muslim, Afghan society has been secular in its approach to people of Indian origin. Barring an election dispute that led to the gunning down of 23 Sikhs at the gurdwara in Karte Parwan, Kabul's prosperous, Sikh-dominated locality: "Who isn't scared of gunpowder and bombs? But is there any other place we can go to? This is our home."

But many have been looking for a home away from home. At a Monday-morning congregation in the onyx-lined hall of the Karte Parwan gurdwara last fortnight as a thousand-odd men and women prayed, the atmosphere was grim. "In such times of difficulty we can only think of India," said Nasib Singh, a dry fruit merchant. tonnes of fresh meat.

Those of Indian origin could of course legitimately complain about the way South Block has ignored Kabul over the past few months. None of the six top diplomats, including the ambassador, who left in the recent past has been replaced. The embassy is reduced to a skeleton staff led by four diplomats. This hardly helps India express any solidarity with the Najibullah Government. Nor does it do much to reassure the increasingly panicky Hindus and Sikhs.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

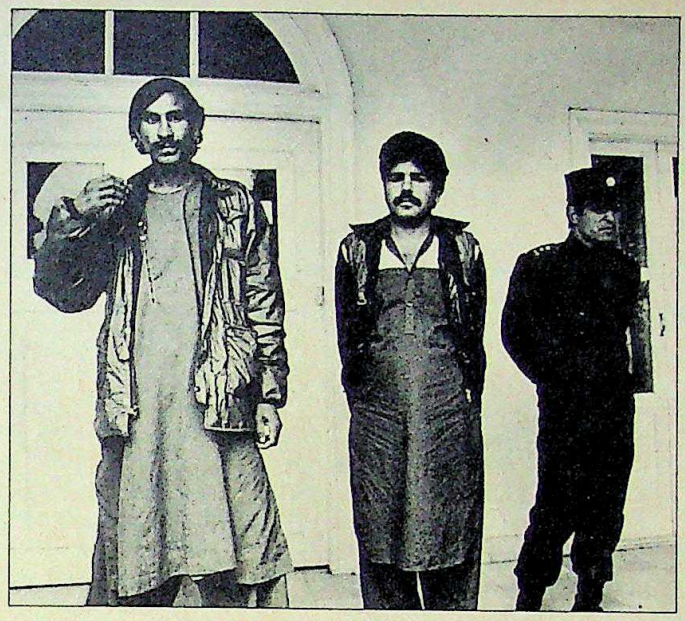
ington, and posting a senior diplomat as a special ambassador to Peshawar in partial recognition of the rebel regime. "We ought to break relations (with the Najib Government). It is no longer a government that can claim to control territory," said Lawrence Eagleburger, the new US deputy secretary of state.

The diplomatic shadow-boxing underscored the fact that while the foreign powers had withdrawn their men from Afghan soil they had not stopped pulling the strings. Even as they continued to complain self-righteously of western, Saudi and Pakistani interference, the Soviets were every day pouring in modern weaponry and ammunition. One giant Ilyushin-76 after another approached Kabul firing magnesium flares to deflect the guerrillas' heat-seeking missiles.

Experts were already calling it the biggest ever airlift of civilian and military supplies. In two hours on one morning last fortnight it was possible to count at least 21 Il-76s and 11 AN-12s landing at Kabul. Each Ilyushin can bring in 40 tonnes of supplies in 55 minutes from Tashkent and even the AN-12, with its 20-tonne payload, is not to be scoffed at.

There was also not much doubt about what the hundreds of green crates in each aircraft contained. With characteristic nonchalance, Vorontsov warned newsmen who wanted rides on the Tashkent-Kabul Il-76 ferries that they might come out covered with wheat flour. Still, he did not even make a pretence of denying that the Soviets were supplying arms that kept the war in Afghanistan going.

The Pakistanis did deny that they were supplying arms, though it was no more than a pretence. Senior guerrilla commanders admitted that the blueprint for the attack on Jalalabad had been submitted to them by none else than Major General Hamid Gul, the powerful chief of the Pakistani directorate of inter-services intelligence. Also, scores of western and Pakistani newsmen escorted by the Mujahedin to the battlefield from Peshawar reported in graphic detail the massive supply operation run from Pakistani soil, with the open involvement of some



■ **Mohammed Ashraf and Mohammed Afzal, alleged Pakistani spies (top); and first planeload of Indian supplies at Kabul**

Pakistani defence personnel. And official Kabul spokesmen alleged that Pakistani troops had formed the third echelon of the attack on Jalalabad and had manned the Mujahedin's communications network.

As evidence last fortnight they produced at a press conference two "officers" of the Pakistani military intelligence—"Havildar-Major" Mohammed Ashraf, 25, and Corporal Mohammed Afzal, 26. Afzal sat nervously through the press conference, bleating occasionally like a lamb on its way to the slaughterhouse. But Ashraf, said to belong to 27 Baluch was garrulous, volunteered the information that he had been given a double promotion from lance-corporal after he had managed the defection of two Indian Sikh soldiers to Pakistan. He also claimed he was part of a subversive group led by Lt-Colonel Mohammed Aslam. Ashraf's enthusiasm invited scepticism. Newsmen at the press conference pointed out that the two men, even if Pakistani soldiers, were much too junior and caught far away from the main battle-zone. Yet, the Afghan Government had scored a propaganda victory of sorts.

But the final battle was yet to be joined. Information coming in from Peshawar indicated that the rebels had decided on a two-dimensional strategy depending on which way the battle for Jalalabad went. If the city fell soon, they would launch an all-out offensive on Kabul, ignoring everything else, including the northern stronghold of Mazar-i-Sharif which, it is speculated, is the PDPA Government's fallback position. In case Jalalabad held out they would increase the pressure on Kabul by doing what they are best at: hit-and-run attacks.

The Government says it is prepared for that. "I cannot guarantee anything after my own death. But as long as I am alive Kabul will not fall," said a defiant Lt-General Mohammed Hakim, the mayor of Kabul and a member of the PDPA's military committee. Military experts too think it will prove impossibly expensive to take Kabul by force unless there are large-scale defections and desertions not just from the Afghan army but also from the armed ranks of the PDPA.

On current reckoning, that seems unlikely. Which means that Afghanistan is condemned to a fratricidal war unparalleled in modern history, one that could ultimately overshadow Korea, Congo, Cambodia and even Vietnam in its cruelty. If that is to be prevented, an all-out international effort is required, involving the UN and perhaps even the Non-Aligned Movement. But with the superpowers deciding to barter Afghan lives at the altar of their global interests the prospects for the hapless nation seem, at best, grim.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA in Afghanistan

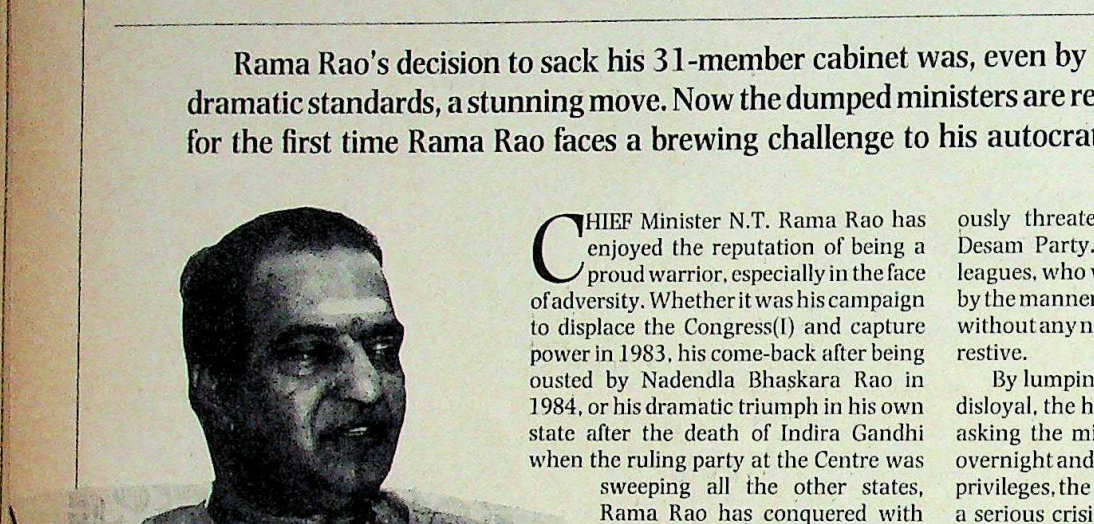
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

N.T. RAMA RAO

Facing the Recoil

Rama Rao's decision to sack his 31-member cabinet was, even by his own melodramatic standards, a stunning move. Now the dumped ministers are regrouping, and for the first time Rama Rao faces a brewing challenge to his autocratic leadership.



CHIEF Minister N.T. Rama Rao has enjoyed the reputation of being a proud warrior, especially in the face of adversity. Whether it was his campaign to displace the Congress(I) and capture power in 1983, his come-back after being ousted by Nadendla Bhaskara Rao in 1984, or his dramatic triumph in his own state after the death of Indira Gandhi when the ruling party at the Centre was sweeping all the other states, Rama Rao has conquered with characteristic elan.

Today, the warrior has become a worrier. The fall-out of his decision to sack the entire 31-member cabinet in February and bring in a fresh lot of 23 is seriously threatening to split the Telugu Desam Party. Rama Rao's cabinet colleagues, who were shocked and surprised by the manner in which he removed them without any notice or cause, have become restive.

By lumping together the corrupt, the disloyal, the honest and the loyal, and by asking the ministers to pack their bags overnight and vacate their residences and privileges, the chief minister has provoked a serious crisis for himself.

Except for his son-in-law—then health minister D. Venkateswara Rao—nobody had suspected a thing. When the chief minister summoned the ministers to his house and asked them to resign on February 8, they did not imagine—five who were on tour were summarily

G.S. KUMAR

INTERVIEW

"The people are my gods"

ANDHRA Pradesh Chief Minister Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao is a man of two worlds—films and politics. The latter is these days under siege with party legislators questioning his political manoeuvres. Last fortnight Rama Rao spoke to Senior Correspondent AMARNATH K. MENON *about how he plans to tackle his various problems.*

Q. What do you say to the demand of your partymen for internal democracy?

A. There is no party more democratic than the Telugu Desam. There are many levels of office-bearers to take care of this. What more democracy do they want? Is it to encourage splits and groupism? They want something else. They do not want democracy. They want ministries.

Q. Are you disappointed that some of your MLAs do not believe in your kind of democracy?

A. It's for party workers to acquit themselves properly. In our party there's recognition and reward for hard work.

Q. Do you visualise any challenge to the Telugu Desam in the coming polls?

A. No. The people are my gods, the real strength of the party. As long as the party dedicates itself to the people, we'll face no opposition.

Q. The Telugu Desam's margin of victory over the Congress(I) has fallen everywhere except in Telengana since 1983. Why?

A. There are many reasons. It's been the Congress culture to influence voters with money and manpower.

Q. One of the successful programmes of your government is the Rs 2-a-kg rice scheme. Are you introducing any mechanism to ensure smooth supply in the districts considering the number of complaints?

A. Yes, we are forming food committees for the purpose. We are supplying 97 lakh families with food. We are also going to build 16 lakh houses in seven years. That is my service to the poorest of the poor. We have started four universities—Open University, Telugu University, University of Health Sciences and the Padmavathi Women's University. We have provided for 30 per cent reservation in jobs for women.

Q. You have not been on a long tour

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sacked—that the spring cleaning exercise up Rama Rao's saffron sleeve would prove fatal for them. In fact, they emerged smiling from the meeting, thinking that the procuring of resignations was the chief minister's way of showing that he was in full control and that it was intended to enable him to undertake a reshuffle. But the adroit National Front chairman was performing before a wider audience: he was telling the country that he mattered more than anyone or any issue in the Telugu Desam Party.

To begin with, Rama Rao's decision paid off and drew applause. For, no chief minister at any time in any state has ever displayed the courage to effect such a total sweep.

Initially, even the sacked ministers maintained good cheer. However, once the realisation dawned that the sackings were a grim and permanent reality and not a short-lived political fantasy being played out by the actor-turned-politician, they were crestfallen. Some wept, several were nagged by their spouses for displaying such slavish loyalty to Rama Rao, and others sulked and stayed at home refusing to meet visitors.

However, despite their depression they reacted cautiously, fearing that an open protest would deprive them of the chance of getting party tickets in the coming general elections. But they did not take the harsh decision as complaisantly as the chief minister initially believed they would.

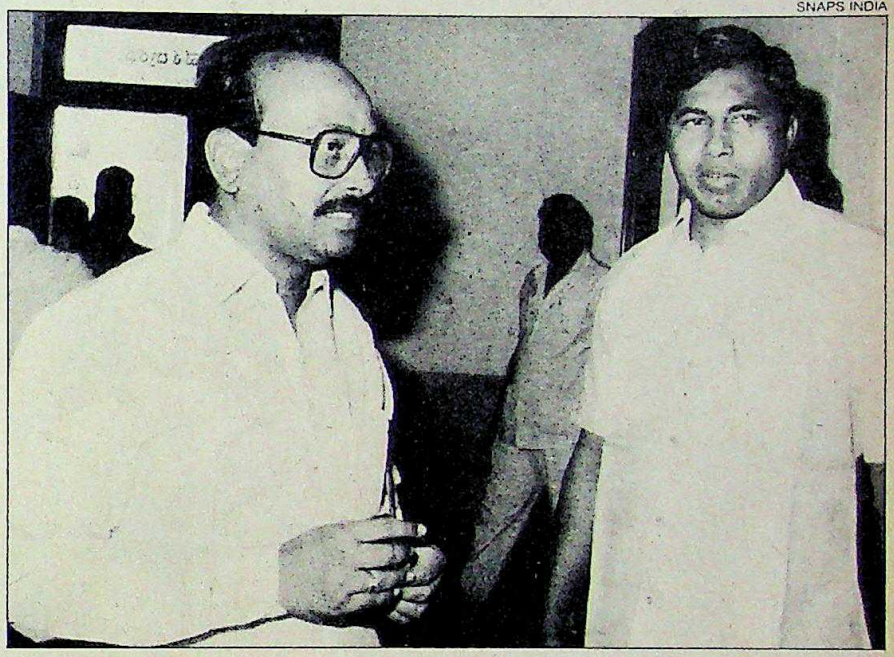
They began to do a slow burn. Some complained to the Telugu Desam Parliamentary Party leader P. Upendra and former party general secretary and Rama Rao's son-in-law N. Chandrababu Naidu—both members of the policy-making politburo—about the lack of democracy within the Telugu Desam Party. Upendra and Naidu tried to persuade the chief minister to take some ministers back before the new ministers were sworn in. Rama Rao would, however, only agree to give them party posts and the chairmanships of state-owned corporations so that they could continue to enjoy the facilities of car and telephone.

FUMES former agriculture minister Vasantha Nageswara Rao: "Rama Rao's only interest was to show to the world that he is a great dictator. He is looking for international recognition like Pamella Bordes." Nageswara Rao was the first dissident to resign from the state Assembly protesting against the chief minister's style of running the party and the government. Interestingly, he figures among those who were not offered any alternative post by the chief minister.

Most of those who were offered new posts readily took them up. Ashok Gajapathi Raju was made party general secretary while three other former ministers—P. Indra Reddy, G. Muddukrishnama Naidu and Kala Venkat Rao—were appointed to the newly-created posts of regional secretaries. Others grabbed the posts of corporation chiefs. However, the former irrigation minister K.E. Krishnamurthy declined the office of party vice-president and another former minister K. Jana Reddy refused to be a member of the politburo.

Rama Rao's calculations that the former ministers could pose no threat floundered. The three principal dissidents—Krishnamurthy, Jana Reddy and Vasantha Nageswara Rao—along with other MLAs, met frequently and prepared a blueprint to launch a counter campaign, demanding internal democracy in the party and protection of the self-respect of its members. They decided to fight from within, and sought a meeting of the Telugu Desam Legislature Party before March 15.

SNAPS INDIA



Nageswara Rao (left) with Jana Reddy

Rama Rao refused to budge from his position, but began to meet party MLAs for about two-and-a-half hours every afternoon in small groups, each representing one of the 23 districts in the state. He listened to their problems and assured them that funds would flow for the development of their constituencies. As one legislator put it: "It was Rama Rao's way of finding out who would continue to support him and whether the person deserved the party ticket again." Said another: "His assurance about funds must have been forgotten as soon as we left the room."

The meetings helped the chief minister to foil the plans of the dissident former ministers, who were trying to play the numbers game to embarrass him inside the state Assembly during the budget session. Meanwhile, Chandrababu Naidu

of the districts for nearly a year. Do you have any plans for a tour?

A. We have decided to revive the *Praja Sadassu* (mass contact sessions) from April 10 till May 15.

Q. You were against MLAs holding two posts and refused to make them chairpersons of state-owned corporations. Why are you doing it now?

A. When they were elected they were new. In four years they have gained experience. They have understood the problems of the corporations.

Q. What plans do you have to reach out to the new crop of young voters?

A. We have already reached out to them. We lowered the voting age at the time of the elections to the mandals. Youth is our strength. They will not sell themselves for a few glittering coins. Democracy is for them and not for a few at the top.

Q. How will you describe the future of the Telugu Desam?

A. Wonderful, as long as it dedicates itself to the people. We must make sacrifices. I hope my successor will also do the same thing.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and Telugu Desam Rajya Sabha member Renuka Choudhary managed to persuade the Speaker of the Assembly G. Narayana Rao not to extend the budget session beyond March 31. This was done in order to pre-empt any attempt by the dissidents to garner support and vote down the demands of some ministers. In the meantime, the number of MLAs rallying behind the dissident former ministers, claimed to be 60 at one stage, began to dwindle, and it soon became evident that a change of strategy was called for.

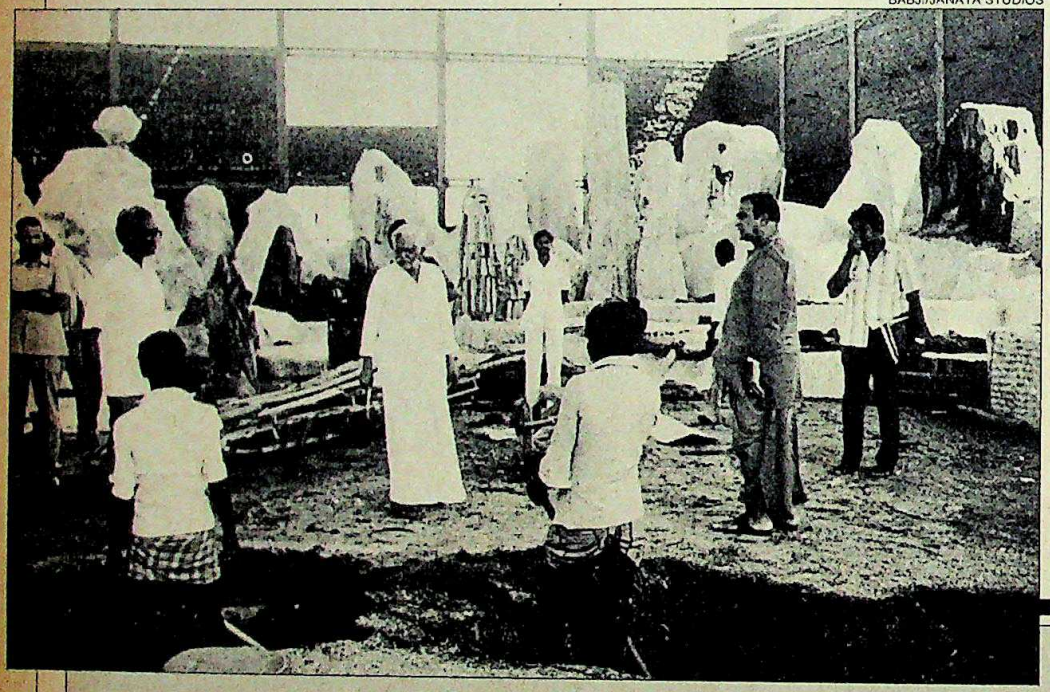
But even before the three dissident ex-ministers could draw up an alternative strategy, trouble erupted, with the usually soft-spoken Venkateswara Rao turning belligerent and engaging Nageswara Rao in a slanging match.

VENKATESWARA Rao, who had supported the decision for a total sweep to enable the chief minister to revamp the party, began to accuse Nageswara Rao, a former Congress(I) activist, of being a party hopper who had misused his office to get medical college seats for his daughters and a son-in-law in Karnataka. Nageswara Rao countered by listing other ex-ministers including Venkateswara Rao who had manoeuvred admissions in medical colleges for sons, daughters and other relatives.

As the vituperative exchange escalated, Rama Rao had the party serve notice on both to explain their behaviour. While Nageswara Rao drafted a letter to the chief minister, Venkateswara Rao mobilised 23 of the dropped ministers to pledge their loyalty to Rama Rao. Said ex-minister N. Yethiraja Rao: "How can anyone accuse the Telugu Desam of wanting in internal democracy when the Cabinet constituted 39 subcommittees in four years to discuss issues and present options before the state cabinet?"

Isolated by the loyalty show, the three ex-ministers decided against a showdown and took a decision to stagger their resignations in order to stimulate an effective campaign against the chief minister. Nageswara Rao waited for the party's reaction to his letter in which he even asked for Rama Rao's permission to resign from the state Assembly if his demand for a meeting of the legislature party to discuss internal democracy could not be upheld. He asserted that just as democracy should not lead to uninhibited criticism, discipline should not lead to dictatorship. Even as the party disciplinary committee decided to ex-

BABJI/JANATA STUDIOS



NTR at his studio: pre-poll preparations

BRAHMARISHI VISWAMITRA

The Come-back Vehicle

FOR years, he played gods on the silver screen. And thereby entrenched himself in the collective consciousness of the people of Andhra Pradesh. Now, after a break of six years, Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao, who has so far acted in 295 films, is returning to the celluloid world. He is playing the fascinating role of the sage Viswamitra in the film *Brahmarishi Viswamitra*.

The chief minister has much admiration for the rishi whom he has been dreaming of portraying for the last 10 years. "Unlike other rishis," he told INDIA TODAY, "Viswamitra shared his light and wisdom with the rest of the world."

This might be the most demanding role Rama Rao has acted and he will have to draw heavily from the lessons he learnt during his glorious film career. For, Viswamitra was as complex as any character could be: he was Ram's teacher, the creator of a *swarg* for Trishanku, the sage who tests Harishchandra and gave the *gayatri mantra* to the world. Also, as a 94-year-old man, he fell in love with the 16-year-old Menaka, resulting in the birth of Shakuntala.

The chief minister saw several similarities between Viswamitra and himself: the sage was as much of a gritty fighter as he is and more, the sage was, according to Rama Rao, "the founder of the Andhra Kingdom".

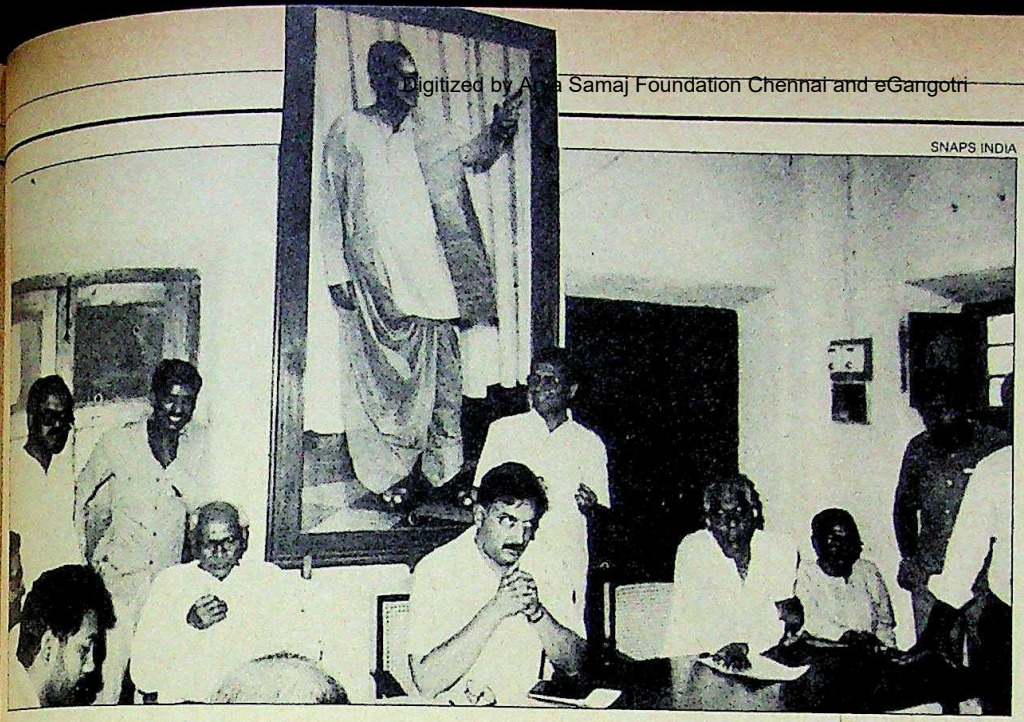
Rama Rao has, however, made certain that no one else in the film steals his thunder. Much of the two-and-a-half hour film footage will be on Viswamitra himself, and no other character, including Menaka, will be shown for more than 10 minutes.

This will be the third Rama Rao film to be readied for a pre-poll release. *Chandasasanudu* (The iron man), was made with the 1983 assembly elections in mind but could ultimately be released only on May 27, 1983, his birthday. And *Potluri Veerabrahmendra Swami Charitra* was released before the 1984 Lok Sabha elections. Both the films were money-spinners.

Now following the general elections, Rama Rao aims at emerging on the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



SNAPS INDIA

Gajapathi Raju (centre) announcing Nageswara Rao's expulsion

pel Nageswara Rao for "engineering defections", he handed in his resignation. Said he: "I resigned to prove to the chief minister and his sons-in-law that I am not talking of internal democracy because I was removed from the ministry and to show to the people that I was not after power."

Rama Rao tried to foster the impression that he was steering clear of controversy, and an effort was made to show that Nageswara Rao had been expelled by a four-man committee without seeking the chief minister's approval. This was also an effort at a display of internal democracy. In an interview (*see box*), Rama Rao asserted angrily: "They don't understand the meaning of democracy. There is no party more democratic than the Telugu Desam. There are many tiers to take care of this in the party. They want something else. They do not want democracy. They want ministries."

THE chief minister's confidence stems from the singular fact of his being the principal vote-winner of the Telugu Desam Party. The situation in the state is, however, quite different from what it was when he first stormed to power in 1983. Then, his promises and the disenchantment with the Congress(I) were important factors in his favour. Now, the Telugu Desam will be judged solely by its performance. Moreover, the actor's charisma has frayed. Voting trends have shown that except in the Telengana region, the margin of victory of the Telugu Desam over the Congress(I) has come down steadily. With Rama Rao not having travelled at length through the districts for nearly a year, the barometer of his current popularity will be the response to his roadshow when he undertakes to go on tour in the near future.

In keeping with character, the Telugu Desam chief is banking heavily on his film *Brahmarishi Viswamitra (see box)*, being made simultaneously in Telugu and Hindi, to boost his campaign for the coming elections. Several dissidents, however, believe that the film may bomb. Says one: "His charisma is gone. The film will boomerang." The dissident leaders are planning to step up their campaign in the districts "to educate the voters how Rama Rao runs the Government as a close-knit family affair". Krishnamurthy and Jana Reddy have small power bases in their native districts and can canvass the support of the youthful mandal presidents and other Telugu Desam activists. In fact, Jana Reddy's mentor. Andhra Pradesh Public Service Commission member K.V. Satyanarayana, who had helped Rama Rao select candidates in 1983 but fell out with him two years ago, is believed to be backing the dissidents.

The dissidents are confident that they can convince the electorate about the chief minister's autocratic ways by fanning out into the districts to talk to voters in their individual spheres of influence. Some supporters of Rama Rao admit that this will adversely affect the Telugu Desam's prospects in the next elections. "The staggered resignation scheme, the coming out with valid issues, and some allegations are bound to stick," confesses one such supporter. Even the friendly political parties see in Rama Rao's recent decisions a serious threat to the future of the Telugu Desam. "There is deep mistrust and we cannot rule out sabotage on a large scale in the coming elections," says a BJP leader. And state Janata Dal President P. Babul Reddy cautions: "Rama Rao must realise that Andhra politics will not accommodate his arrogance any more."

Significantly, the Congress(I) with its internal squabbles has kept off the Telugu Desam dissidents though two of the troika—Krishnamurthy and Nageswara Rao—are former members of the Congress(I). The dissidents in turn have been unable to decide whether to ally with those like Mudragada Padmanabham who quit the party and the Assembly or go to the Congress(I). "We have a political past and have to think in terms of our future in politics unlike Rama Rao who threatens to return to Madras," explains one MLA.

The first definite indication of where Rama Rao now stands will come when he begins touring the districts. Those like former Telugu Desam MLC Madasu Gangadharam warn: "The Chaitanya Ratham cannot rumble along the roads in many districts again. The people will prevent him from going ahead." If that happens, Rama Rao's tryst with the Telugus and his future in Andhra politics might come to a crucial cross-roads.

—AMARNATH K. MENON

national scene in a big way as chairman of the National Front. And with the objective of winning over the Hindi-speaking populace, *Viswamitra* is also being made in Hindi. "This is a national project," said Rama Rao. "This is a national picture."

Viswamitra is going to be a strictly family affair. It is being produced by the chief minister's eldest son Jayakrishna, distributed by his second son Harikrishna and picturised by his third son Mohanakrishna. Another of his sons, noted actor Balakrishna, will play the triple roles of Dushyanta, Harishchandra and Ram.

The money from *Viswamitra* is, according to Rama Rao, to go to the Abhyudaya Trust created to propagate his thoughts and beliefs. Wherever the money goes, the film will be seen, ultimately, as a propagation of Rama Rao's ambitions.

—AMARNATH K. MENON

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAJASTHAN

Heading For A Compromise

Dissidents mount pressure on the chief minister

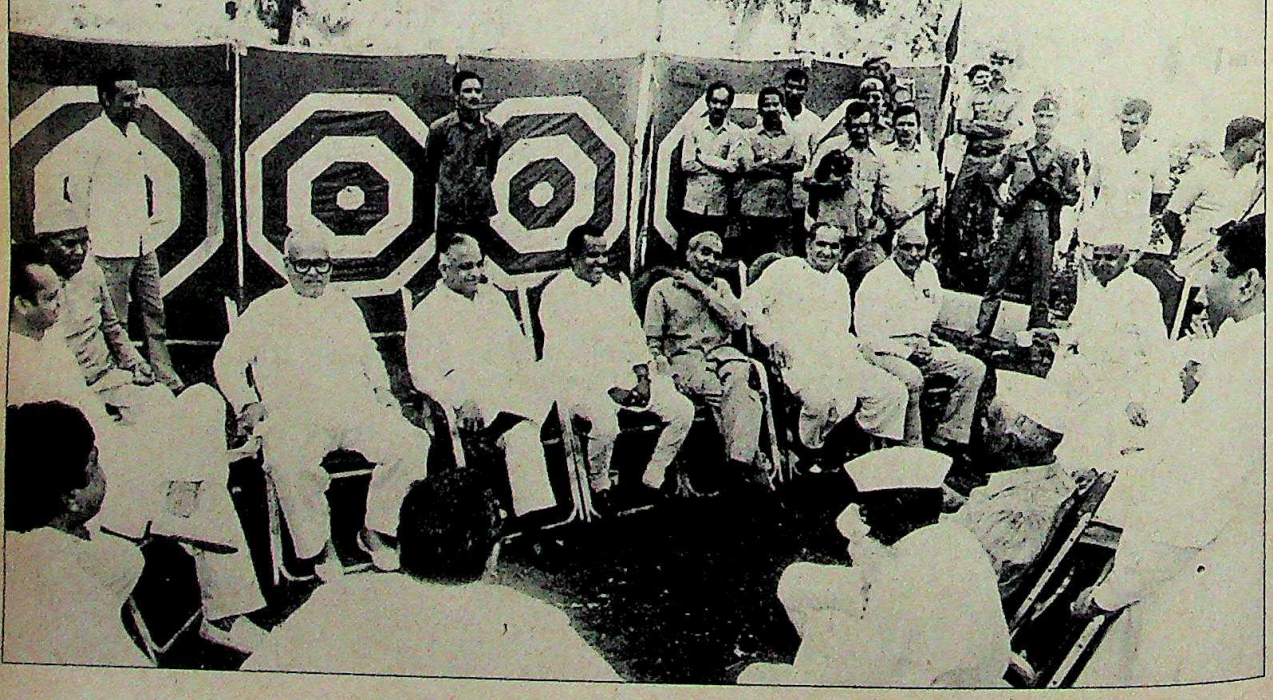
THE war within the ruling party, now winding down in Gujarat and Bihar, flared up in Rajasthan last fortnight, turning into an ugly fight to the finish between the political haves and the have-nots of the Congress(I), a grab for the political spoils that come with being in office.

When the three-member Central team led by Union Communications Minister Bir Bahadur Singh arrived in Jaipur to try and sort out matters, the feud escalated into physical violence. Several Congress(I) workers were injured, as die-hard supporters of the beleaguered Chief Minister Shiv Charan Mathur and his equally strong detractors led by the former chief ministers Harideo Joshi, Hira Lal Deopura and former AICC(I) general secretary Naval Kishore Sharma fought and jostled with one another right under the noses of the Central emissaries.

Mathur: temporary reprieve

And in what seemed to be a Bihar-type re-enactment of the defiance of the party high command, the dissidents forced the adjournment of the state Assembly by boycotting it, and vowed they would not relent until Mathur and the PCC(I) chief Ashok Gehlot were replaced. The defiance turned into revolt when the dissident MLAs, even at the risk of losing their assembly seats, ignored the party whip's order to attend the legislature. Said Bhairon Singh Shekhawat, leader of the Opposition, with characteristic sarcasm: "We have a very stable government. We get a new chief minister every year. And we can trust the Congress rebels to provide us some amusement if nothing else."

The dissidents also included state ministers. Eight of Mathur's 23 cabinet members openly aligned themselves against the chief minister. And the 14-month-old Mathur Ministry would have fallen had it not been for the manipulative abilities of Bir Bahadur Singh. His tactic was to sympathise with the rebels and persuade them not to allow their grievances against Gehlot and Mathur to turn into a revolt



Central team with legislators in Jaipur

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

against the party's Central leadership. And he extracted from them the promise that they would do nothing precipitous, in return assuring them that their complaints would be submitted directly to Rajiv Gandhi along with recommendations for several changes.

In essence what the Central team managed to obtain was not a truce between the warring factions, but a reprieve during which more negotiations could be held. Asserted Deopura: "The situation will improve only after a change in the chief ministership and the party leadership in the state. There is no government. Corruption is everywhere, and the administration is paralysed." But Mathur stoutly defends his government: "In a democratic party like ours, problems and difficulties can be sorted out through dialogue."

Ironically, Mathur was only receiving a taste of the bitter medicine he fed to Joshi last year when he ousted him in a sudden political coup with the support of Gehlot, Buta Singh and Rajesh Pilot after campaigning that Joshi had mismanaged the drought relief operations and had lost the support of his own party.

Fourteen months later, the wheel has come full circle. Mathur's opponents now charge him with having lost support. Says dissident MLA Damodar Das Acharya: "We have exhausted our patience. The Congress' credibility in the state has touched rock bottom during the last year and we will see to it the leadership is changed for the benefit of the party."

The seeds for the revolt against Mathur were sown on the very day he was sworn in as chief minister last year. He had neither the majority in the 115-member legislature party nor a clean reputation. Within four months the political cracks began to deepen.

INITIALLY he sailed smoothly due to support from the Centre and Gehlot. But soon, Mathur began to see Gehlot as a danger too. The two fell out last September over the selection of a candidate to head the zila parishad in Jodhpur. Gehlot's candidate was defeated. And the anti-Mathur forces were jubilant over the vertical split in the chief minister's camp. It gave them the perfect opportunity to start their own campaign against Mathur.

The dissidents fired their first salvo in November when Deopura publicly demanded a change in leadership—a virtual ultimatum to the high command. The anti-Mathur forces also demanded the removal of Gehlot. And to prove that they meant it, they boycotted the PCC(I) meeting held on November 29. They carried their war to New Delhi, where they collectively lobbied with Central leaders including Rajiv Gandhi, Buta Singh, Sheila Dixit and AICC(I) General Secretary Ghulam Nabi Azad. But nothing changed.

So, at the end of January, over 50 MLAs confabulated at a hotel in Jaipur and decided to launch an offensive against Mathur and Gehlot. An 11-member committee including Joshi and Deopura was set up as an assault company. Mathur entreated the Centre to step in, but the response was lukewarm. Rajiv had been warned by the very leaders who had backed Mathur's coup against Joshi that his popularity was waning. The prime minister tested this personally during a two-day visit to Rajasthan in February when he met the party's MLAs, office-bearers and zila parishad chiefs. An overwhelming majority of them told the prime minister bluntly that Mathur had been a bad bet all along.

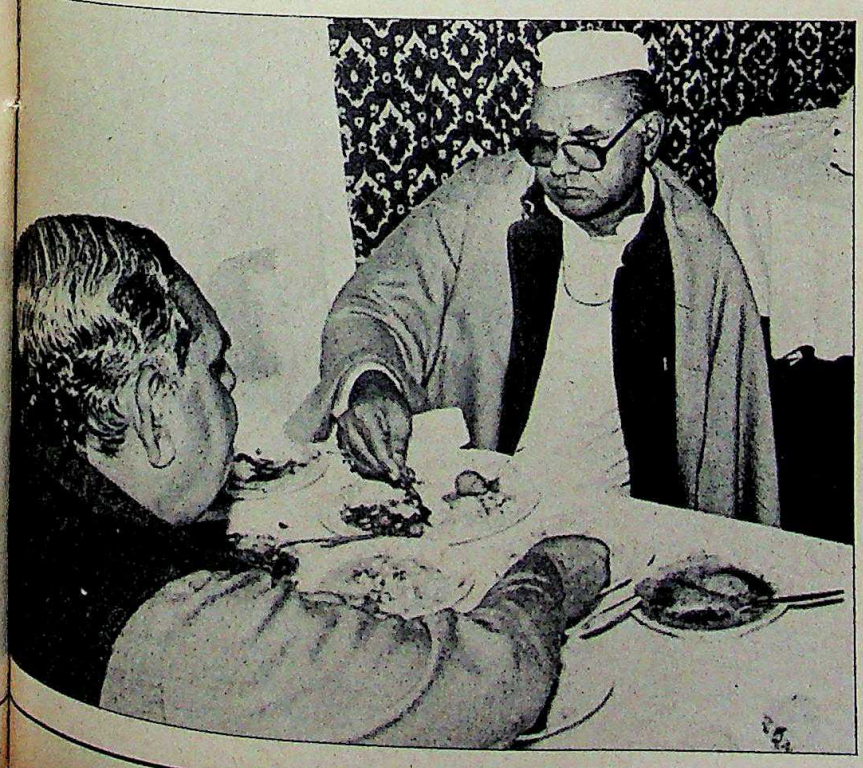
On January 16, the dissidents increased the pressure by boycotting the Assembly. And when Shekhawat proposed a no-confidence motion against Mathur's Government, only 38 Congress MLAs were present as against the Opposition's 58. The ministry was saved by a quick adjournment of the house.

It was at this stage that the Centre panicked. A Congress government in an important Hindi heartland state faced for the first time the danger of being toppled by an opposition no-confidence motion with the tacit support of Congress legislators. Central observers Bir Bahadur Singh, L.P. Sahi, minister of state for agriculture, and Sheila Kaul were rushed to the state. Said Bir Bahadur Singh after he returned to Delhi: "There is no serious problem. We are such a big family, minor skirmishes are bound to take place."

But privately he let it be known that this was more than a minor skirmish. What the Centre has so far been able to achieve is a temporary quick-fix. It has bought time. But the rebels, emboldened by the Bihar and Gujarat examples and sensing the weakening of the Centre, are in no mood to be cajoled. They have already drawn political blood and they want more. The Centre is equally determined to save face by not accepting a chief minister from among their ranks. There is talk of a compromise candidate. But most of the compromising, it seems, will have to be done by the Centre.

—PRABHU CHAWLA with bureau reports

The Central team of observers has managed to buy time for the chief minister, but the dissidents are determined to oust him.



Sharma (left) with Joshi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

UAD leaders at the unity talks in Patiala: leading nowhere

AKALI POLITICS

On a Collision Course

Unity efforts flounder once again

AKALI politics in Punjab alternates between fission and fusion. Colliding Akali factions have over the years directed their anger against each other rather than at the Central Government. Now an attempted fusion has created as explosive a reaction.

The catalyst for the fusion experiment was the Centre's recent package of measures, seen as a possible precursor to lifting of President's Rule. A united Akali Dal could legitimately stake a claim to power in the state and join the National Front in the coming elections. But these hopes were belied by subsequent events which left the Akali Dal and the equally important Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) more fractionated than ever before.

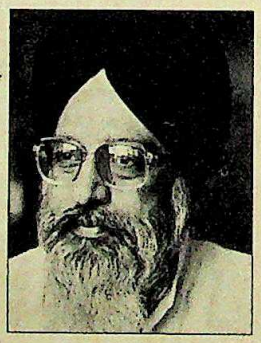
Before unity efforts began there were three major factions. The two largest were the United Akali Dal (UAD) headed by Jagdev Singh Talwandi and the Akali Dal (Longowal) controlled by former chief minister Surjit Singh Barnala. The third—the Akali Dal(M)—owes allegiance to the imprisoned former police officer Simranjit Singh Mann and is led, in his absence, by a seven-member presidium including Baba Joginder Singh, father of Bhindranwale.

The first unity attempt had Barnala travelling to Coimbatore to make peace with arch-enemy Parkash Singh Badal, who, along with Talwandi and imprisoned SGPC President Gurcharan Singh Tohra, controls the UAD. At the same time Barnala's lieutenant, Balwant Singh, talked to Talwandi. The formula hammered out was to make Talwandi president of a united party, to be assisted by a presidium comprising Tohra, Badal, and Amarinder Singh (from the UAD) and Barnala, Balwant Singh and Tota Singh from the Akali Dal (L). But Barnala's insistence on a written agreement from Tohra and Badal angered Talwandi and the formula failed.

The second attempt had Amarinder Singh acting as the shepherd. According to Amarinder—who met Mann in jail in November 1988—Mann had approved Talwandi as president of a united party. Talwandi in turn announced that he would step down when Mann was released. Barnala too signed the "Panthic unity formula" drafted by Amarinder, who announced the agreement at a press conference.

But the protagonists of the unity plan had not reckoned with the smallest faction. No sooner had the unity plan been publicised than four presidium members of the Mann faction fired their broadside. "We cannot accept Talwandi as our leader. No one has any authority to talk on behalf of Mann," chorused Charanjit Singh Walia, Sucha Singh Chotepur, Ajit Singh and Gurtej Singh.

This provided Barnala an excuse to retract. "I backed out because of the violent reaction of the Mann group. I was given to understand that all three groups had agreed to come together," said he. Balwant Singh parted company with Barnala and claimed that 25 Akali Dal (L) MLAs were with him.



Manjit Singh Calcutta: Tohra's man

Meanwhile, another power struggle was being enacted in the SGPC, involving Tohra's lieutenant, SGPC Secretary Manjit Singh Calcutta, and the Acting President Harinder Singh Tarn Tarani. Supported by seven out of 12 SGPC members, Tarn Tarani dismissed Calcutta. But they had not reckoned with the power of Tohra, now under house arrest in Khalra, near Amritsar. Tohra threatened to resign if Calcutta was not reinstated. Talwandi intervened and rushed to Khalra to placate Tohra. The outcome was that Tarn Tarani lost his job and Calcutta was reinstated.

Once again the wily Tohra had demonstrated that even in prison his is a commanding presence. It is inevitable that before long he will cast a shadow on Akali politics again. But few can say whether this will cause fusion or a little more fission.

—PANKAJ PACHAURI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lufthansa lands in more lands than any other.

From A for Argentina to Z for Zaire and in 82 countries in between.

Lufthansa

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FAMILY HEALTH

GUIDE

NUTRITION IN A NUTSHELL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FAMILY HEALTH
GUIDE
COMMENTS

Now I know why my mother always said, Postman is the healthiest cooking oil for the family!

Because Postman is made from groundnuts...that's why.

In school, we learned that groundnuts were one of the richest sources of carbohydrates, proteins, vitamins and minerals ... all of them essential foods that the body needs.

So I asked my mother if that was why she always did her cooking in Postman Refined Groundnut Oil.

She said the only reason she used Postman was her mother's firm belief that it would make her family healthy and strong. Then she smiled, as my brothers and I fought over the last samosa on the plate. We were certainly healthy and energetic !

What makes Postman so healthy ?

The fact that it's made from groundnuts. Because, only a groundnut oil has the highest smoke-point of all vegetable oils. Which means that you can heat it to temperatures far above what is normally required for deep-frying. Without the oil starting to smoke.

And when an oil smokes, it's not very healthy. That's when it starts to oxidise, a process that can sometimes lead to the formation of potentially cancerous agents. Oxidation also makes the oil turn rancid, if stored. So, in fact, only Postman can be reused over and over again for frying ... safely.

Postman's high smoke-point leads to less oil absorption as well. So you can fry pakoras, samosas, kachoris, etc., that are crisp on the outside, cooked and moist inside, and totally light and non-greasy too !

Postman, it's zero-cholesterol

Yes, that's one more reason for Postman being a healthy oil, of course. It's zero-cholesterol, and good for the heart.

And naturally there's no doubt that it's also wonderful for bringing out the natural taste of goodness in all my cooking.

Now you know why I only trust Postman. Mothers ... they're always right !

Zero-cholesterol for fifty years.
POSTMAN ... naturally.

CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection. Digitized by eGangotri
Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Thirst Lift

Limca for the weight lifter
Limca for the light weight

When you're hot and thirsty after lifting weights or lifting your own weight around... reach for zero-bacteria Limca with isotonic salts to quench your thirst.

Limca®
is veri veri lime'n' lemony
SERVE CHILLED

RTIFICIALLY FLAVOURED. CONTAINS NO FRUIT JUICE OR FRUIT PULP.
THE REGISTERED TRADEMARK OF PARLE (EXPORTS) LTD., BOMBAY.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

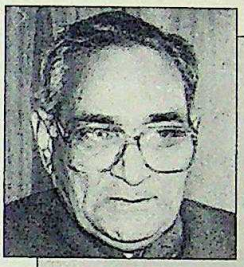
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MADHYA PRADESH

Simmering Crisis

The tendu leaf issue troubles the Government

IT is a small, not very imposing shrub, natural to the dry, deciduous forests of central India. The leaf of the tendu tree provides work to over 10 lakh people in Madhya Pradesh alone. Used for rolling beedis, the stuff of the poor man's puff is to this state what sugar is to Maharashtra. But last month, the double edge of the tendu leaf was clearly visible to Chief Minister Motilal Vora, when his predecessor Arjun Singh questioned the Government's decision to invite advance tenders for sale of leaves even before plucking had begun.



"The cooperative policy on leaves collection will be implemented, but shall be reviewed at every step."
MOTILAL VORA

PRAKASH HATVALNE

"(The inviting of tenders) is a camouflaged attempt to give contractors a pretext to enter the forests."
ARJUN SINGH

The stakes are indeed high. The jungles of Madhya Pradesh produce 60 lakh bags of tendu leaves annually—65 per cent of the country's total production—worth Rs 250 crore. The entire collection is completed in about 50 days during the summer, before the onset of the monsoon. But the 1,500-odd contractors dealing in tendu leaves rake in a profit of over Rs 50 crore. "It was the highest profit margin for any trade," says Ajit Jogi, Congress(I) MP and chairman of an official committee to look after the tendu policy.

The word policy, however, is only a euphemism for a change with every turn of the political merry-go-round in the state. Whenever Arjun Singh has been in power, he has attempted cooperativisation of the trade. When Vora replaces him at the helm, he tries to block it.

The latest change is according to pattern. In 1988, after his return, Singh tried to put the clock back. But the tendu cartel has always had political muscle: industrialist Vithalbhai Patel is minister for commerce, industry and minerals in the Vora Cabinet; beedi magnate Shravan Kumar Patel was a minister of state in Arjun Singh's cabinet in 1984; tendu trader Dal Chand Jain is a Congress(I) MP. The resulting furore—political pressure, media propaganda and even moving the court, albeit unsuccessfully—was overwhelming. Gloated a tendu trader on Singh's exit: "We've emerged victorious in the battle." Trade circles are now confident that they will be able to mould policy.

That is exactly Singh's view. He has charged that the inviting of tenders "is only a camouflaged attempt to restore the hegemony of the contractors and give them a pretext to enter the forests at the time of plucking and curing of tendu leaves". It is true that soon after Vora's return, the Government issued wireless messages to all collectors and commissioners directing them to return the cooperative share certificates Singh had issued. "Programme being revised," said the cryptic message.

Singh's protest caused a sudden about-turn: Vora now says his government is committed to implementing the new tendu policy, though it "would be reviewed at every step". He also threw in an unsubtle hint—"we will not allow any individual to benefit politically out of this party programme"—at the fact that Singh had his photograph printed on the 10 lakh share certificates to be distributed among pluckers. Vora has now also increased the pluckers' wages from Rs 12, fixed by his predecessor, to Rs 15 for 1,000 leaves. Till last season they were a measly Rs 8.

Singh does not, however, quite come out as the champion of the tribals in distress. He also has been accused of "terrorising" tendu traders to collect election funds. Charged BJP state treasurer Kailash Sarang: "Arjun Singh had demanded Rs 10 crore from the tendu traders." Nor did the earlier stab at cooperativisation come anywhere close to being a success. INDIA TODAY has in possession a confidential cabinet note which throws light on the grey areas.

Says the classified document: "In the course of two years, the whole process which started in 1984 with the objective of eliminating the middleman ended exactly in the opposite direction. The perversion took place partly because of lack of will-power on the part of the main implementing agency, the Minor Forest Produce Federation, which found a welcome relief when the forest minister accepted its concept of the business in October 1985 and subsequently in January 1986."

Official files also reveal that:

► The first move for reversal to the old system was mooted by Forest Secretary D.G. Bhave on December 24, 1984. But the Singh government took no decision.

► Soon after the change in government, on March 26, 1985, the Forest Department suggested complete abolition of the cooperative process.

► The decisions by the department, the forest minister and the Minor Forest

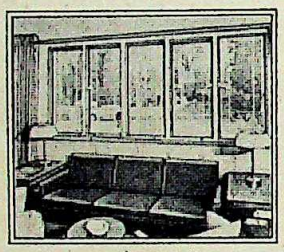
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The latest rage in doors & windows. Moth, rust and termite proof; heat, dust and noise proof; totally impervious to salty and polluted atmosphere; maintenance—free and with ageless looks, they are about everything a window could and should be.

UPAL WINDOORS, the pioneers in the field in India, bring with them the added benefits of :

- **A Superior technology** and the latest plant and machinery from the world leaders, M/s. Actual, Austria resulting in a **silk-smooth finish** unseen in others.
- **A Steel-reinforced frame**
- **Ultra-violet stabilized whiteness** for permanent non-yellowing gleam.
- Top-quality hardware befitting an ageless window
- Completely tropicalised texture and composition to suit extreme Indian conditions.
- Facility to fix flynet and security grill.



UPAL Windoors
THE PVC WINDOWS

The best that you can buy

U.P. ASBESTOS LIMITED
Mahmoodabad Estate Building, Hazratganj,
Lucknow-226 001 Phone : 32841-32842.

A 21st Century window that combines elegance, economy and utility into one.

VIDIT:UPAL:W:4891

...blic Domain. Gurukul Ka...

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Produce Federation were ratified by the Vora Cabinet on January 6, 1986.

In 1980, the Singh government had apportioned part of the work—422 of the 1806 tendu units—to the Madhya Pradesh Apex Marketing Federation. But the cooperatives could gather only 20 per cent of the leaves as compared to private traders. They sold for Rs 25 a bag of tendu collected at a cost of Rs 200 and the losses were a mind-boggling Rs 110 crore in five years.

The Government also never got the royalty from the federation (totalling Rs 32 crore). The tribals suffered loss of wages due to poor collection and, worse, corruption. In 1984 the police detected a Rs 3 crore swindle and suspended five federation officials, who had bungled even in the wages of the tribals.

The experience with the Minor Forest Produce Federation, which worked through primary agriculture credit societies and large area multi-purpose societies, created in January 1984, was no better. Explains Jogi: "This happened because the cooperatives did not exercise dominant control of the market."

The Vora Government obviously did not agree with this analysis and reverted to the old system. Said Vora: "It immediately increased the collection from 38 lakh bags to 60 lakh and the revenue from Rs 48 crore to Rs 65 crore."

Enter Singh again and he turned the policy around once more. The beedi kings flared up: a gathering at Sagar flayed the "irrational and impractical" policy, arguing that the Government had neither the expertise nor the infrastructure necessary.

Singh's stress was on the right of the tribals over the forest produce. Says Jogi: "It is not a question of wages." Opponents of the policy, however, point out how disastrous the previous experiment was. Says Bhave: "We have learnt from past mistakes. They point out that since the only apparent gain to the collectors is an increase in wages, this could easily be brought about by increasing the rates, which are fixed by the Government." In the past, struggles for wage revision have been suppressed, even by the Singh government. In fact, some contractors were penalised for offering more than the minimum wages.

The only well-wishers of the tendu workers seem to be the Naxalites, operating in south Bastar; they forced the contractors there to pay a wage of Rs 25 to Rs 30 even when the Government rate was Rs 8.50. This time they have demanded a wage of Rs 32 against the official rate of Rs 15.

As far as the tendu workers are concerned, getting rid of the private contractors is obviously preferable. Says Hari Om Lodhi of Tendukheda village in Narsinghpur district, a class XI student who plucks the leaves each summer to supplement his family's income: "The contractor will not be able to exploit us now."

Vora is now in the unenviable position of being publicly committed to enforce a policy he disagrees with but which is popular on the vote front: if he doesn't he is open to the charge of corruption. But if the earlier experiment (which was limited in scope) is any standard, the successful implementation of the policy is all but impossible. Either way, the tendu leaf has come to symbolise political one upmanship.

—N.K. SINGH

TENDU TRADE

Smoke Signals

TENDU traders in Madhya Pradesh may, after all, have reason to thank former chief minister Arjun Singh for his decision to hand over the collection of tendu leaves to the cooperative sector. Prices doubled almost overnight due to the panic and artificial scarcity created and each cartel became richer by at least Rs 1 crore. Admits BJP leader and tendu trader Giram Agarwal: "We earned enough even for the next season."

But the effect on the market has been quite the reverse. The new policy has cast long shadows over the Rs 2,500-crore beedi industry. Repercussions are particularly being felt in Karnataka—home of some of the biggest beedi empires—as over 50 per cent of its requirements comes from Madhya Pradesh. The price of tendu leaves has soared from Rs 12 to Rs 20 per bundle of thousand. And last year, market leaders Mangalore Ganesh Beedis (MGB) produced only Rs 11-crore worth of beedis against the targeted Rs 13.5 crore. Karnataka's tendu manufacturers fear that with the new policy, both supply and quality will be affected. Says K.S. Madhusudhan, president of the Karnataka Beedi Manufacturers' Association: "The new policy is, for us, a recipe for disaster."

He speaks from past experience. Similar exercises, by Arjun Singh in 1980 and by the Andhra Pradesh and Orissa governments, led to a sharp drop in supply and quality. Says a resigned Ananda Rao, MGB owner: "One has come to expect mismanagement from the Government."

In Karnataka, the industry—which employs nearly 25 lakh workers and which is already facing unrest over the issue of wages—anticipates a bigger labour problem. Any fall in supply, leading to a drop in production, will result in an inevitable retrenchment of workers.

Beedi making: uncertain days

Worried manufacturers have sent memoranda to the Central and Madhya Pradesh governments explaining their stand: they are not opposed to cooperatives, provided there is quality control and assured supply. But in private, they say it's a no-hope situation. Said one: "Our dealings with private contractors were based on trust. We could reject a poor quality consignment or get a compensatory consignment. But with the Government, we'll be entangled in bureaucratic red tape." For the industry that only means crisis days are looming ahead.

—N.K. SINGH and CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KARNATAKA

Expanding Trouble

Bommai's Cabinet expansion angers many partymen

CHIEF Minister Somappa Rayappa Bommai had mulled over expanding his cabinet for more than six months. But when he finally announced the result of his labours on March 13, one could be forgiven for believing he had spent less than six minutes in drawing up the list.

Many of Bommai's moves simply defied accepted political wisdom. For one, he ignored some prominent Hegde loyalists who have been responsible for the survival of his government. At the same time, inexplicably, strongman Deve Gowda's district, Hassan, did not find any representation in the ministry. Other key districts like Bidar, Chitradurga and South Kanara had no representation, while Chikamagalur and Tumkur were over-represented. And finally, even while irking several senior colleagues by divesting them of key ministries, Bommai burdened himself with a host of important portfolios including home, finance, excise, health, irrigation and information.

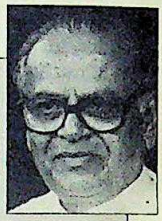
In a House of 225, the Janata Dal Government has a slim majority of six MLAs. Yet, Bommai did not balk at going ahead with a cabinet expansion that alienated many partymen. Said M. Raghupathy, a former minister: "Perhaps the chief minister did not like being comfortable...he must have longed for a Bihar-type situation."

A more plausible explanation is that Bommai is trying to move out of the shadow of his predecessor, Ramakrishna Hegde. Since taking over the chief ministership last August, he has been angered by snide references to him being a Hegde frontman. Bommai has now chosen to assert himself—even at the risk of inviting trouble—by ignoring Hegde's nominees and cutting down to size his loyalists already in the ministry.

The chief minister's most conspicuous move in this direction was to sideline Hegde's factotum Jeevraj Alva. Janata Dal President V.P. Singh's nominees fared no better. A prominent exclusion among them was that of the troublesome M. Raghupathy.

But if Bommai's aim was to tone up the sagging administration with the induction of surprise choices, he failed to achieve that. At least four of the 10 new ministers—Vishwanath Reddy Mujnal, J.S. Deshmukh, Govinde Gowda and A. Pushpavati—had been dropped from the Hegde ministry for non-performance. Three others—Roshen Baig, Leelavati Prasad and B.B. Lingaiah—have no administrative experience.

In an attempt to come out of Hegde's shadow, Bommai ignored his supporters despite their having always backed him.



MUSTAQ AHMED

Swearing-in ceremony and (inset) Bommai: baffling move

Like N.T. Rama Rao in neighbouring Andhra Pradesh, Bommai appeared to have gone out of his way to court dissidence. And soon after the expansion, disgruntled aspirants began gathering at the homes of key legislators like Alva and Raghupathy to chalk out a strategy. Aside from being angry with Bommai, they were also disappointed with Hegde for not correcting the imbalances. Said an MLA: "It is not just some of us being denied ministerships. There are other issues...Bommai has played into Deve Gowda's hands and Hegde has thought it fit to put his foot down there." Many legislators suspect Bommai of having struck a deal with Deve Gowda in return for his support. Why else, they argue, would Bommai balk at taking on Deve Gowda by appointing a couple of ministers from his district? Yet, within a week of the expansion Bommai—whose earlier refrain was that some disappointments were inevitable in such an exercise—was nonchalantly asserting: "There is no dissidence in the party."

The legislators adopted a familiar method of protest: signature campaigns and memoranda. Overnight, they spotted weaknesses in the party setup and state government. Fortunately for Bommai, both V.P. Singh and Hegde counselled their supporters to exercise patience and discretion—one reason why the signature drive had few takers. And without Singh or Hegde's patronage, disgruntled MLAs lacked the courage to make trouble for Bommai in the budget session of the Assembly which commenced soon after the expansion.

Bommai also contained some of the dissatisfaction by announcing that another expansion will follow soon after the assembly session ends in mid-April. With several portfolios still under his belt, he has retained the support of many hopefuls. Moreover, he is yet to decide on over 50 chairmenship of various boards and corporations. Bommai's biggest trump card is the distribution of tickets for the assembly elections—just a year away—in which he will have a big say.

Bommai may have been able to check dissidence for now. But with only half a dozen MLAs needed to bring down his government, attempting a balancing act is fraught with risk for Karnataka's chief minister.—CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When a decision has to last a hundred years, concrete proof helps.

Proof 1: QUALITY
The name Raymond is synonymous with the highest standards of excellence and reliability.

Proof 2: STRENGTH
A decidedly higher compressive strength than the specifications set by BIS.

Proof 3: BLAINE
The finest blaine guarantees the desired strength with a lesser quantity of cement.

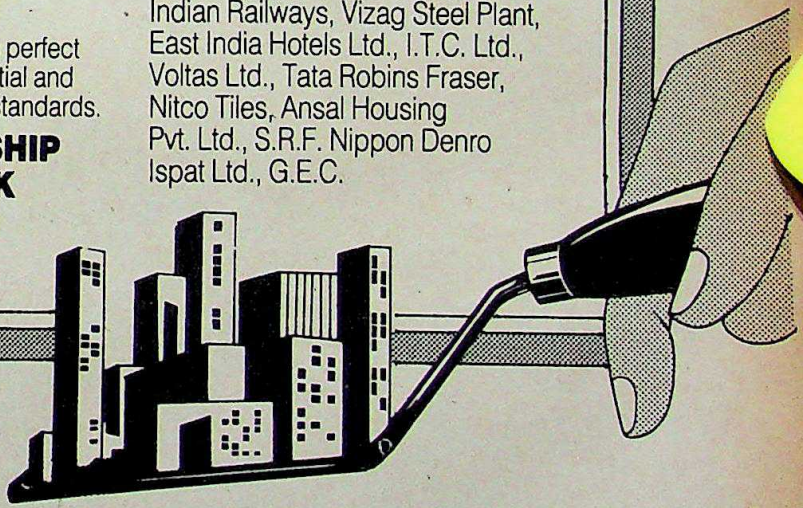
Proof 4: SETTING
Raymond Cement assures perfect setting as it has a better initial and final setting time than BIS standards.

Proof 5: DEALERSHIP NETWORK
The Raymond network of authorised dealers makes sure of 100% genuine cement. Nationwide.

Proof 6: PACKAGING
Automatic rotary packing machines and the toughest non-pilferage plastic and jute bags.

Proof 7: ECONOMY
No other cement guarantees all these concrete advantages. Everytime.

Proof 8: OUR CLIENT LIST
N.T.P.C., Oil India Ltd., Indian Railways, Vizag Steel Plant, East India Hotels Ltd., I.T.C. Ltd., Voltas Ltd., Tata Robins Fraser, Nitco Tiles, Ansal Housing Pvt. Ltd., S.R.F. Nippon Denro Ispat Ltd., G.E.C.



KAILASH CEMENT FROM

Raymond

THE NAME GUARANTEES QUALITY.

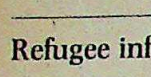
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WEST BENGAL

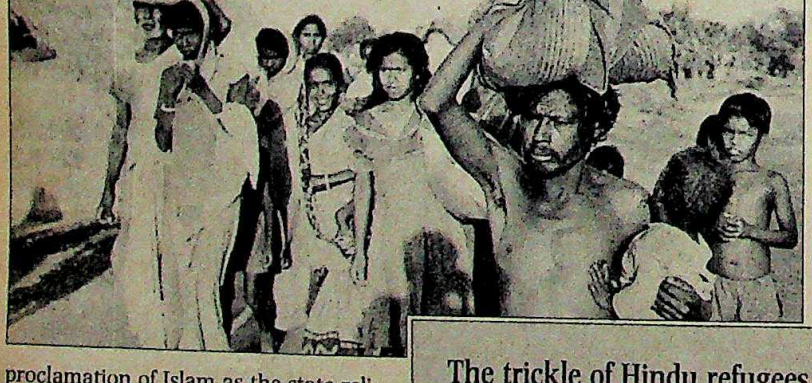
Border Chaos

Refugee influx fuels tension



THE birth of Bangladesh in 1971 opened the floodgates of refugee influx into India. The 2,203-km border manned by the BSF has not helped prevent the continuing influx of refugees whose numbers have swelled to 7 million, mostly Muslims, in West Bengal alone. The proclamation of Islam as the state religion of Bangladesh in June last year has spurred yet another exodus—this time of Hindus.

Photographs by SAIBAL DAS



Border manning by the BSF has not prevented the flow of refugees.

The trickle of Hindu refugees now has caused tension in the state.

For the West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu who has brought a semblance of peace to Darjeeling, the sudden increase in the influx of Hindu refugees, means the ticking of yet another communal time bomb. The border districts like Murshidabad, Malda, West Dinajpur have become Muslim majority due to the influx over the years. The trickle of Hindu refugees now has naturally caused tension even though they are mostly moving towards the south districts like 24-Parganas and Nadia.

But the secessionist organisations little the Bangaldesh Liberation Organisation (BLO) which has launched the Bangabhumi Andolan (movement for attaining homeland), and the RSS which has opened 80 units along the border, have been fanning the embers of communal hatred. On the other side of the border the Swadhin Bangabhumi Biplabi Parishad has also begun sowing the seeds of secessionism in the minds of Hindus who have panicked after the June proclamation.

A senior officer in the Ministry of External Affairs admitted that the Hindu influx has gone up after Islam was proclaimed the state religion. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi made known his concern at the move when, while campaigning in the Northeast for the recent elections, he made a reference to the increasing "religious intolerance" in Bangladesh. Taking the hint, the Indian High Commissioner in Dhaka, I.S. Chada, lambasted the Ershad Government for not providing protection to the 1.75 crore minority community.

A.O.S. Dewan first secretary in the Bangaldesh High Commission in Calcutta, countered the allegation of religious intolerance: "In fact, Ershad's Government introduced the Hindu Kalyan Trust, Christian Welfare Trust and other such schemes to keep alive Hindu or other minority traditions and culture. The Hindu Kalyan Trust received 2 crore taka from the Government. Bangladesh has adopted Islam as state religion but it is not an Islamic republic."

But refugees who have trudged along dangerous paths to reach Indian soil—and security—have shocking stories to recount. Says Montu Lal Biswas, 47, whose 23 bighas of land was forcibly taken over using fake deeds which were 'legalised' after Islam was proclaimed the state religion: "Hindus have no protection there." The same fear is echoed by Nripendra Godar, 27, who had four bighas of land in Shantipur village in Makshidpur upzilla. "Rich Musalmans kidnap Hindu women to keep as their mistresses. They tried to kidnap my wife also." Godar left his village with his pregnant wife, put her in her father's house before setting out on the dangerous trek to India in January "to look for an alternate living".

After looking the other way all these years the Indian administration has woken up to the fact that the porous border has become a major security threat. "We are strengthening ourselves. It is very difficult to stop infiltration totally due to problems beyond our control," says Sankar Sen, BSF-inspectorgeneral. But despite an increase in BSF's operational strength on the border, they have actually detected and pushed back less infiltrators in 1988 compared to 1987.

The only effort being made to keep track of the infiltrators is by the BLO. The

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

anchalik committees or BLO camps set up by them all along the border maintains registers. Said Nirode Chandra Bala, block anchalik secretary at Duttaphulia on the border: "The number of Hindus who have so far crossed would be over 80,000. We are sending xerox copies of the registers to the Union Home Ministry. If India can look after the Tamils of Sri Lanka why not care for the Hindus of Bangladesh?" At most of the camp offices a queue of Hindu refugees forms whenever a bus reaches the particular village from the border areas.

The authorities are however aware that the situation has to be controlled. Says the Deputy Inspector General of Police (border) R.C. Sharma: "Bangladeshis are treated like sons-in-law of our country. Since they are potential vote banks all the political parties maintain a passive attitude towards the infiltrators. But the communal peace in the state has already begun cracking. Last year we had the 'liberate Katra Masjid movement' in Murshidabad and with the Muslim League bent upon liberating 15 masjids in Bengal, one can only expect trouble." But the muslim leaders are adamant. Says A.K.M. Hassanuzman, Muslim League MLA: "Why should we not be allowed to pray in our mosques and how can we keep quiet when in Malda district a Hindu procession raised slogans like *'Quran chhodo ya Hindustan chhodo'* (Either leave the Quran or leave the country)."

With no real effort being made to turn back the refugees or increase policing on the border, fundamentalist organisations in Bangladesh trying to scare the minority Hindu populace, and secessionist outfits on both sides of the border reviving their activity, the security that the refugees came looking for may just explode in their faces.

—KAMALJEET RATTAN

BOTTOMLINE BY D. BUNKER

Shake, Rattle and Roll

PICTURE the idyllic scene: palm trees swaying in the breeze, sun-washed beaches, Calypso music in the tropical air and exotic rum concoctions to drink. And, to top the bill, the eleven-man band of the popular Indian group *The Colonel's Bogeys*, singing their latest runaway hit called *A bunch of Jokers*. Here's how it goes:
(Syndicated by Dev Features)

Oh the Indian selectors yaar,
What a bunch of jokers they are,
They sent us to the Caribbean,
To take on Viv and his men,
And look what's happened so far.
(Chorus)

We were wiped out in the limited overs
some of us are still running for cover
We thought with Marshall out of the way
we would be having a field day
But that bloke Bishop was even worse
and now poor Kris requires a nurse.
(Chorus)

Nobody wants to open the innings
and our ranks are really thinning
We can't hold our catches,
we've lost all the matches
And Dilip is at his wit's end
trying to decide who to send.

(Chorus)

Maan, that Haynes is a blaster
Where's the little master?
Greenidge is another terror
Can't Mohinder be forever?
Our weaknesses are already showing
and Richards hasn't even got going.

(Chorus)

Shastri has been all at sea
and Chetan reaches Courtney's knee
Arun Lal carries little clout
and Azhar insists on being run out
Dilip is still to fathom the track
the rest have to face the flak.

(Chorus)

This isn't quite cricket
but we just can't lick it
Even if we stand on our toes
the ball still goes up our nose
The only way we can counter attack
is use the Terrorists Prevention Act.

(Chorus)

They told us it would be paradise
but frankly it's not all that nice,
Oh, the rum is fine,
the music's divine,
But we wish the local cops,
would only allow donkey drops.

(Chorus)

We just can't wait to get back,
even if it means getting the sack
It's torture out in the middle,
but we've figured out a fiddle,
Playing here is anything but funny,
next time we'll demand danger money.
(Sung to the tune of Shake,
Rattle and Roll)

Cartoon by AJIT NINAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Counter Attack

GOVERNORS in most opposition-ruled states come in for criticism for practising politics—to the benefit of the Congress(I). Rarely is the opposite true. As it was in Karnataka last fortnight when Governor P. Venkatasubbiah, dashed off a letter of resignation to Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The reason: he was peeved at the way local Congress(I) leaders complained to the high command about his sympathetic attitude to the Bommai Government.

KRISHNA MURARI KISHAN

Venkatasubbiah: tough line

The state Congress(I) leaders' grouse is that the governor refused to entertain their demand to dismiss the Bommai Government, which they claimed was not only unconstitutional, but also lacked a majority. Venkatasubbiah turned down the demand, saying the Assembly was the right forum to decide the majority. An SOS to Delhi was accompanied by a rumour that Venkatasubbiah would be replaced by CBI chief Mohan Katre.

Venkatasubbiah, who has been a Union minister, AICC(I) general secretary and Congress(I) parliamentary party secretary, did not take that lying down. He met Rajiv and told him bluntly that he would rather resign than face such humiliation. After all, he had not asked to be the governor—he was still interested in returning to active politics. The tough line worked: the resignation has been kept in cold storage and the state Congress(I) leaders have been told to lay off the governor.

Unity Pays

IT is not unusual for ruling parties to lose by-elections. But when a party has been in power for just over 45 days and its performance is generally given high marks, even small defeats do stand out against the general picture of rosiness. This is what the DMK has found after its candidates were defeated in by-elections to the Tamil Nadu Assembly in Marungapuri and Madurai (east).

Both seats—which had elections countermanded in January due to the death of independent candidates—were won by the newly re-united AIADMK (S.R. Radha in Madurai and K. Ponnusamy in Marungapuri). Party Chief Whip K.K.S.S.R. Ramachandran is elated: "Our victories show clearly that MGR's two leaves symbol and Jayalalitha's name are enough for us to win elections. The people have totally rejected Karunanidhi's false charges (in the liquor scandal) against our late leader." More than anything else, the party's victory in the two by-elections shows how the split had damaged its electoral prospects in the January Assembly elections.

While Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi seems unfazed and says the results would have been the same had the elections been held in January, the Marxists, who lost at Madurai despite support from the DMK, are unhappy. One reason for the defeat may be that Congress(I) supporters switched their loyalties to the AIADMK. That may also explain why the Congress(I) lost its deposit in both Madurai (East) and in Marungapuri.

What is certain, however, is these two by-election results have focussed attention on the forthcoming elections to the corporations in Madras, Madurai and Coimbatore. Slated for May, they now seem to loom almost like a referendum on the DMK's period in power.

Crucial Vote

IT was just one vote too little. But enough to make Shiv Sena candidate Prakash Paranjpe lose the mayorship of Thane to the Congress(I)'s Manohar Salvi last fortnight. What made the defeat particularly galling was that besides the 30 members the Sena had in a house of 65, it had also the support of two BJP and one Janata Dal councillor: a majority on paper. Said Anand Dighe, a Shiv Sena leader in Thane: "There are traitors within our own organisation."

Thane—bordering Bombay—is a major mini-metro now, and control over its municipality was a cherished dream of the Sena, which has twice—unsuccessfully—sought to win the mayorship. The result of this abortive attempt was that party chief Bal Thackeray obtained the resignations of all the councillors. The Sena feels that by quitting, its candidates will earn the goodwill of Thane citizens. But a party leader admitted: "If by-elections are held, we may be able to hold only half the seats." A sectarian organisation, Agri Sena, plays a major role in Thane politics now, and may have lured two Shiv Sena councillors to support the Congress(I) candidate.

However, the cracks in the Shiv Sena monolith were not the only ones on view. Defying state Janata Dal chief Mrinal Gore's dislike for the Sena, the lone Janata Dal councillor supported the Sena-BJP combine. Obviously, there are also questions about the Opposition's ability to stand united.

Rallying Support

IT is not exactly barnstorming Bihar. But the Indian Peoples Front (IPF), just seven years old, by drawing an impressive one lakh people to Patna's Gandhi Maidan last fortnight, rang alarm bells in Congress(I) circles.

Newly-appointed president of the Bihar Congress(I) Committee Dr Jagannath Mishra in his maiden address cautioned legislators of the challenges from the front. Chief Minister S.N. Sinha expressed his willingness to enter into a dialogue with it.

The reason: while it may not win many seats, its support among the Yadavs, Harijans, tribals and backward castes can upset the Congress(I) applecart. Says Tridib Ghosh, one of its general secretaries: "We are sure that we can use elections to further heighten the awareness of the masses." Still, there are

KRISHNA MURARI KISHAN

IPF supporters at a rally: a mass base

chinks in its armour. Though Bihar is its main battleground, its leadership is almost totally drawn from West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, which could be an electoral disadvantage.

But then, the front is not likely to win any elections. It will perhaps be more than happy if it secures 4 per cent of the votes polled, necessary for recognition as a political party by the Election Commission. But the IPF has arrived.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ANNOUNCING THE ARRIVAL OF THE NEW AMBASSADOR

The new range of shirts and all-leather shoes from Bata.
Elegant. Dignified. Not expensive.
Just rich in style!
Available only at select Bata stores.

AMBASSADOR
Shoes & Shirts

Bata

TSAC-AMB-1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PAMELLA SINGH BORDES

Indecent Exposures

The life and torrid times of Pamella Bordes, a former Miss India, whose sexual escapades with the high and mighty have rocked the British establishment.

Rex Features

FOR Britain's lurid, sensation-soaked tabloid press, it was a case of 'wham, bam, thank you Pam'. Starved of juicy scandals or gory murders in a month when the biggest news was the Tory Government's annual budget, the Pamella affair came like, well, a bolt from the blue.

Pamella who? Bordes, Chaudhury, Singh. Take your pick. It really didn't matter. Once the tabloids got scent of what promised to be a snowballing sex scandal, the India-born Pamella Bordes (nee Chaudhury) was transformed into a cross between Mata Hari and Linda Lovelace.

Overnight, the stunning, raven-haired Indian beauty found herself splashed across the front pages of British newspapers as lurid details of her boudoir romps mated with salacious gossip to project the 27-year-old former Miss India as a high-society call girl having links with several prominent members of the British establishment.

What set the seal on the scandal were her parallel links with Libyan intelligence officials. More than two decades after the Christine Keeler sex scandal ensured the collapse of Harold Macmillan's government, Pamella signalled a similar threat from hiding and set the establishment's stiffest upper lip aquiver.

Quite suddenly, bursting into the staid scenario of British politics, brushing aside news of beleaguered author Salman Rushdie, was an unknown Indian whose meteoric rise to fame and influence was as mysterious as it was sensational.

The first whiff of the Pamella affair was aired when a tabloid revealed that she doubled up as a research assistant for a ruling Tory party MP and a call girl whose bedroom ex-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LONDON EXPRESS

ploits were of scandalous proportions. There were worrying security implications as well. It wasn't just Tory MPs who were involved—her male friends included two powerful editors, an internationally-known arms dealer, an unnamed cabinet minister and a prominent Libyan intelligence officer. Of serious concern was her position as a House of Commons researcher which gave her free access to Parliament.

Friends say Pam loved to shock people and stretch the rules by being daring and provocative.

In the weeks that followed the first sensational disclosure—one tabloid claimed Pamella offered to have sex with its reporter for £500 (Rs 13,500) or £2000 (Rs 54,000) for the weekend—the scandal degenerated into a soft-porn blitz typical of London's notorious tabloid press. Like Rushdie, though for different reasons, Pamella deserted the comforts of a £750,000 London penthouse to slip into hiding.

The matter should have died there. But from her country hide-out Pamella kicked off the lid herself. Through friend and soft-porn king David Sullivan she said she knew 'amazing secrets' that could topple the Government. Clearly, Pamella was out to squeeze the most out of her sudden, if dubious, fame.

Pamella's rise in London's social circuit has been nothing short of meteoric. After being crowned Miss India in 1982, the aspiring model arrived in New York where she is said to have made contact with arms dealer Adnan Khashoggi and the Emir of Qatar—wealthy men who reportedly vied for her attention.

From New York, Pamella went to Japan and finally UK, where she met a convicted arms dealer who operated from Paris. Through him, she met record producer Dominique Bordes whom she married in June, 1984. Bordes claims they married because an uncle was forcing Pamella into an arranged match.

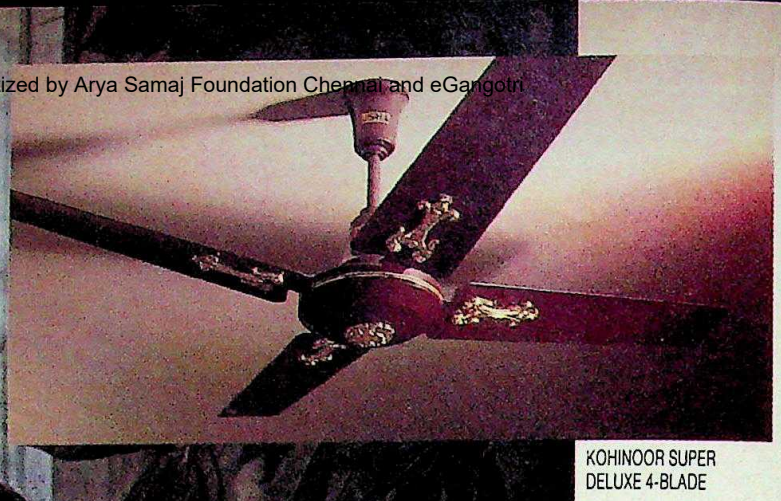
"She pleaded with me to marry her to stop him wielding his power over her," says Bordes. "I lead a very simple life and she was definitely not the housewife type. Even five years ago she always had money and nice clothes. At the time I had no idea where she got the cash. Now I can make a pretty shrewd guess." The Frenchman asserts that Pamella was quite obviously very worldly wise when he met her, "nothing like the traditional, demure Indian bride". Pamella left her husband abruptly after only three months, calling him up from London to say she would not return. Says Bordes: "I felt used."

In London, Pamella busied herself socialising once again with the wealthy and powerful. Apart from the embarrassed MPs, her liaisons included Prince Paul of Romania, Italian Count Carlo Colombotti and rock superstar Bill Wyman of *The Rolling Stones*. Her method of entering the dizzying London social circuit was simple: she advertised herself in corporate magazines like *Boardroom* and *Harpers & Queen* as a gourmet cook for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

USHA



KOHINOOR SUPER
DELUXE 4-BLADE

STYLE
ALIVE!

Superbly styled in rich brown with elegant gold flanges. With double ball bearings and perfect aerodynamics. Superbly engineered with Usha's expertise of over 40 years.

STYLE
FOR
LIFE!

Over 2.73 crore Usha fans have satisfied customers. In India and over 60 countries abroad. In a wide range of ceiling, table, pedestal, wall, cabin and exhaust fans. That's why many more people trust Usha...India's largest selling fan.

USHA

India's largest selling fan.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

high-tone dinner parties. It was at one such party in a London night-club last summer that the sultry Indian beauty met Andrew Neil, bachelor editor of *The Sunday Times* newspaper. They had a steamy affair which ended with Pamella slashing Neil's clothes with scissors when he wanted to break off the relationship in August 1988. When Pamella showed no signs of abandoning him, Neil asked his solicitors to warn her of a restraining order if she contacted him again. It was an ugly end to the affair, but Pamella, showing a vengeful side to her nature, made friends with Donald Trelford, editor of *The Observer* and a married man.

Shortly after breaking up with Neil, Pamella met member of Parliament David Shaw through a mutual friend, Marc Burca, editor of *Boardroom* magazine. Shaw, having exhausted his quota of three passes to Britain's House of Commons, asked fellow Conservative Party MP Henry Bellingham to provide Pamella a pass so that she could help him research a harmless subject: the publishers net book agreement—a bill to stop bookshops from selling books at a discount.

Said Shaw: "Ms Bordes' research work was thorough and very helpful. She was good." Bellingham, refusing to wilt under opposition party attacks that he had flouted Commons security regulations said the allegations about her were "completely without foundation".

Thereon, the controversy blew into a full-scale sex and security scandal that brought criticism from senior Tory Party ranks, led to calls for a review of the working of MI5, the internal intelligence service, and sparked off a row between the Tory and opposition Labour Party.

A concerned Bellingham told INDIA TODAY: "This girl is being crucified by the media for no fault of hers. They have not even given her a chance to explain herself. It is very unlikely that she was a high class call girl." He added: "She certainly had very good contacts. She had friends all over the place and, till very recently, she was settling down to a career in business. I think the media have got carried away."

Bellingham also denied that Pamella posed a security risk. "Security is a major issue, but had the security agencies even a shadow of a doubt, they would have contacted me."

One person who knew Pamella well is not so ready to defend her. Like Dominique Bordes before him, Marc Burca says she took advantage of him. "I was taken in by her," he told INDIA TODAY: "I believed and trusted her, but she never told me everything about herself before asking for introductions to MPs. I may not have introduced her to David Shaw if she had."

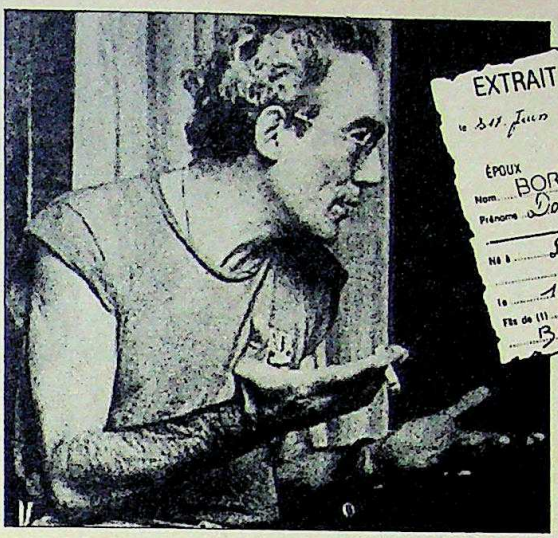
Burca, who met Pamella in August, 1988, does, however, defend her against the more serious charges, "She knew a lot of important people and I find it difficult to believe she was what she is accused of being. She was just a wild, crazy girl, who loved parties and expensive clothes."

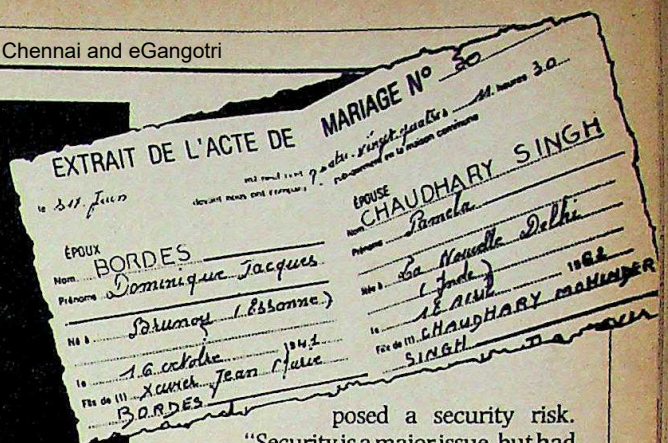
But confounding her supporters, Pamella, reportedly speaking to friends from hiding, has come out with statements that could only make her case worse. "The city would grind to a standstill if I spoke out, but it would cost a million pounds for me to tell who I have loved and bedded," one tabloid quoted her as saying. "What I could reveal would make *Scandal* (the just-released film about the Profumo affair) look like a teddy bear's picnic. My amazing secrets could also bring the Government down —just like Christine Keeler did."

Parallels between the two affairs, however, seem to have only one common element—sex. The Profumo affair involved the then cabinet war secretary John Profumo, a naval attache in the Soviet Embassy, and model Christine Keeler. None of the MPs linked with Pamella has the glamour or the sensitive position associated with Profumo.

But the *Evening Standard* came up with a report that finally focused media attention on the security aspect. The newspaper reported that Pamella had 'close social links' with a high ranking officer in Libyan intelligence, Colonel Ahmed Gedda Feddem—a cousin of Muammar Gadaffi—in Paris and even made trips to Tripoli in a private jet.

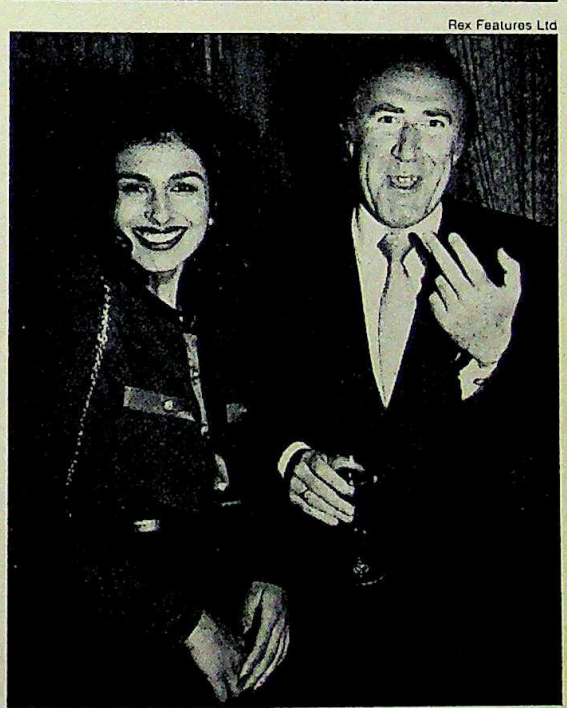
Simultaneously, another tabloid





"She was very worldly wise...nothing like the demure Indian bride."
DOMINIQUE BORDES

Rex Features Ltd



Husband Bordes (top) and their marriage certificate; and with Andrew Neil

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

revealed that special branch officers were probing bank accounts that were held by Pamella under the names of P. Singh and P. Chaudhury. But there was no confirmation of this fact as the rumours continued.

There were also rumours that Fleet Street had offered Pamella up to £2 million for exclusive rights to publish her life story. Paul Raymond's *Men Only* offered her £750,000 to pose in the nude. Says Editor Neville Player: "We think the nation deserves to see all her charms." Pamella turned down the offer. Says Burca: "All she wants now is to have her name cleared. She is not interested in the money. That shows the innocence of the girl."

So far there has been no evidence that she had sexual relations with any member of Parliament. But there seemed enough evidence that she charged for sex and had a life-style disproportionate to her known sources of income.

CLEARLY, Pamella was no common girl. She was seen in all the best places and was the escort of the dashing Tory Minister of Sports, Colin Moynihan, 34, former Olympic hero, at the Tory Winter Ball last month. She attended a function to launch media tycoon Rupert Murdoch's wife Anna's novel, *Family Business*, as well as a party at the US Embassy in London celebrating President George Bush's inaugural. Pamella herself told society hostess Lady Edith Foxwell that she had hurt her hip after riding at Gatcombe (Princess Anne's Gloucestershire home).

All this hardly jells with her job as a research assistant which would pay a salary of around £3,000 a year. Neither does the job fit in with her life-style and interests—a research assistantship is the sort of job students of political science apply for if they want to pursue politics as a career.

The tangible effects of the red-hot Bordes affair, of course, seem only a matter of distant speculation. A far more immediate concern has been the possible motive behind the story. Already, theories abound. According to one, it is a media rather than a political scandal, aimed at hitting at Neil, whose meteoric rise is said to have aroused the envy of his rivals.

Another theory is that it was Pamella who engineered the tabloid blitz to make a quick buck. But as she remains in hiding, and the scandal slowly fades from the front pages of British newspapers, provocative snaps of Pamella have now begun to accompany scandalous stories from India—interviews with friends and relatives of an allegedly wayward girl. "I beat her with a dog chain," screamed a tabloid quoting Pamella's distraught mother in New Delhi.

Rex Features Ltd

The distraught mother, Shakuntala Chaudhury, quickly made herself unavailable—members of her Defence Colony household, and the Food Corporation of India, where she is employed, say she is on indefinite leave. Before dropping out of sight, Shakuntala issued a statement on her own to a national news agency saying she had disowned her daughter in 1982 for her 'wayward' behaviour. What was abundantly clear was that Pamella's relations with her mother had been strained for quite some time. Much of the rebelliousness, volatility and ambition that Pamella seems to have acquired appears to stem from the family situation.

A middle class Jat family from Haryana, the Chaudhurys were very much an army family. The father, Major Mahendra Singh Chaudhury, was a war hero who was killed in the Indo-China

Rex Features Ltd

With Count Carlo Colombotti (top); and with Sports Minister Colin Moynihan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

war of 1962 when Pamella was two months old. Shakuntala's brother, Lieutenant Avtar Singh, died in the 1971 Bangladesh war. Pamella was brought up by the widowed mother, who, from all accounts, was a formidable woman.

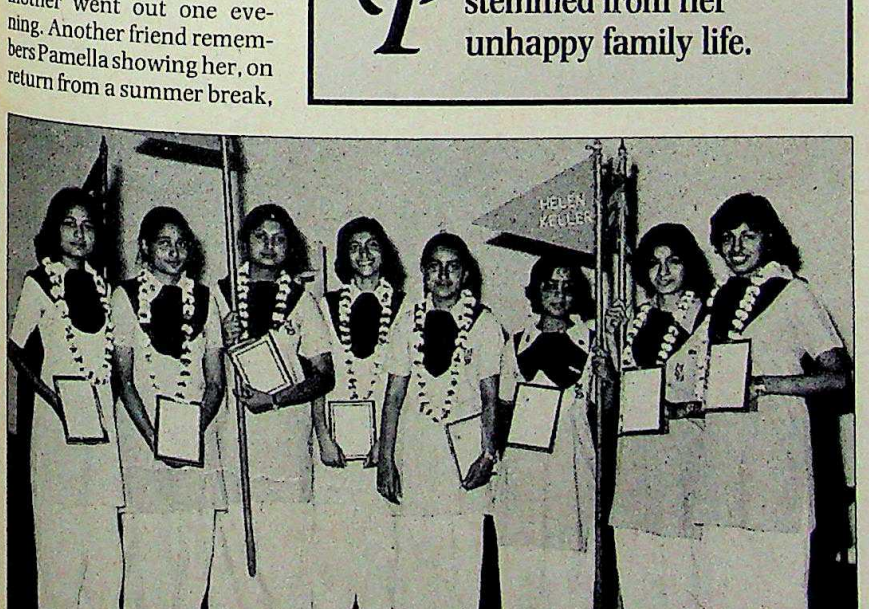
After her husband's death, Shakuntala was the hostel-in-charge in Government College, Chandigarh. The then Haryana chief minister Bansi Lal's daughter, Saroj Siwach, was studying there and Shakuntala came in contact with Bansi Lal. With his help, she joined the Haryana Civil Service in January 1975. Says a senior Haryana government official: "She was nominated and did not come in through competition."

WHILE the mother was consolidating her own career, Pamella was packed off to boarding schools—Lawrence School at Sanawar and, from 1974 to 1979, the exclusive Maharani Gayatri Devi School in Jaipur. Pamella's school friends all agree that she had an unhappy family life and that her mother was something of a terror. Boys were not allowed to phone Pamella at home. One girl recalls being locked into the house with Pam when her mother went out one evening. Another friend remembers Pamella showing her, on return from a summer break, bruises received from a beating. Pamella, say her friends, would get beaten for not doing what she was told.

Pamella apparently also had a complex about being the only girl in the hostel on a scholarship in a school where fees were about Rs 1,000 a month. But even then, she had a fascination for anything from abroad. "She'd be in ecstasy about a little thing like a Camay soap or a shampoo," recalls one school mate. She also had a fixation about the high life. She was in awe of girls who came from wealthy royal families and went out of her way to befriend them.

PTI

Pamella's volatility stemmed from her unhappy family life.



Pamella was a good student, bright, active and outgoing. She took up riding at school, excelled in athletics and became a house captain. She was into fitness—tennis, swimming, jogging and exercises—but wasn't overly interested in make-up or concerned about her looks.

She did very well in studies (84 per cent marks in high school). But, as one girl remembers, "her trip in life was shortcuts". She would come around before the exams and ask friends to tell her the story of a book they were meant to have studied. "But whatever her methods," the friend adds, "she did well."

Others who knew her in her first year at Lady Sri Ram College (1979-80) say they found her brilliant. Her high school notes were so useful for examinations that they are still in circulation. The most striking thing about her was not her looks—she was somewhat gawky and heavy boned then—but her warm, lively presence. She could make friends very fast, was tremendously confident and bubbly, full of ideas for fun, constantly stretching the rules.

She smoked, she wore tight shorts and she loved to be with boys. But she was not known for promiscuity. While still in school, she had a crush on a college boy from St Stephens who was into polo and had plenty of money. She confided to her close chums about kissing him in the stables, but as one of them adds: "You know, if she'd gone further, she would have told us. She would never have been able to keep it to herself."

Pamella enjoyed shocking people. College friends recall her shouting in the corridor: "Damn, I forgot my pill. Now what's going to happen?" or "I've got to go to Marie Stopes (an abortion clinic)." But friends say she did it only for effect.

One ex-boyfriend remembers a group of them playing cards together in the heat of summer when the power went off. Pamella promptly peeled off her jeans and coolly continued playing in a kurta and panties. Another time, he recalls, after a game of tennis at the YMCA, she took him up to the top floor and whipped off her T-shirt with a flourish. "She'd try anything. She was that kind of a girl—daring and out for fun," explains a friend.

Friends also recall that Pamella was

Shakuntala (top); and Pamella (extreme right) at Maharani Gayatri Devi School

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

calculating and ambitious. What she was looking for were the right connections, wild parties and expensive clothes. Bright and confident, she could talk on just about any subject. She was the perfect party girl, pretty, vivacious and popular. By this time she had cut herself off from her family and drifted around for a while, staying with friends and looking for the big break. One college friend remembers Pamella asking her the story of Sidney Sheldon's *The Other Side of Midnight* (about a beautiful, successful and ambitious woman). Pamella's immediate reaction was: "I want to be like that."

She had become convinced that her short cut to money and fame lay in modelling. In mid-1980, she approached Adwave, a Delhi modelling agency owned by television newscaster Komal G.B. Singh. "She looked like any scruffy teenager," recalls Singh, "We were not inspired to photograph her ourselves and asked her to come back with her own pictures." But when Pamella returned weeks later with some pictures, the agency was stunned at how photogenic she was. Pamella the model was on her way.

Her first modelling assignment was for the Bharat Leather Corporation and a string of contracts—Hero Cycles, Oswal, Texla TV—soon followed and her professionalism was soon obvious. Simultaneously, Pamella was making rapid strides up the social ladder—and becoming a familiar face in the capital's cocktail circuit. "She was vivacious, easy on the eye and very, very intelligent. She could talk on any subject," recalls a Delhi executive who knew her well. As illustration, he recalls: "Once, when a stockbroker had come over, she talked to him about investment banking and shares so knowledgeably that he was convinced she was a financial wizard." Another friend, also an executive, concurs. "She was a sort of quick-change conversationalist. She could talk knowledgeably about advertisements, acting, films, anything," he says.

IT wasn't just her looks—Delhi has more than its share of stunners—but that most men found her an appealing mix: sexy, carefree, and also intelligent and caring. Says a Delhi executive in whose flat she stayed for six months: "She was friendly, straightforward, and had no airs. If she wanted to eat she would go to the kitchen and fix something." She was also vague about her past. "She pulled a curtain down on her past. She would say: 'I want to forget my past.' "

The real transformation, however, came in Bombay. She arrived there in 1981, determined to push her modelling career. She haunted magazine offices and cultivated photographers like Pablo Bartholomew and Shantanu Sheorey. Binoy Thomas, editor of *Society* magazine, says: "She came to me once but she only wanted to be on the cover, no less. She was very determined to get ahead."

Other glamour photographers, like Wilas Bhende and Adrian Stevens, remember her as "hard-working and dedicated". Says film photographer Gautam Rajadhyaksha: "She was easy to work with, quiet, punctual, but uncommunicative about herself." For a time Pamella also worked at Silhouette, the hair styling salon at Oberoi Towers.

Her break came when she won the Miss India title in 1982, organised by *Femina* magazine. *Femina* staffers during 1982 remember her as being "confident and outgoing". Pamella told *Femina* then that she had two ambitions: to make it in New York and to learn hairstyling from Harry King. She landed solid advertising assignments for Boroline, Orkay (until Kittu Gidwani replaced her) and Nescafe. Model Nisha Singh, who travelled with her while making the Nescafe ads in Nepal, says: "She was very attractive and vivacious and full of beans. But she would never tell us anything about herself. You asked her that and she'd stonewall."

Predictably, wild stories about her surfaced, linking her name with some prominent businessmen in Bombay. But once the Pamella story broke in London, they all began to deny any involvement.

In those days, Pamella Singh, as she was now called, hung out with the unit of Richard Attenborough's *Gandhi* and was a close friend of Shabnam—a relative of former Union cabinet minister Rao Birendra Singh—who married a member of the *Gandhi* crew and now lives in London. By then, she was already at the fringe of the high life.

Says a model friend from her Bombay days: "She always managed to get what she wanted. Once she showed me a dress at a boutique and said she'd like to wear it.

RAVI PASRICHA

SHANTANU SHEOREY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It was frightfully expensive. But that evening she was wearing the dress. She had this ability to get things done by men.

Pamella's next stop was Lima, Peru, as the Indian entry for the Miss Universe contest. After that, her associates in Bombay heard from her from distant, far-off places. She wrote to Adrian Stevens saying how the portfolio of pictures he had shot for her was proving useful; she wrote to others from London or Paris saying she was doing well.

She returned to Bombay from New York in 1983 and her friends found her really changed—into strapless tops and micro-minis, scarlet lipstick and long painted nails. She'd also put on airs, but as her accent kept slipping and her complaints about not being able to take the spicy food proved hollow, close friends detected that there was still a little girl under that sophisticated exterior. But, says one: "By this time, she was in a different league."

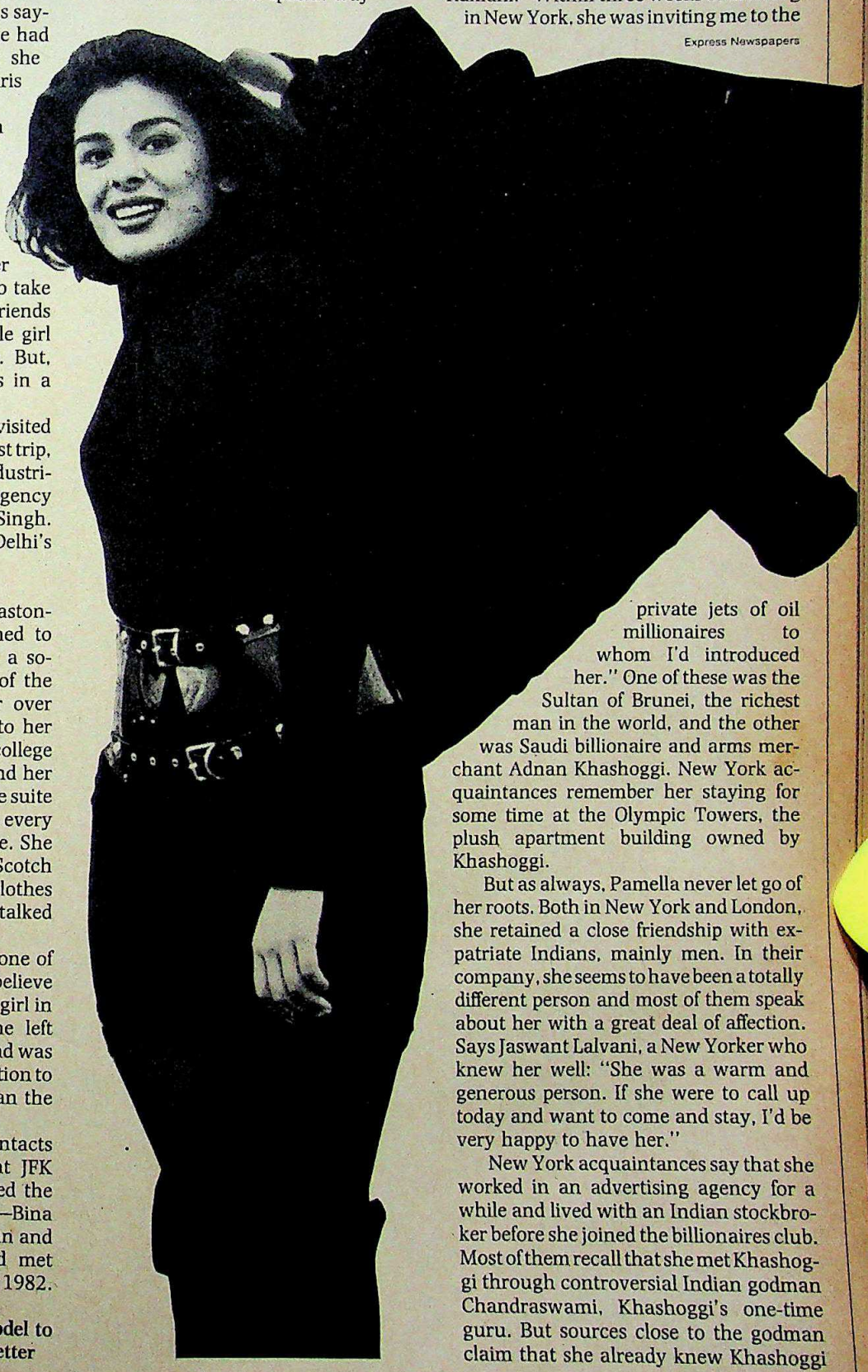
Pam, as she is called by friends, visited Delhi in 1984 and in 1986. On her last trip, she was the guest of a prominent industrialist and stayed at the Hyatt Regency hotel before shifting to the Taj Man Singh. She was soon a star attraction in Delhi's cocktail circuit.

THE change in her was truly astonishing. Overnight, she seemed to have been transformed into a sophisticated, street-smart woman of the world, fully aware of her power over men—and quite happy to use it to her advantage. Says a friend from her college days who met her in 1986: "I found her stunning and sexy. She had a whole suite to herself at the Taj. She was out every night and constantly on the phone. She must have been very rich to order Scotch in the room, just like that. Her clothes were very, very expensive. Money talked in every seam."

Where did it all come from? None of her friends in India is prepared to believe that Pamella was a high class call girl in those earlier days. But when she left Bombay for Peru in 1982, all she had was $500 in her purse and a fierce ambition to make it big. And where bigger than the Big Apple?

Virtually broke and with no contacts in New York, Pamella arrived at JFK Airport from where she telephoned the only person she vaguely knew—Bina Ramani, the Sindhi businesswoman and prominent socialite. Ramani had met Pamella during a visit to India in 1982. Pamella asked if she could stay with Ramani till she found her feet. Recalls Ramani: "She came to stay for a few weeks. She was bright, intelligent, crazy and totally unpredictable. But there was something about Pam that made one like her." And she had a special way with men. Says Ramani: "She was always hotly discussed. Her opening line was her weapon. She'd grab attention with her one-liners."

It was this talent that launched Pamella into the jet set whirl. Says Ramani: "Within three weeks of arriving in New York, she was inviting me to the private jets of oil millionaires to whom I'd introduced her." One of these was the Sultan of Brunei, the richest man in the world, and the other was Saudi billionaire and arms merchant Adnan Khashoggi. New York acquaintances remember her staying for some time at the Olympic Towers, the plush apartment building owned by Khashoggi.



Express Newspapers

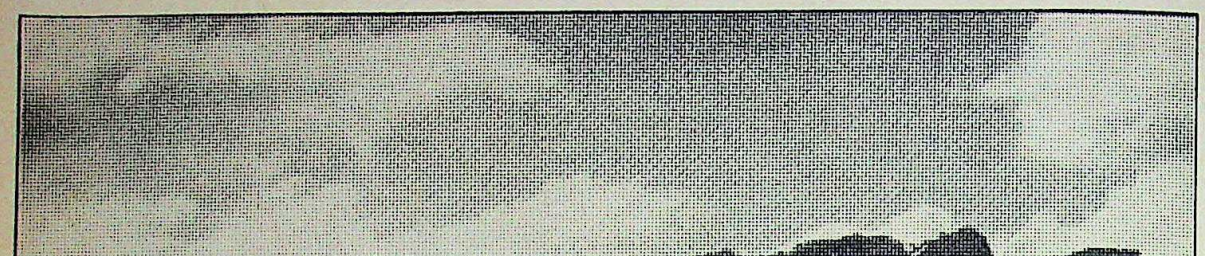
Pamella's transformation from model to Miss India to international jet-setter

But as always, Pamella never let go of her roots. Both in New York and London, she retained a close friendship with expatriate Indians, mainly men. In their company, she seems to have been a totally different person and most of them speak about her with a great deal of affection. Says Jaswant Lalvani, a New Yorker who knew her well: "She was a warm and generous person. If she were to call up today and want to come and stay, I'd be very happy to have her."

New York acquaintances say that she worked in an advertising agency for a while and lived with an Indian stockbroker before she joined the billionaires club. Most of them recall that she met Khashoggi through controversial Indian godman Chandraswami, Khashoggi's one-time guru. But sources close to the godman claim that she already knew Khashoggi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

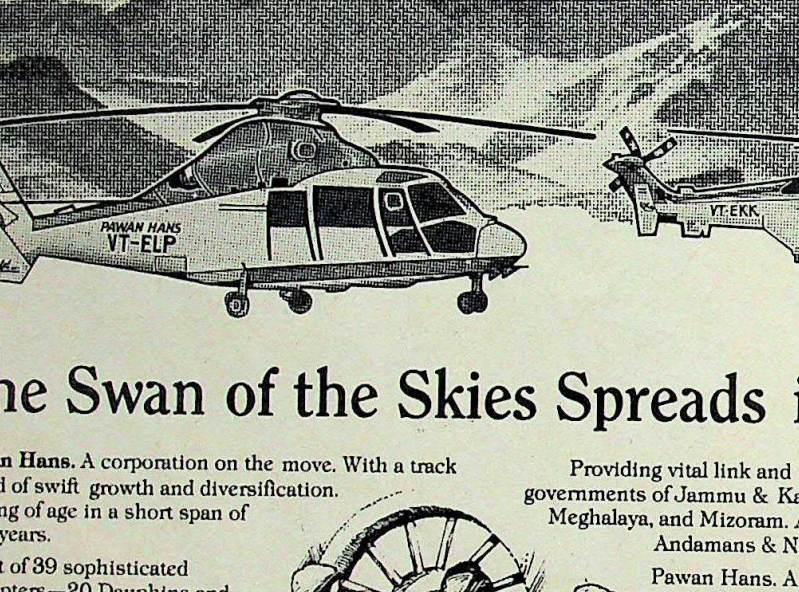
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



The Swan of the Skies Spreads its Wings

Pawan Hans. A corporation on the move. With a track record of swift growth and diversification. Coming of age in a short span of three years.

A fleet of 39 sophisticated helicopters—20 Dauphins and 19 Westland 30s—that give support services to the nation's vital energy sector. To ONGC, Oil India, Gas Authority of India, and Coal India. Saving the country Rs. 45 crores in precious foreign exchange every year. Carrying, in 1988 for ONGC alone, over 3,50,000 passengers and 9,20,000 kg cargo.



Providing vital link and relief services to the state governments of Jammu & Kashmir, Sikkim, Nagaland, Meghalaya, and Mizoram. And the distant islands of Andamans & Nicobar, and Lakshadweep.

Pawan Hans. A corporation that employs the most qualified and experienced pilots and technicians. A company whose flying and maintenance standards are as stringent as anywhere in the world.

A company with a vision of the future. Committed to bring the remote and high altitude regions of the country into the national mainstream. Tapping natural resources in inaccessible areas. Introducing shuttles from airports to city centres. Opening new vistas for tourism. For business. And for the nation's economy.

PAWAN HANS LTD.

Palika Kendra, Sansad Marg,
New Delhi-110 001. Tel. 345930, 345943, 345966
Telex : 31-62849 HCI IN.

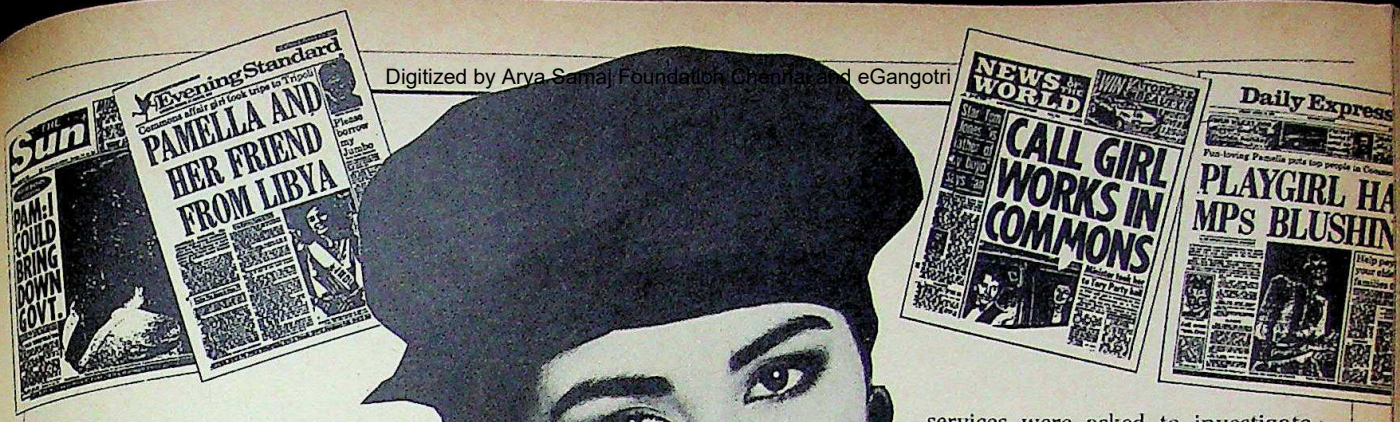
Exploring new frontiers

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU CENTENARY
1889 1989

Advtg. Integrated/PH/5489

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Rex Features

when Chandraswami met her in 1985 in New York—he was introduced to her at a reception hosted by a senior Nepali diplomat, who now holds a key portfolio in the Nepalese Government, in his honour. She was into modelling at that time and wanted his contacts.

Other New York sources say that Pamella met Khashoggi in 1983 when he was visiting the city and was looking for a 'social escort', a polite term for the bevy of beauties he kept at his beck and call. She spent some months on his luxury yacht Nabila and is also known to have stayed in the apartment building he owns in Paris, occupied mainly by wealthy Arabs, including Libyans. But Khashoggi was just one among a host of influential connections.

Already well in with the international jet set, Pamella shifted base to London in 1984 where her strategy for entering the highest social circles followed a familiar pattern. She first got friendly with high-living Indians, mainly sons of rich businessmen. Through them, Pamella made the contacts to launch her assault on British society. She had a ready-made entree—her equestrian background. Pamella had an affair with a well-known British jockey before moving on to higher things—one of Britain's biggest horse-breeders. Her friends say she spent time shuttling between London and the horse-breeder's country estate.

By now, Pamella's varied circle of high finance friends had given her first-hand knowledge of the world of big business. One close friend remembers her holding forth on the commodity market and quoting rates of Brazilian coffee. She claimed, and obviously knew enough about it, to be dabbling seriously in the stock-market.

This is when the life and times of Pamella Singh, now Bordes, started acquiring a dubious tinge. In what was perhaps a desperate attempt to maintain her expensive life-style, Pamella was seen in the company of a well-known, high class madame, also of Indian origin. Obviously, Pamella was living on the thin dividing line between a wild, tempestuous young girl out for a good time and a high class call girl selling her body for large sums of money.

> **Pamella could be a creature of the tabloids rather than a modern Mata Hari.**

WHAT is known is that Pamella then started shuttling between London and Paris with her marriage to Bordes being merely a brief interlude to get her a residence permit to live in France. But after she dumped Bordes, her Paris jaunts were mainly to meet the high-ranking Libyan, Ahmed Gedda Feddem, who spends more time in Paris than Libya. He stays at either the exclusive George V or the Prince de Galles hotel and is Gadaffi's point man for a host of business deals. He handles oil and other sensitive contracts in Europe. But of his relationship with Pamella, little is known. After the story broke in London, the French intelligence services were asked to investigate. They have reported that no intelligence links existed.

But Feddem is said to be a womaniser and it is well known that he and Gadaffi have the best-looking girls shipped to Tripoli and spend a lot of money on them. The Libyans in Paris don't want to talk about Feddem because it could get them into trouble. It is, however, not true that he is the head of the Libyan secret service. That distinction belongs to Al Ahmidi-al-Khoueldi. But Feddem, because of his contacts, his role as Gadaffi's agent and his life-style, would almost certainly be involved in some kind of intelligence role.

Moreover, all Pamella's friends say she was quite capable of getting involved in espionage for kicks. Says a London friend: "She would do anything for a wild adventure. If there was any spying involved, she'd have been the first one to get into it."

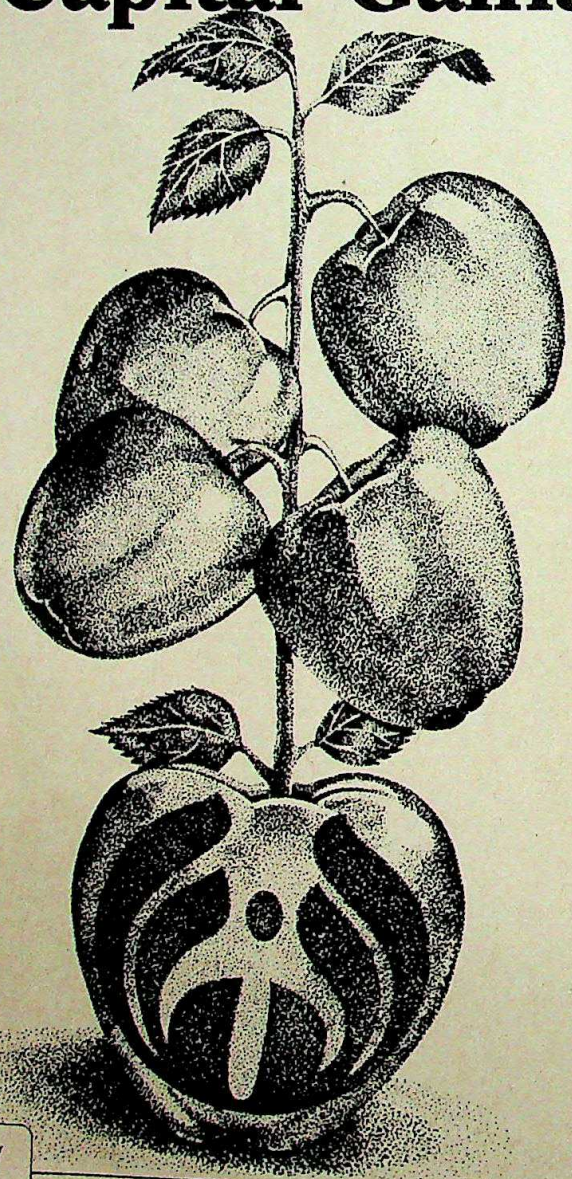
But with the initial furore over the Pamella affair having died down—and Britain's MI5 clearing her of any security implications—the Pamella affair has raised more questions than it answers. Is Pamella just an insecure, mixed-up girl whose quest for fame and fortune got her involved in a messy sex scandal? Or is she an expensive call girl with no scruples about whom she sleeps with? Do her bedroom sexploits constitute a serious security threat? Or is she just a creature of London's tabloids ever on the lookout for a scandal? The only one who can provide the answer is Pamella herself. And she isn't telling—except for £1 million and the starring role in a film on her torrid life.

—DILIP BOBB with DIPANKAR DE SARKAR in London, AMRIT KARKARIA in New York, PHILIPPE FLANDRIN in Paris, SALIL TRIPATHI in Bombay and DAVID DEVADAS and MADHU JAIN in Delhi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IDBI Capital Bonds An attractive instrument for exemption from Capital Gains Tax.



- Available at par throughout the year.
- Exemption from Capital Gains tax under Section 54E of the Income Tax Act, 1961.
- Exemption from Wealth tax under Section 5(1) (xvie) of the Wealth Tax Act, 1957
- Income tax benefit under Section 80L.
- Interest at 9% p.a. payable half yearly.
- At the investor's option, interest for the full period of 3 years can be paid in advance on discounted basis.
- No deduction of tax at source.
- Outstation cheques accepted and cost of collection will be borne by IDBI.

25TH YEAR OF SERVICE TO INDUSTRY

For further details contact the nearest IDBI office or write to Manager.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BANK OF INDIA

Jolly Maker Chambers No. 2, 225, Vinay K. Shah Marg, Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021.

Sathaya-B-198

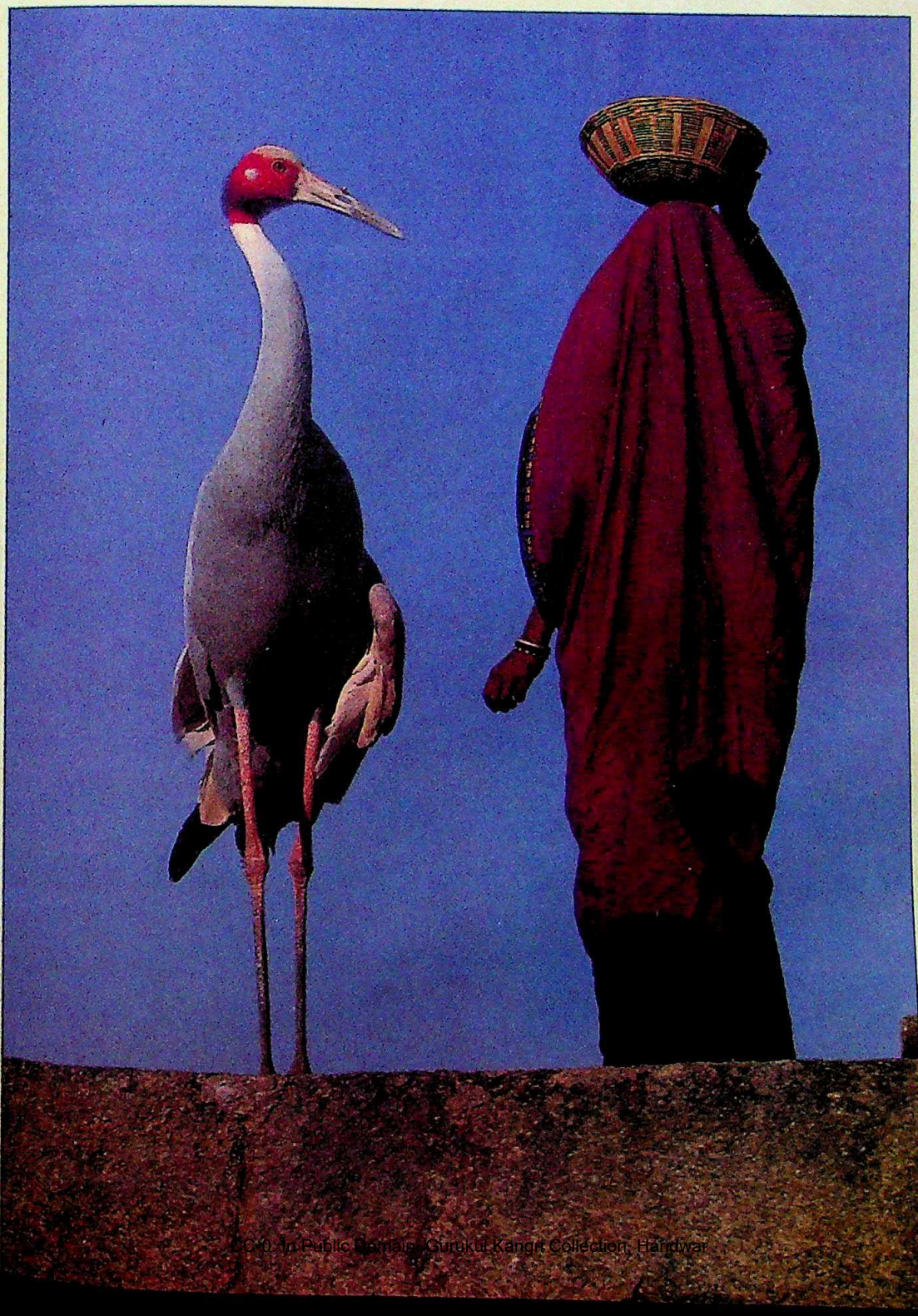
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Of Human Bondage

Sarus cranes live in ponds and lakes. Not in villages and houses. They eat shrubs, insects. Not chapatis. They flee humans. Not snuggle up to them. But in Khajuraho lives a crane that defies all crane-like behaviour. An exploration of his world.

Photographs by Picture Editor RAGHU RAI. Text by Executive Editor INDERJIT BADHWAR.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kurrkutt steps out of his house, where he has slept the night with the cattle, to greet the morning sunshine.

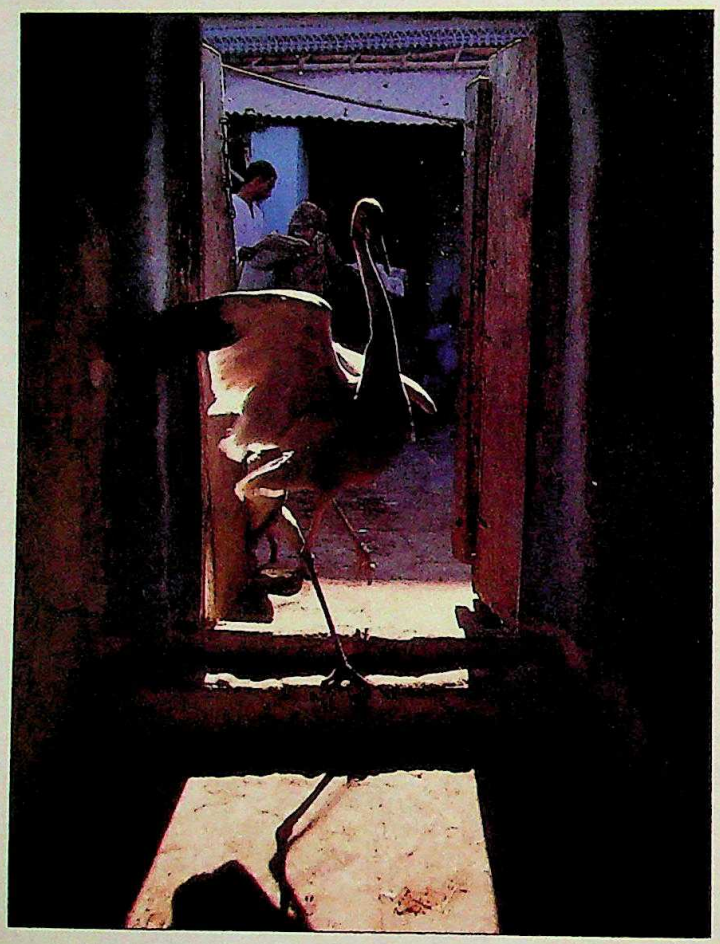
THE village of Khajuraho usually starts coming to life around 6 a.m. on a typical early morning in March. The sun is still an indistinct blob of magenta and the tiled, brick-red roofs of the mud and clay dwellings appear flat and dull and grey. A waking wind, chilled by the night dew, spreads into the village from across an open expanse in the west where the rock-cut temples stand silhouetted like sentinels from a bygone age.

Lallu Ram, a strapping Yadav lad in a village peopled mostly by the Chandelas who once ruled the region and whose artistes carved on the temple walls the erotic icons that have transfixed in wonderment all who view them, swings a creaky bucket on his way to the well. He is joined by others and within 10 minutes the cluttering of buckets is a morning alarm that inspires the roosters to start crowing, the jackdaws to caw, parrots to shriek, buffaloes to snort, and the village's curs to yelp as they forage for food.

From the huge tank that lies at the bottom of the village comes a strange sound—strange to the citified, but all too familiar to people used to living in open spaces surrounded by lakes and ponds. It is what India's ace birdman, the late Salim Ali, described so aptly as "a loud, sonorous, far-reaching trumpeting" before which all lesser sounds seem to melt away into silence. *Kurrrr-urrrr. Kurrr-urrr.*

The call of the Sarus cranes. This one is from an adult pair that has made the lake its home. It is a call that greets the dawn. But in the wild, it is also an alarm sounded by Saruses when they sense either danger to themselves and are preparing to take off in flight—slow rhythmic wing-strokes, neck outstretched in front, legs trailing behind—or when they perceive danger to the other winged species that make the lake their home. Danger, particularly from the approach of man, of whom they remain wary and vigilant. Deceptively tame, they may allow man to come within 20 feet of them. But no nearer.

Lallu Ram smiles, as if in anticipation, and looks towards the wooden door of a hut facing the lake, its walls painted in garish blue, purple and orange colours depicting religious themes. The door creaks open and S.P. Singh, the son-in-law of the household who is there on a visit, pushes a buffalo through the courtyard. From the lake, a hundred yards away, the Saruses trumpet again. Perhaps a wake-up call. Perhaps a warning that night's protective womb is no more and that it is time to be on the alert against the danger of man now coming to life in the village under the waking wind.



Or perhaps they call to Kurrkutt. For he is their truant son who left them two-and-a-half years ago to journey into man's world. Lallu Ram still stares at the doorway from which the buffalo has just been jettisoned by S.P. Singh. And from within the courtyard, out of the shadows, from behind the curtain, comes Kurrkutt. *Kurr-urr, kurr-urrr.* Kurrkutt raises his long, slender, grey neck with its incongruously naked, yet somehow regal, red head and gazes in the direction of the lake. He parts his long, stake-like beak as if to answer. From the wilderness below, the trumpets of his species, of his parents, sound again. Kurrkutt bends his neck from side to side in rapt attention and blinks his orange eyes.

"He will not answer. He never answers. He is not one of them. He is one of us. He even eats our food," says Lallu Ram, gleefully thrusting a chapati into Kurrkutt's beak which he proceeds to gobble up much in the way a pelican does fish, with bobbing motions of the head, the chapati travelling through the long beak in three jump-stages—tip, middle, throat. And Kurrkutt—all four-and-a-half feet of him—asks for more.

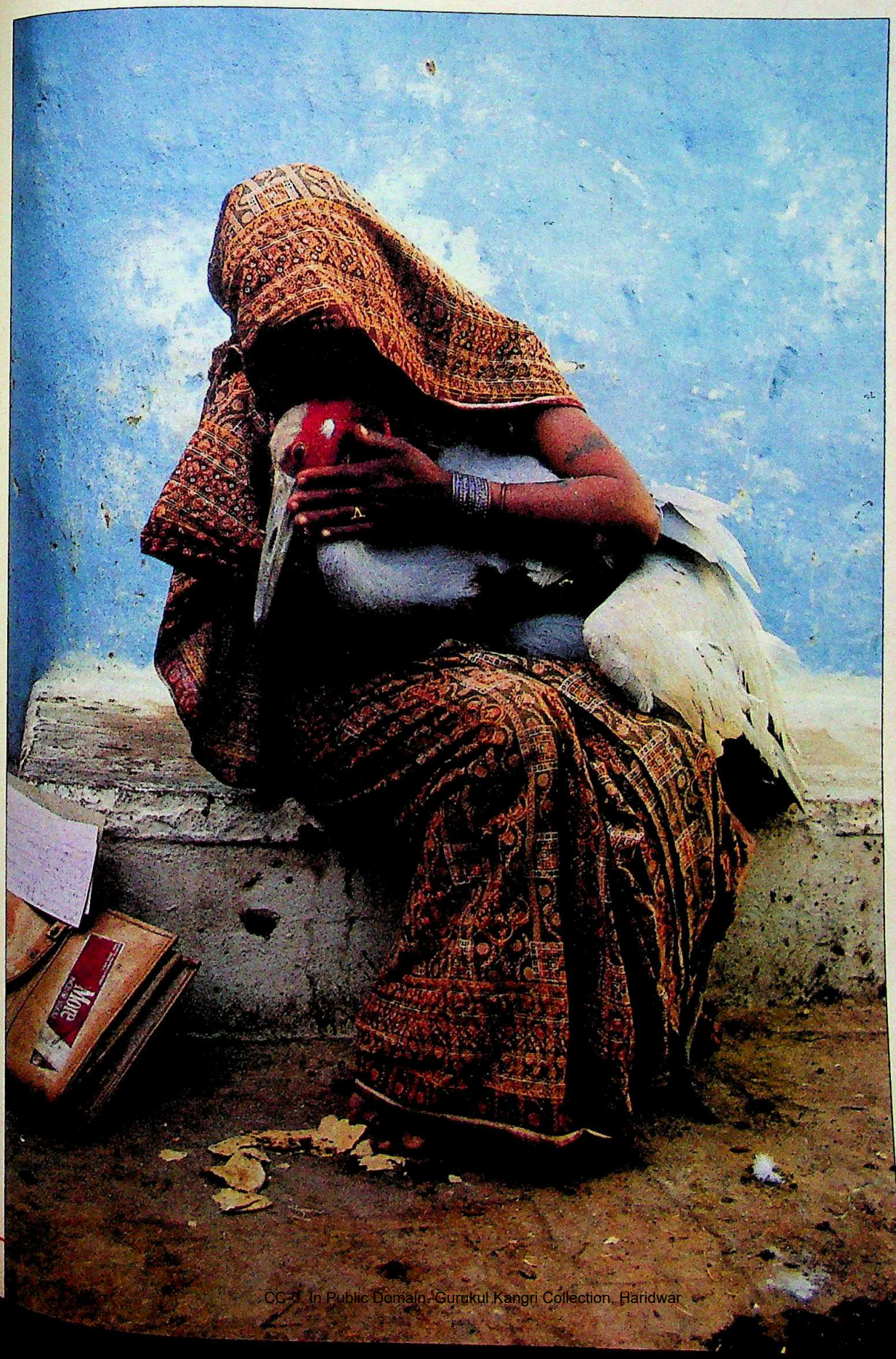
Kurrkutt—named onomatopoeically—has lived in this house for more than two years. It is the late Govind Singh Chandela's house, whose widow, Ram Kanwar, known for her fondness for snakes, rhesus monkeys, roseringed parakeets, wounded puppies and other creatures of the wild, brought up Kurrkutt as a son. She fed him milk; she fed him bread. And today she is among the few who can cuddle him, even spank him.

Most—especially children—dare not go near him, for Kurrkutt can wield his beak with the menace of a Gurkha's khukri. Khajuraho's children, when they are naughty, are often told stories at night by their mothers about how accurately Kurrkutt can drill a neat hole in the forehead of an errant youngster. Says nine-year-old Parvati: "He pecks at children's eyes. We don't touch him." But those who have experienced the wrong end of Kurrkutt's beak say the assault is more in the nature of a gentle, but determined nudge. Strange though he may look—and quite formidable—in the com-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ram Kanwar, the widow who brought up
the baby-crane on milk, still thinks of him as a son.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

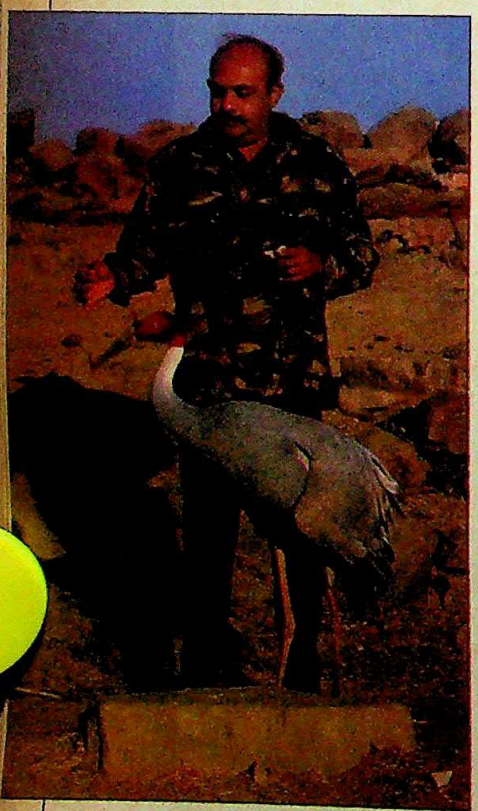
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

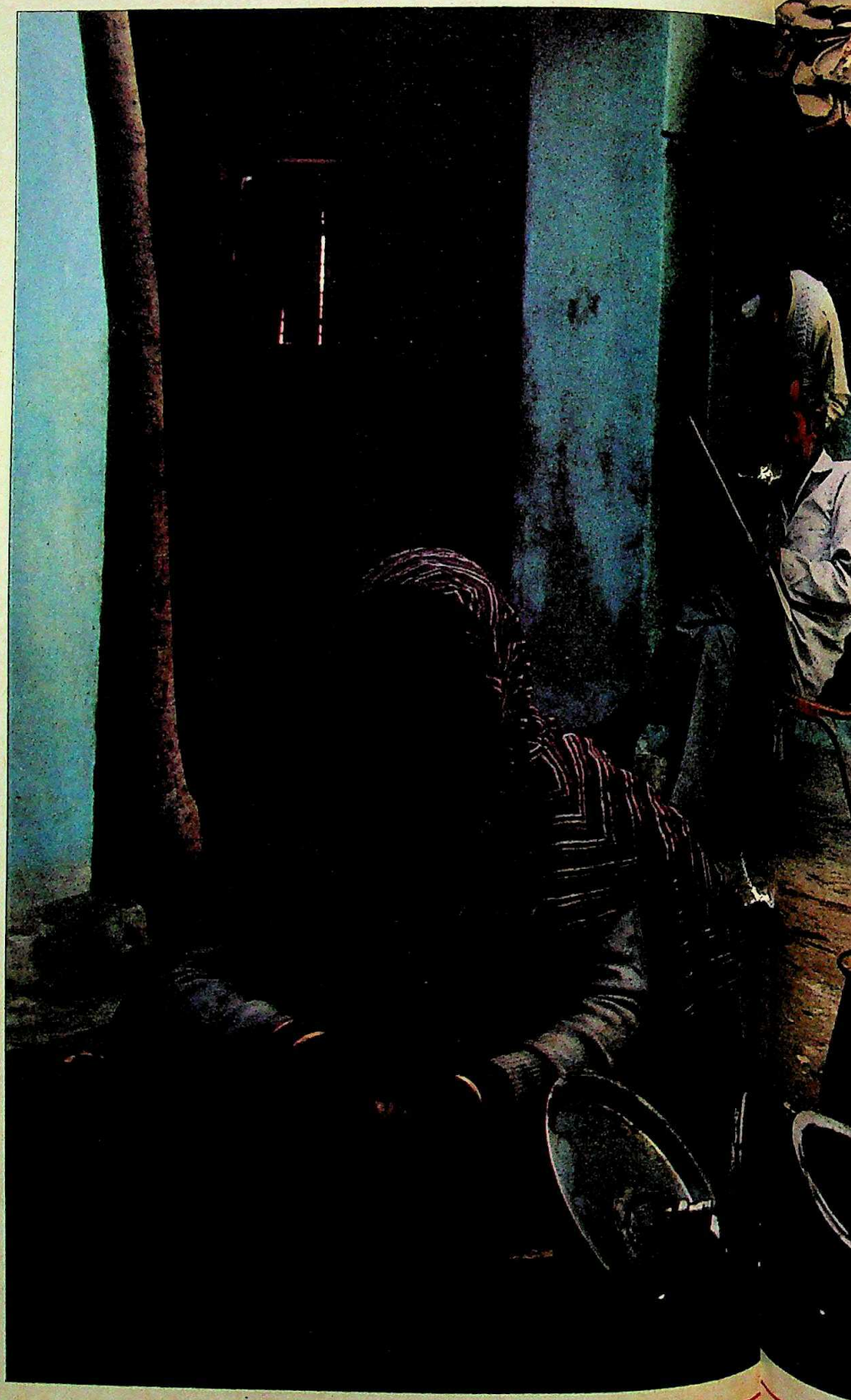
Hunter-turned-protector
Balwant Singh feeds him chapatis.

pany of men, and dogs, and cattle, he is a pussycat in the arms of Ram Kanwar. She cuddles him like a baby and whispers into his ear. You can almost hear him purr.

Most children, even many adults, for whom Kurrkutt is a part of their daily landscape as he lollops about in the village lanes or accompanies herds of cattle to pasture early every morning, don't really know how Kurrkutt came to live in their village. They know that Sarus cranes are shy birds that mate for life and live paired in conjugal harmony in open lakes, moving away to other wetlands or riverbeds when droughts deplete their habitats of water. But because Kurrkutt to them is as familiar as a village cow or buffalo, they have ceased to wonder about him.

LAST year, when the water dried up, Kurrkutt's parents migrated to the nearby Khudar river. But Kurrkutt stayed in the village, spending nights either with Ram Kanwar, asleep standing on one long, bared leg, his beak tucked under a wing, along with the family's buffaloes in the courtyard, or in the open near the Dulhi Deo temple a kilometre away from the village. They have ceased to wonder why he, like all self-respecting

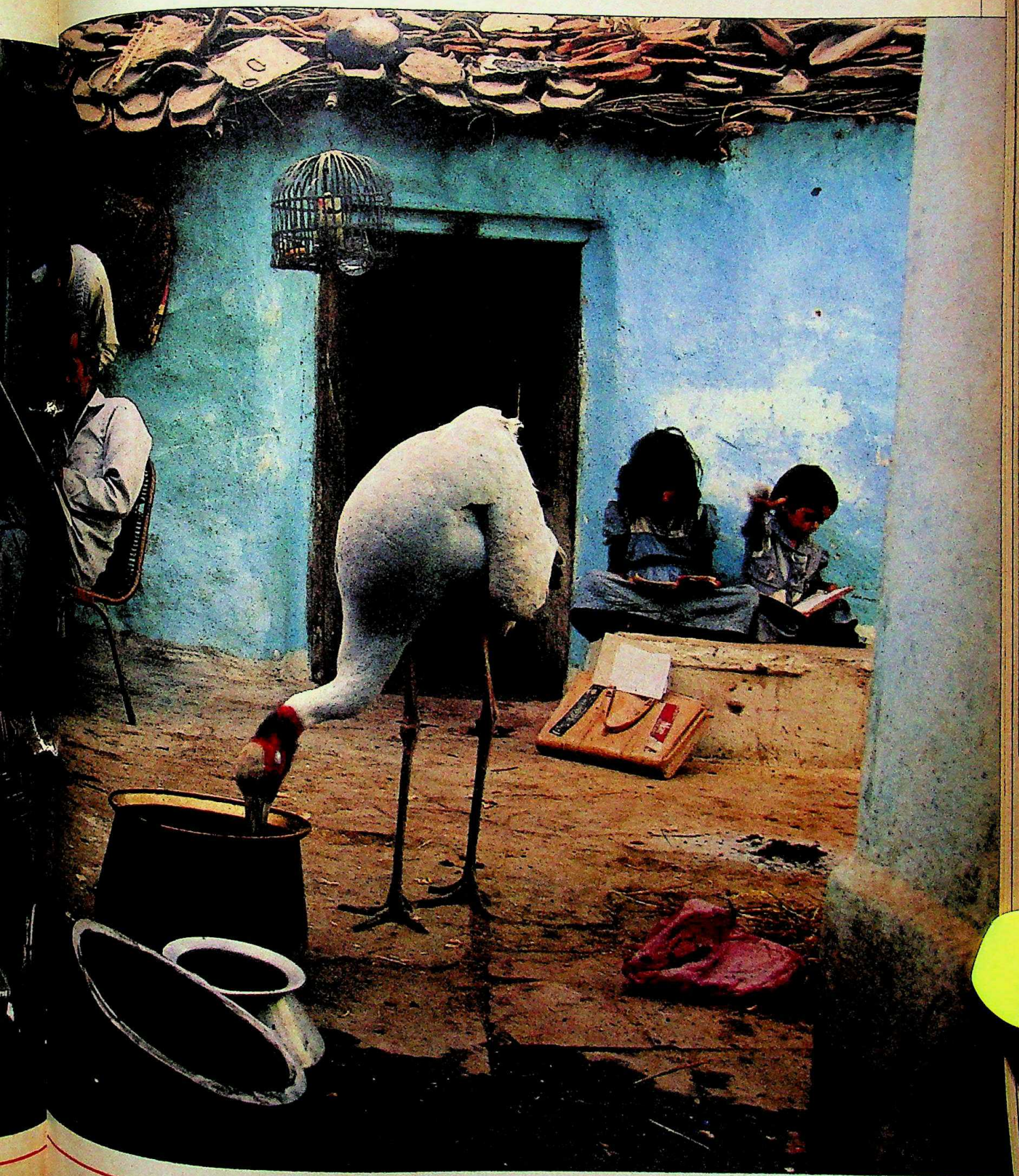




CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Foraging for morsels of food inside the Ram Kanwar household while the family goes about its routine chores.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

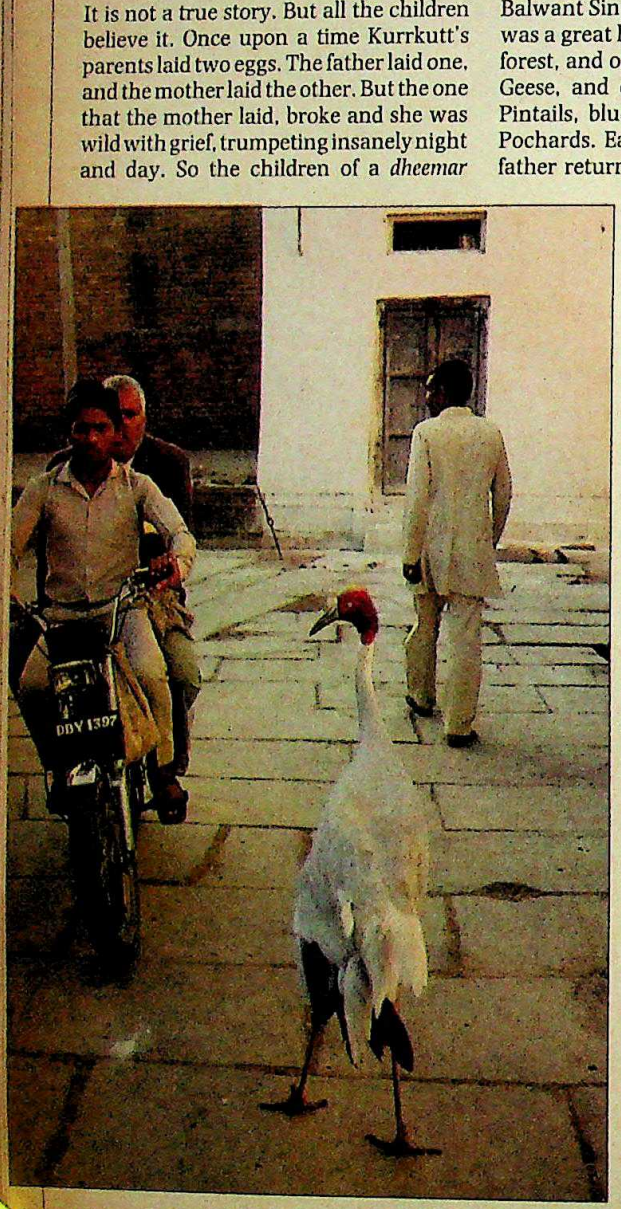
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He is a familiar sight, pitter-pattering through the village's lanes.

Saruses, did not traipse off towards wetter pastures. Kurrkutt, simply, is just there.

The children have a story about him. It is not a true story. But all the children believe it. Once upon a time Kurrkutt's parents laid two eggs. The father laid one, and the mother laid the other. But the one that the mother laid, broke and she was wild with grief, trumpeting insanely night and day. So the children of a *dheemar* (fisherman) family took the remaining egg into safe custody and brought it to Chandra Kumari, Ram Kanwar's daughter. It was an enormous egg, the size of a football, and Ram Kanwar's family had to deploy two of their fattest hens to hatch it. And that's how Kurrkutt was born. But when it began to like chapatis instead of the grain that the two surrogate mother-hens tried to feed it, they fled their nest and left the mothering to Ram Kanwar.

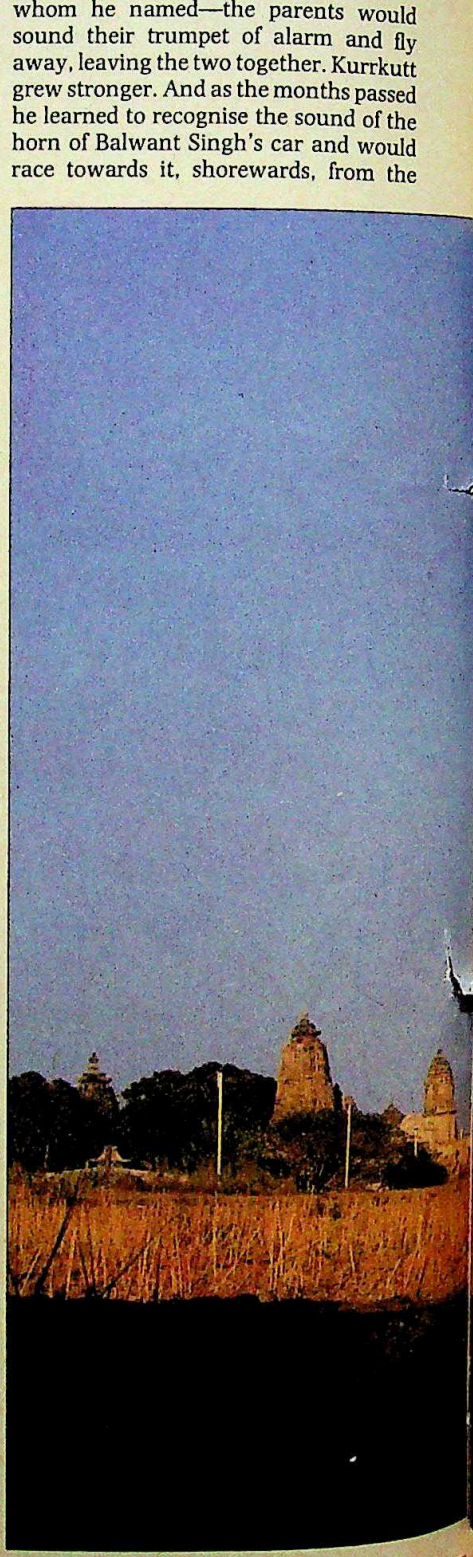
The adults have a story about him too. And this is a true story. Once upon a time there lived in Khajuraho—and still lives there—a prince (now former maharaja), Balwant Singh of Chhatarpur. His father was a great hunter of tigers in the Panna forest, and of wild Greylag and Bar-head Geese, and of ducks such as Wigeons, Pintails, blue-winged Teals, and Tufted Pochards. Each time the prince and his father returned from a hunt, the prince would quietly steal a dead Pintail or Teal and stuff it inside a toy-house in the hope it would come alive in the morning. The dead ducks merely stiffened, and the prince, unable to bring them back to life, was inconsolable for days.



But when the prince grew up, he too, like his father, became a shikari, a stalker of winged and four-footed prey. Until a decade ago. When he suddenly put an end to his predatory ways and put his excellent collection of shotguns in storage. In fact, he became an ardent conservationist, with a change of heart so dramatic that he began to catalogue and photograph all the bird species of the area for a book. His remaining passion now being to establish a bird sanctuary in the area.

"It must have been something from my childhood," he says. "I was always torn between hunting and conserving life." He discovered Kurrkutt two-and-a-half years ago during a visit to the lake where he had hunted during his childhood and youth. Kurrkutt, then no more than a few months old and barely a foot-high was with his parents, unable to walk or eat, and close to death. Some village children, encountering the Sarus family, had pelted the baby Sarus with stones, wounding it severely.

Balwant Singh began to nurse the infant crane in the weedy lake that was its home. He applied antiseptics and astringents and made sure the baby was fed a regular diet of the choicest earthworms dug up from the moist land surrounding the lake. Whenever the former maharaja arrived to doctor and feed Kurrkutt—whom he named—the parents would sound their trumpet of alarm and fly away, leaving the two together. Kurrkutt grew stronger. And as the months passed he learned to recognise the sound of the horn of Balwant Singh's car and would race towards it, shorewards, from the



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Narbada Prasad Tiwari is a close friend, and Kurrkutt responds to his call and follows him like a trained hound.

middle of the lake much to the annoyance of his parents who would peck at him and try to bar his path with their beaks.

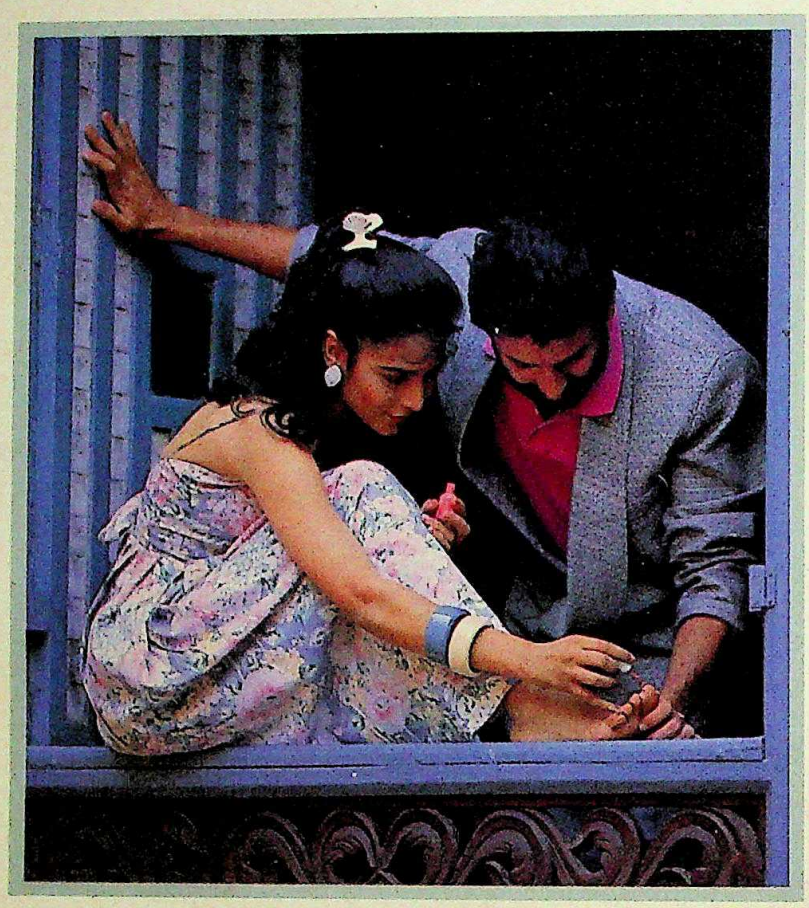
Soon Kurrkutt's parents began to reject him. Saruses, since they prefer to remain in pairs, push their young into independence, presumably urging them to find a mate and monogamous harmony. But afraid Kurrkutt would be unable to fend for himself, Balwant Singh asked Ram Kanwar, a lover of animals, to take him in. And there he remains. When Singh's car arrives in the village, he still recognises it, and runs towards Singh who feeds him endless chapatis.

Kurrkutt has, of course, also made other close friends. One of them is Narbada Prasad Tiwari who has an uncanny knack for being able to sense the whereabouts of Kurrkutt when he is not gadding about in the village. So, in search of his friend on a late afternoon in March, Tiwari trudges through fields green with young wheat stalks and golden with mustard blossoms towards Kurrkutt's haunt near the Dulhi Deo temple.

"*Ao,*" Tiwari calls, "*Ao, ao.*" And Kurrkutt, out of nowhere, comes running from a distance. He waddles, he struts, he canters, and, if he had four legs, he would

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A time might come
When we're not lovers anymore.
But we'll always be friends.

DIGJAM

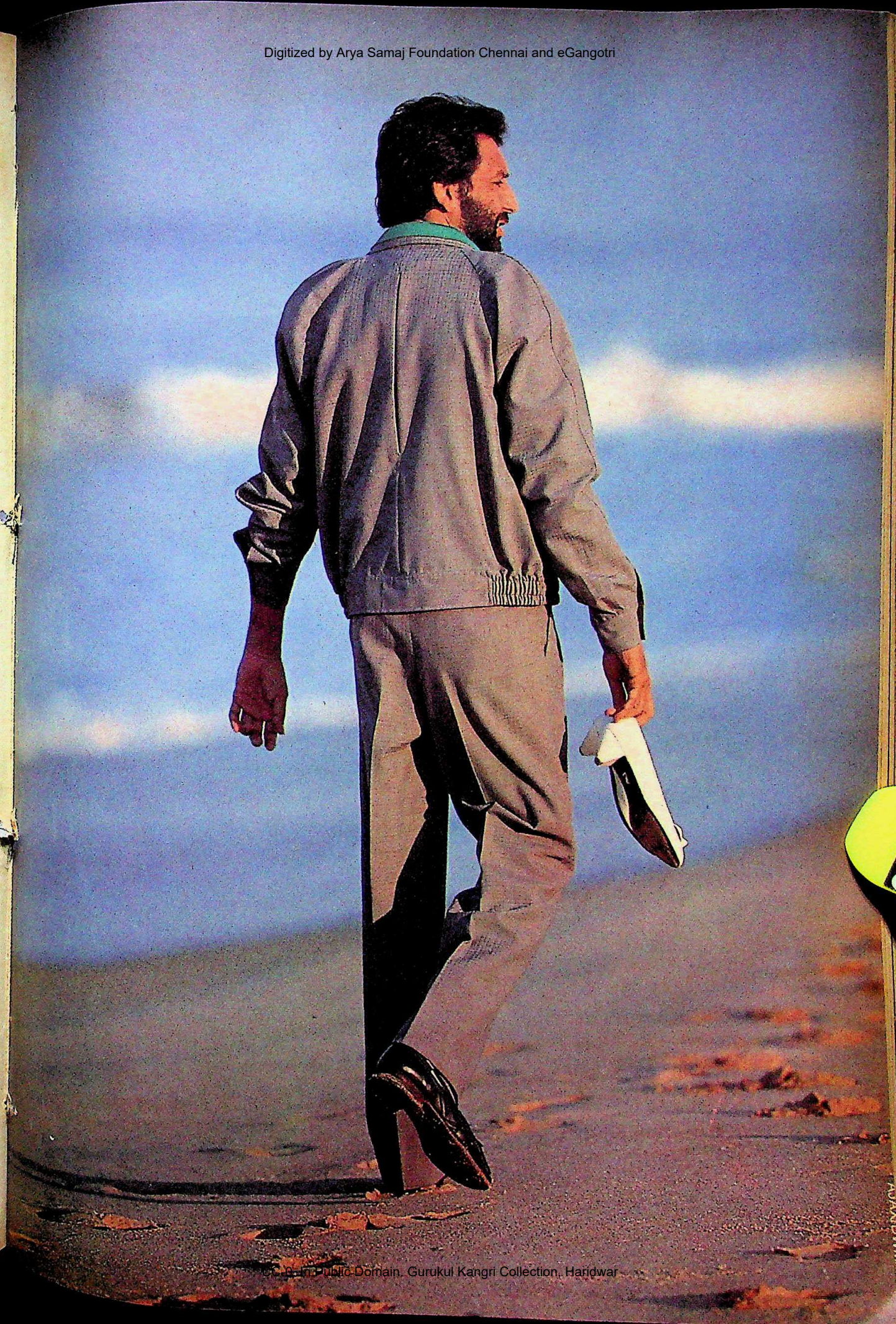
Super Suitings for the Connoisseur

Product of VXL India Ltd.
WE EXCEL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Available at Mill's SUMANGAL showrooms
and other leading stores

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

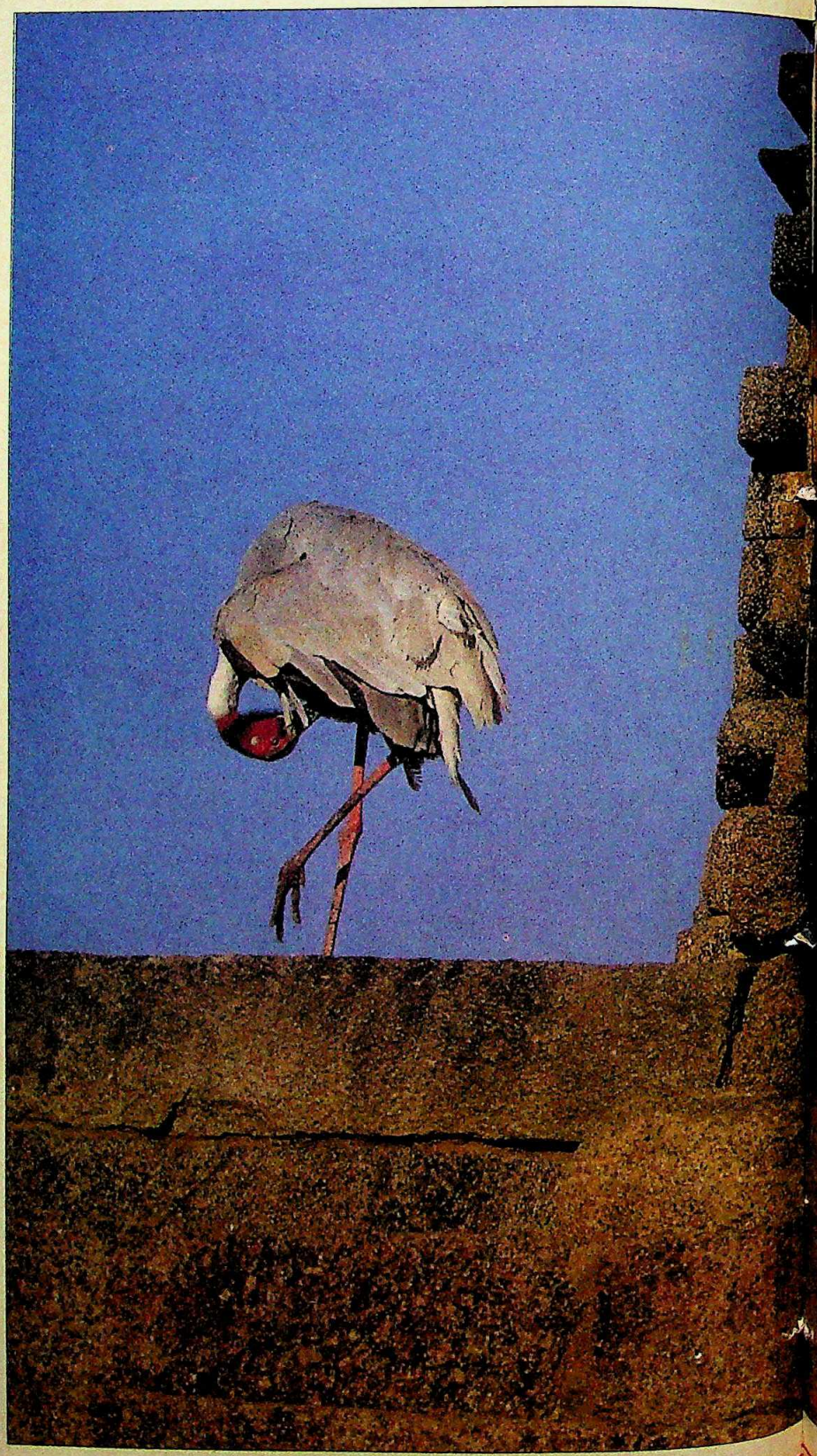
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

surely have galloped. Tiwari feeds him a chapati. Kurrkutt utters a soft, appreciative, *trrr, trrr*, something between the quack of a duck and the monsoon croaking of a bullfrog. "Let's go into the village," Tiwari says. And like a trained hound, Kurrkutt follows him. He walks tall, head held high, fearless, dignified, stylish, and full of motion. His left wing has a droop in it and he seems to find it a little difficult to keep it tucked close to his body as he does the other wing. It is a dusty road and his feet make a shlepping sound as they sink into the mud.

WHEN they enter the village, man in front, bird in tow walking tall but always carefully avoiding dogs because he fears them, women peek at him from their doorways, their *ghoonghats* drawn over their heads. Kurrkutt knows his friends as he winds his way through the village's meandering alleys paved with brick and cement, his footsteps pitter-pattering like slippered feet. He stops at doorways at which he knows he'll be fed chapatis. And the owners come out to greet him. A motorcyclist whizzes by but Kurrkutt doesn't give the contraption even a glance. The children, at a safe distance because he has already made several swift flourishes in their direction with his beak, chant: *Sarus aya, Sarus aya.*

Kurrkutt knows exactly where to stop. Ram Kanwar's home. His hearth. He stands expectantly at the doorway. If he had hands he would surely have knocked. He is ushered in without ado. Ram Kanwar's granddaughters, Rani and Kushboo, read their school books and take time off to feed their pet parakeet. Kapur Singh, a close relative, reads a day-old newspaper in the fading light. Kurrkutt forages about in pots and pans, ever in search of that elusive morsel. Chandra Kumari is getting ready to milk the buffalo tied in the adjacent courtyard. Outside, Lallu Ram is pottering about with endless buckets at the well and a transistor radio is turned on full blast. Men on bicycles are returning from work and the smoke of cooking fires begins to hang low over the village. Outside, the evening is spread out against the sky, over the lake, and Kurrkutt's parents begin to sound their last sonorous trumpets.

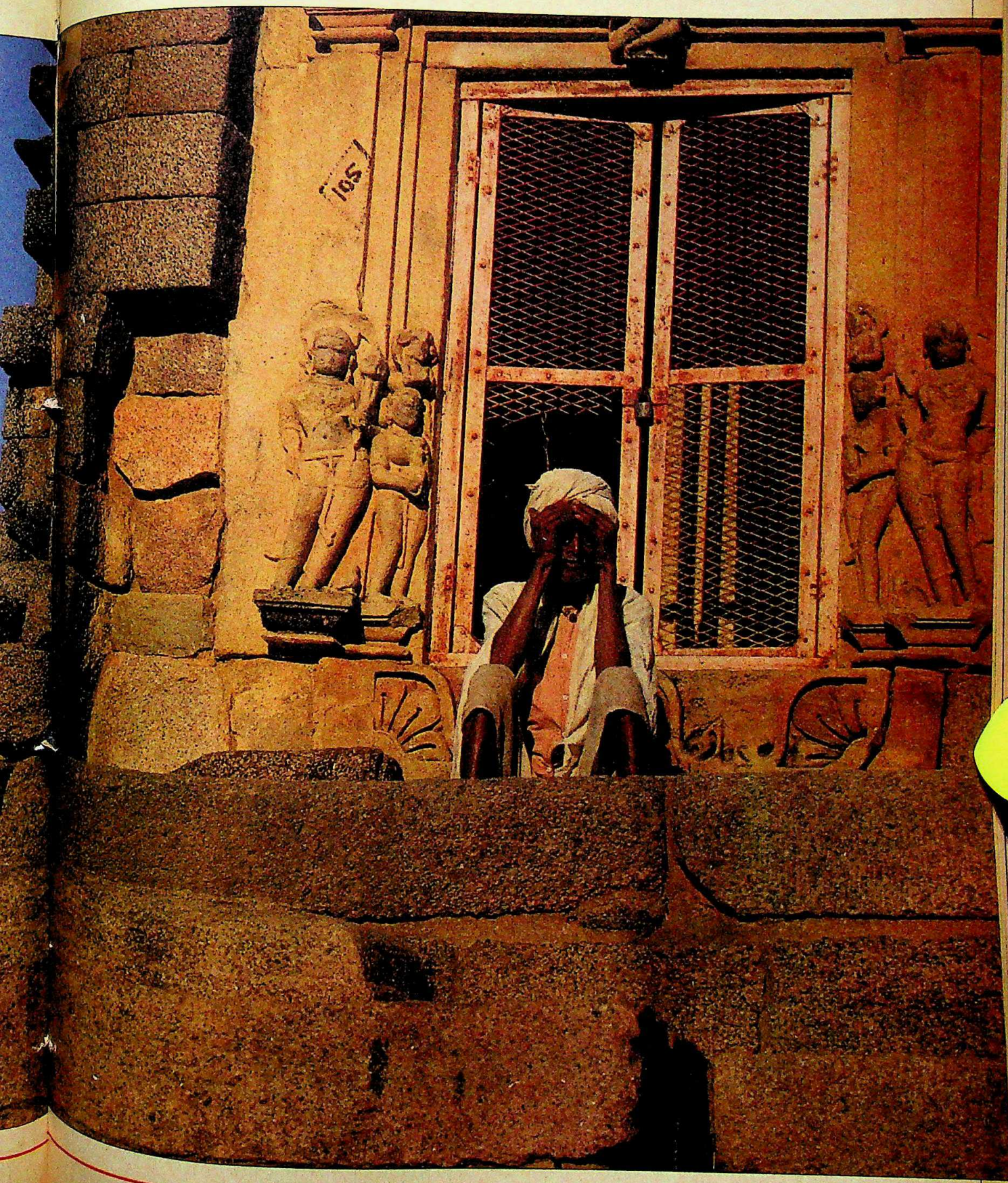
Kurrkutt will probably never become a parent. In order to become a parent you have to find a mate. And Kurrkutt is at the age when he should be in search of one. If he finds one, he will pair, perhaps for life,



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

During late afternoons his favourite perch is adjacent to a temple built above a lake in which several species of wild birds still dwell.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs. 747*

Why risk buying a smuggled watch when you can get a world class Titan Quartz from Tata?

80% of the watches smuggled into India are fake or substandard. So should you still buy one when you know you may be cheated?

No longer do you need to risk buying a smuggled watch, or worry about the cost or inconvenience of repairing even a genuine import.

Now you can buy a world class watch from Tata: Titan Quartz. Choose from an international collection of over 200 fine quartz watches. From Rs 370 to Rs 2000.

With Titan Quartz you have the Tata assurance of many years of faultless performance. And every watch is guaranteed for two years. Our after-sales network offers service with speed and economy.

With Titan Quartz, you'll never have to take any chances. Not ever.

Titan Quartz from Tata
The changing face of time

TITAN QUARTZ

Rs. 747*

Rs. 699*

Rs. 711*

Rs. 699*

Rs. 1000*

OBM4393

* PRICES SHOWN ARE INCLUSIVE OF ALL LEVIES IN MAHARASHTRA.

Titan Showrooms: F-43, South Extension-I, New Delhi 110 049.
55, Centre Point, Panchawati, Ambawadi, Ahmedabad 380 006.

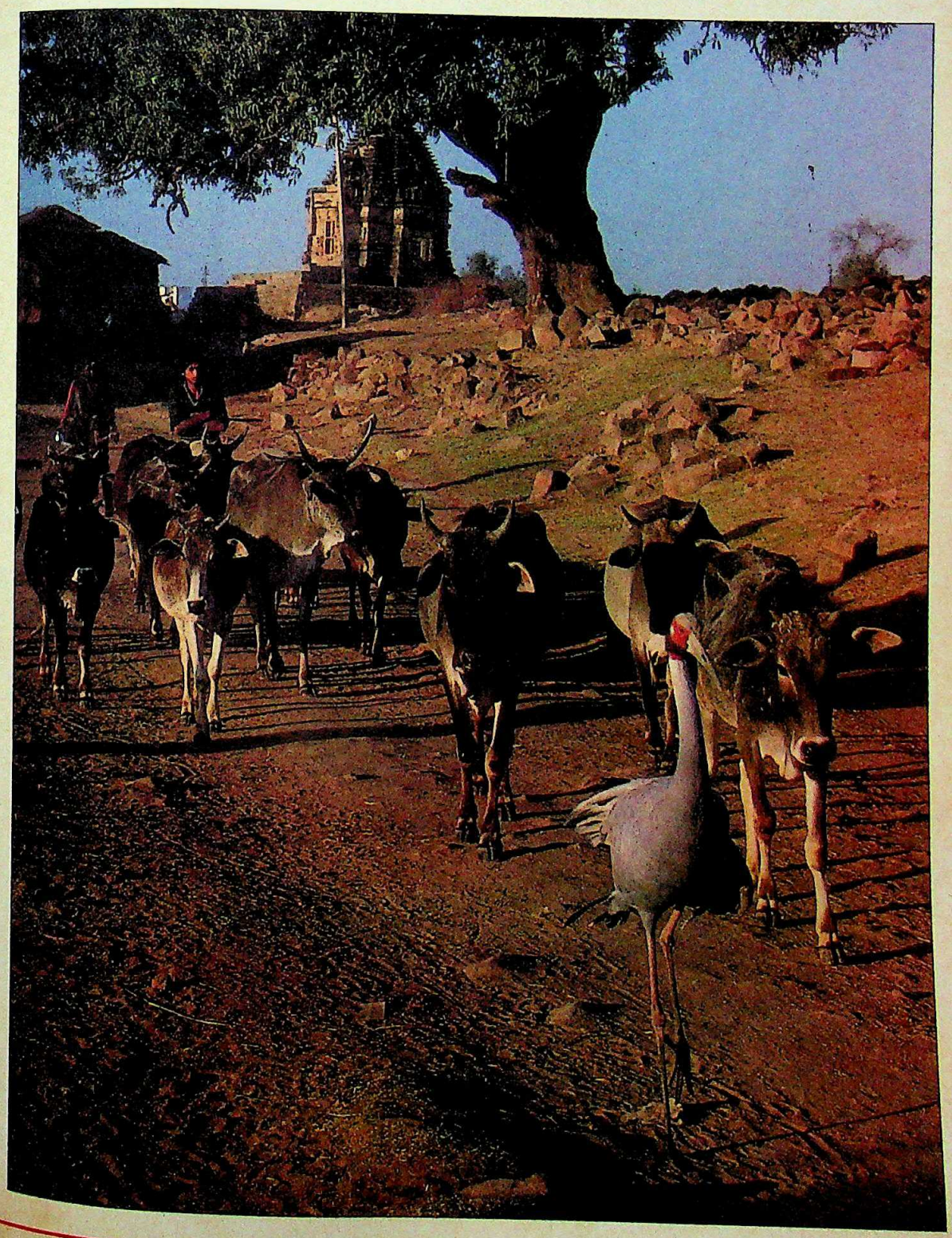
Titan Watches Limited, Sona Towers, 71, Miller Road, Bangalore 560 052.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kurrkutt, who follows the village's herds to pasture early in the morning, seems destined to live his life in his human habitat.

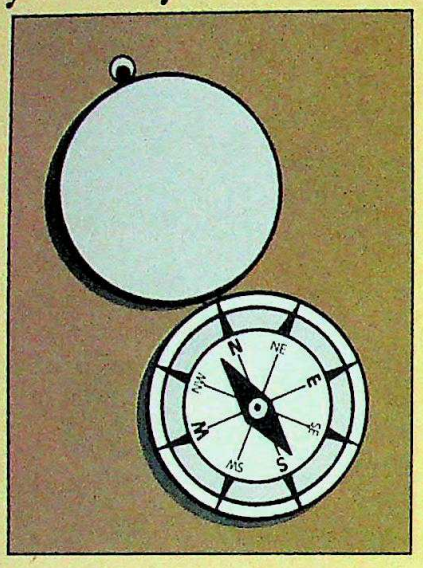
and live in his natural habitat in the wilderness. But to find a partner Kurrkutt will have to go out to where other Saruses are. Perhaps he can do this. But in order to win her as a mate he will have to do what all Saruses do—bow up and down, prance with outspread wings, and leap around her with both wings spread like those of Icarus. He cannot. For though some human beings saved his life, some others took away for good an essential part of it, condemning him, perhaps, to live with humans for ever. The damage done to his left wing by the children who injured him when he was a baby can never fully heal. He can never spread out both his wings and soar as other Saruses do.



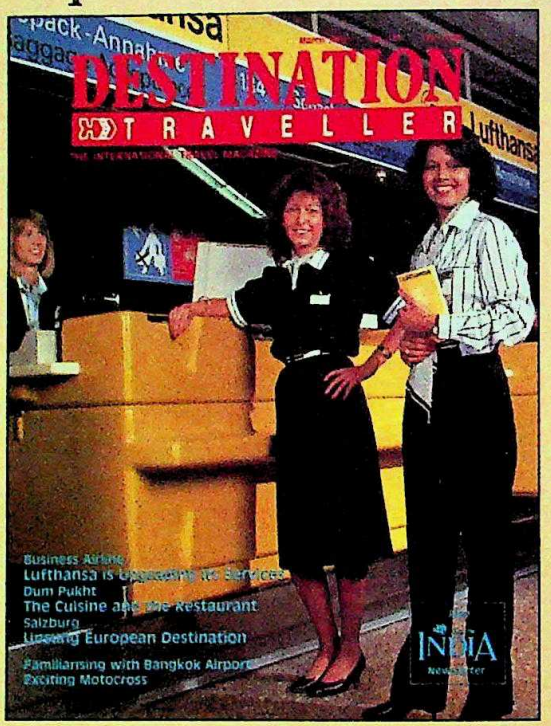
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A prerequisite for yesterday's traveller.



A prerequisite for today's frequent traveller.



Destination Traveller is the international travel magazine totally honed to the needs of the international traveller.

You could be a leisure traveller, a holidayer, or a frequent business traveller — you will find an authentic first person account on all that you need to know in Destination Traveller.

The accent is on facilities and services, not merely on destination reporting.

It is a magazine that provides practical information on hotels, airports, airlines, dining out and shopping bargains.

You, as an international traveller, just cannot afford to be without it.

GET YOUR FIRST 3 ISSUES FREE.
Subscribe for 15 months for the price of 12.
Special offer open only till April 30, 1989.

Yes, I want to subscribe to 'Destination Traveller'. Enclosed herein my DD/MO in favour of 'CROSS SECTION PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.' for Rs. 120, for 15 months.

Name:_____

Address:_____

_____ Pin:_____

Cross Section Publications Pvt. Ltd.,
F-74, Bhagat Singh Market, New Delhi-110001.

DESTINATION TRAVELLER

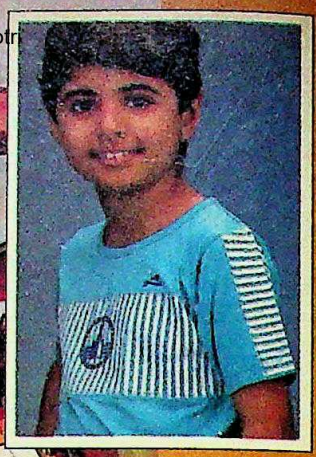
Your world is now a much smaller place

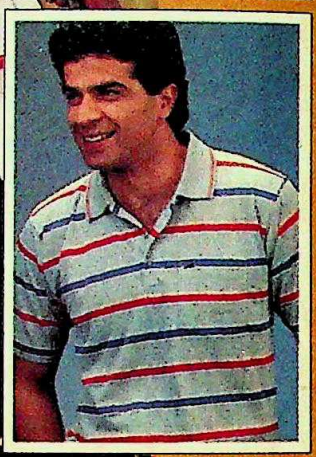
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Ha

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





YOU WON'T FIND THE BULL IN A COMMON HERD

SMASH INTERNATIONAL

International quality T-shirts and leisurewear for adults and kids in smashing new designs.

Featured here are Style Nos. HSI 716 & AM 453 for adults and AM 474 & AM 515 for kids.

Rediffusion/AM/7362

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GOING GOURMET

BEER and processed foods conglomerate Mohan Meakins will shortly be launching a chain of Japanese restaurants in association with Japan's Hokke Club Ltd, which runs 16 hotels in Japan. Mohan Hokke Ltd, the new joint venture, promises to serve authentic Japanese food at its restaurants. Indeed, some of the food will be imported from Japan (the Government may permit this because the restaurants are expected to earn foreign exchange from Japanese tourists). The first restaurant is to be opened in the capital, where a hunt is on for a site. Subsequently, restaurants are to be opened in other cities. The Rs 200-crore liquor group is also diversifying into garment exports and machinery components. In partnership with Japan's Seko Aroyo Company, it is investing Rs 1 crore in a garment unit at Alwar in Rajasthan. Japan does not impose quotas on garment imports, and Mohan Seko Ltd hopes to export an ambitious Rs 50-crore worth of garments to that country by 1993-94. The third venture will utilise the group's workshops to produce a range of components for Japanese machinery used in India and abroad.

PURE BLEND

COMPANIES abroad often blend Indian tea with tea from other countries and hawk packaged tea. A pure Indian blend will, however, soon put in an appearance overseas. The Tea Board will shortly launch Indian Gold, a blend of Indian teas, in western Europe and the US. Exactly how it will be marketed has yet to be determined, but one option is to buy a foreign marketing company. A more likely alternative: the board will enter into marketing arrangements with foreign enterprises. The Government has been setting aside an extra Rs 3 crore a year for promotional campaigns, and the board's latest effort is linked with this. Over the last two decades, India's share in western Europe's tea imports has dropped from 65 per cent to 19 per cent and the board hopes to stem the slide. Whether it will strike gold, however, has to be seen.

EXPORT PLANS

WITH a few exceptions, big business has had a limited presence in overseas markets. But at least one business group is now readying to enter the export arena in a big way. Industrialist Rama Prasad Goenka has set up a company called Sterling International Trading. Tentative plans include importing products such as metals and scrap, and exporting at least Rs 50-crore worth of third party wares a year. Some possible export items: engineering products, chemicals, processed foods, pharmaceuticals, leather and leather products and agricultural commodities. Goenka's RPG Enterprises has an office in London, but it will probably open more overseas offices. The rupee's depreciation against foreign currencies, along with government tax incentives, has made exports more profitable. The other attraction is the low investment required: the major expenditure will be on employees and office space.

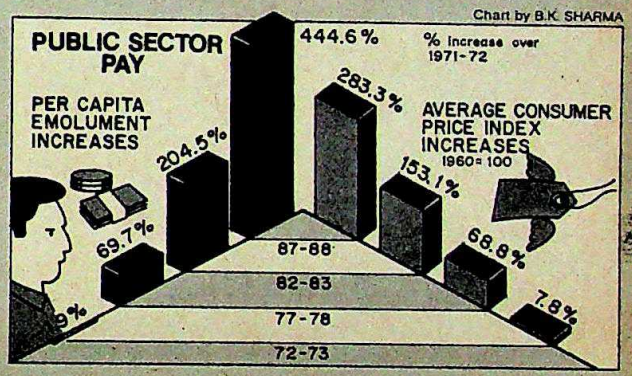
BACK IN DEMAND

THANKS to an advertising campaign and its use as a taxi in parts of north India, Maruti Udyog's Omni van is again in demand. The van used to be available off the shelf after customers cancelled van bookings and rushed to buy the new 800 cc car model, but now enjoys an unofficial two-month waiting period. As a result, the company has had to jack up van production targets from 27,000 to 31,000 in 1988-89. In 1989-90, Maruti will be turning out 36,000 vans.

EMOLUMENT INFLATION

IF government statistics are to be believed, the emoluments of public sector employees have not merely kept up with inflation—they've vastly outpaced it. According to the *Economic Survey*, for 1988-89 per capita emoluments have shot up 444 per cent since 1971-72 while the average all-India

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



consumer price index climbed 283 per cent between 1971-72 and 1987-88 (*see chart*). The conclusion: public sector employees have always been well off, except in the early '70s when inflation ate into pay-packets.

INVESTMENT COINCIDENCE

THE Modis propose to put up a number of new projects in Maharashtra's Nanded district—which happens to be Finance Minister S.B. Chavan's constituency. Last January, Modi Alkalies and Chemicals (run by the K.N. Modi branch of the family) advertised in the newspapers its intention to invest about Rs 142 crore in a range of petrochemical and other projects at Nanded. A month later, Modi Rubber (run by the other branch of the family) announced it was seeking government permission to invest Rs 120 crore in synthetic and industrial yarn ventures, and a synthetic tyre chord fabric project at the same site. The Modis, however, insist that the selection of Chavan's constituency is a sheer coincidence, that Nanded being a backward area, their projects there are entitled to tax and other incentives. What's more, alcohol which the Modi Alkalies ventures will use as a raw material is surplus in Maharashtra. Finally, Modi Rubber's choice of location is based on the easier access that Nanded affords to caprolactam, a key raw material that might have to be imported through Bombay port.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MARKETING

Changing Tack

Consumer goods producers adopt new selling strategies

SUDDENLY, consumer goods manufacturers are stepping off the beaten marketing track, fine-tuning their strategies, tinkering with product and advertising innovations or wooing the dealer. Others are reaching out to the consumer directly through retail chains.

Advertising agencies, meanwhile, are responding to the new marketing challenges. One agency has floated a separate unit to advise clients on marketing strategies, another has set up a division to deal with window displays and others have moved into direct response advertising (mailing literature to customers).

Clearly, corporate marketing is in a ferment, and it's due to competition. With the Government granting production licences more freely in the '80s, brash upstarts have started giving established corporations a run for their money. In the new milieu, the casualty rate for new products is high. One outcome is the birth of a new attitude to the customer. Says Britannia Industries Ltd (BIL) Managing Director S. Alagh: "The oh-you-lucky-consumer approach prevalent in the '70s has ended."

For companies, the stakes are high: the purses of an estimated 35 million to 40 million households that form the Indian middle class. Says Mohammed Khan, head of Enterprise Advertising in Bombay: "Consumers no longer suffer guilt about spending money."

There is no dearth of manufacturers anxious to gratify the consumer. The television industry, for instance, has over a hundred small and big manufacturers. So television marketing wars have been bloody—and companies have turned to the dealer. "Three years ago, brand loyalty counted," says S. Jiwarajka, managing director of Electronic Consortium Pvt Ltd (which hawks brands like Dyonara, Salora and Crown). "Last year, we realised that dealer loyalty was even more crucial." Dealers are now offered incentives like trips overseas and Maruti cars.

Companies have also acquired an arsenal of gimmicks. "You have to create new uses for old products," says Rajiv Aggarwal, head of Nexus Advertising. That's just what many companies are attempting to do. Last month, BIL launched Pure Magic, a chocolate-filled biscuit, in Bombay (cost: Rs 50 a kg, versus the Rs 110 a kg of chocolate). Plainly, BIL hopes its new biscuit will sell like pure magic—and chew into the chocolate market.

Also last month, India Photographic Company (IPC), an affiliate of Eastman Kodak Company of the US, commissioned a camera factory in Bangalore, and launched the Kodak Kroma, a 35 mm amateur camera. IPC has operated in India for decades, and is a market leader in colour film, paper and accessories. Sales were stagnating, and IPC dipped into the red in 1986-87. The Kroma is its big new hope. If the camera is a hot seller, the demand for Kodak paper and film could piggyback on it—a strategy adopted successfully by its rival Photophone Industries of Hotshot fame.

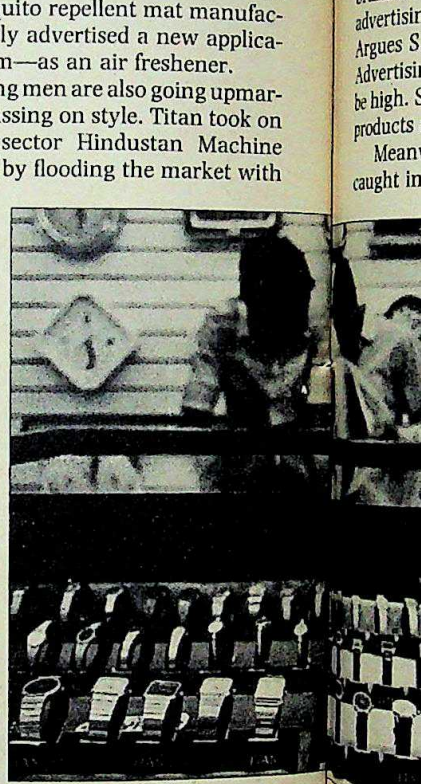
In televisions, yesterday's innovation was the remote control; today, it's the picture in picture (PIP). Launched by Videocon last year, the Maharashtra-based firm has sold 10,000 PIP sets since. Videocon officials readily admit it was a gimmick to attract consumer attention. And a mosquito repellent mat manufacturer recently advertised a new application for them—as an air freshener.

Marketing men are also going upmarket and focussing on style. Titan took on the public sector Hindustan Machine Tools (HMT) by flooding the market with stylish watches (300 designs at last count). Says Ravi Kant, Titan's vice-president for marketing and sales: "We adopted an entirely new line by putting watches in a fashion category." Two years after Titan entered the market in April 1987, it's giving market leader HMT a run for its money.

But pushing new geegaws in the market is not cheap. A 30-second TV spot costs Rs 1.5 lakh. BIL's tab for launching its new biscuit nation-wide will be Rs 1 crore. So companies are being forced to set aside fatter sums for advertising. Brooke Bond's budget, for example, has soared from Rs 2.5 crore in 1983 to nearly Rs 10 crore last year (70 per cent going to TV).

Faced with the high bills, a few companies are eschewing expensive national campaigns, focussing on regions and positioning brands accordingly. Gujarat-

Several companies are bypassing regular distribution channels and reaching out to the consumer directly by launching retail chains.



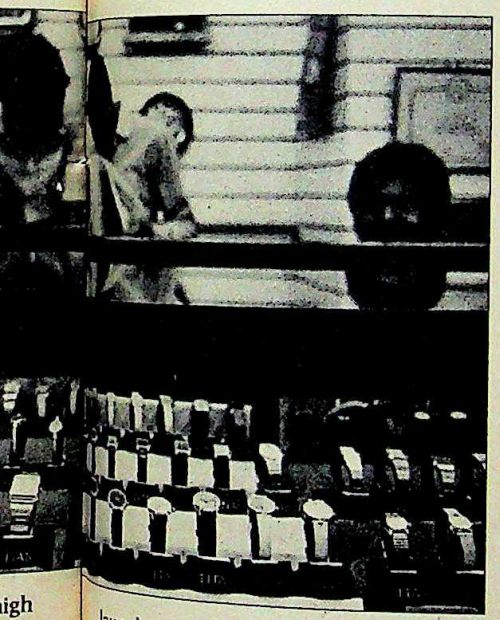
Mixers and electric kettles (left) and high fashion watches: new image

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by A nnai and eGangotri

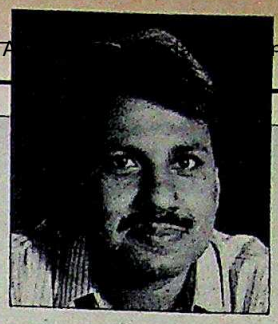
based ice-cream manufacturer Vadilal Enterprises is all set to increase its presence in Bombay this summer, but it will probably never go national. Explains Managing Director Sailesh Gandhi: "The first problem is money. The second is quality control. So we prefer to restrict ourselves to the western region." Others are sharpening their existing regional focus. Brooke Bond hawks a tea blend called Deepam largely in Kerala, and a brand of coffee called Nandi in Karnataka, advertising both on a regional basis. Argues S. Peerbhoy, chairman of Speer Advertising: "The barriers to entry may be high. So we may have fewer national products and more regional brands."

Meanwhile, many manufacturers are caught in a vicious cycle. They need to



launch new products to expand their markets. With entry costs high, the risk of failure can be high too. Three years ago, several soap manufacturers leaped into premium soaps. The first year was hunky-dory. Turning ambitious, companies invested in additional production capacities, only to find that growth in the high-priced soaps market never exceeded 8 per cent, instead of the 15 per cent marketing pundits had forecast. Godrej Soaps Managing Director A.B. Godrej says ruefully: "The soaps market has changed dramatically. New technology and sophisticated packaging have raised consumer expectations. But demand has not kept pace with supply." The soaps experience has been repeated in soft drinks (Lipton's with a drink called '21', Noble Soya with Great Shake), and in noodles (Lipton).

In a competitive market, there are no sure-fire formulae for success. So companies seek answers from ad agencies. Admits S.R. Ayer, managing director of



"The oh-you-lucky consumer approach which was very prevalent in the '70s has ended."

SUNIL ALAGH
managing director, Britannia Industries

"We've realised dealer loyalty is even more crucial than brand loyalty in the TV market."

SUSHIL JIWARAJKA
managing director, Electronic Consortium Pvt Ltd

"Our experience is that good visual merchandising can hike turnover by 15 to 20 per cent a year."

K.K. GUPTA
managing director, Indian Sewing Machines

Ogilvy, Benson and Mather (OBM): "There is a tremendous pressure on ad agencies. Clients are demanding greater involvement." Lintas, therefore, has established a division called Market Links to advise clients on marketing strategy.

Others have come up with direct response advertising. OBM set up a division called O&M Direct three years ago. And Trikaya Grey set up shop last year. Modi Xerox and British Airways have hired O&M. Kelvinator has hawked refrigerators using a mailing list of Diners Club members. And Citibank's consumer services group spent an estimated Rs 65 lakh on direct response campaigns last year. The group sold products to non-resident Indians, but its head Jayatirth Rao believes the domestic market offers a bigger potential.

Increasingly too, companies are paying attention to details like shop window display. Titan advises its franchise holders on everything, from designing counters to lighting and decor. Says K.K. Gupta, managing director of Indian Sewing Machine Company, which runs Kitchen Collections in Delhi: "Our experience is that good visual merchandising can hike turnover by about 15 to 20 per cent a year."

Predictably, advertising agencies are launching divisions to cater to the business. Trikaya Grey recently set up Upfront to offer corporations expertise in improving shop-front displays and point of purchase material. Says Ravi Gupta, Trikaya's managing director: "The next revolution will take place in retailing."

That's already on. Several supermarkets have opened shop. Last July, Radhakrishnan Offshore Services, an offshore catering company, opened a food store in Bombay called Foodland, with air-conditioning, piped music and self-service trolleys. A few kilometers away V.C. Doshi, a real estate tycoon, started KD's Super Store.

Even companies have been bitten by the retailing bug. Photophone is readying to launch a 100-store nation-wide chain called the Photophone Konica Square. It will hawk colour film, paper, cameras and accessories. In the next six months, Titan will be franchising 40 exclusive showrooms nation-wide. And pleased with the response to Kitchen Collections, Indian Sewing Machine Company plans to set up 20 more stores by the end of next year.

Analysts believe that retailing and distribution will be marketing's new frontiers. Speer's Peerbhoy visualises an era of mega distributors: "Market penetration has become extremely important. So distribution companies will become larger and more powerful." If he's right, the market will be unified—and Indian marketing will have finally arrived.

—S.N. VASUKI with bureau reports

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TELECOM COMMISSION

A New Line

Telecommunications gets an apex body

THE goal: an organisation that responds rapidly to the changes on the frontiers of telecommunications technology. The means: a far more powerful apex body to oversee the nation's telecommunications set-up. Its name: the Telecom Commission.

In the teeth of fierce objection from the bureaucracy, the Government cleared the proposal to set up the commission over three months ago. Last fortnight, it was readying to name Satyen "Sam" Pitroda, the prime minister's adviser on technology missions, as the commission's head.

The new agency is to tackle the country's telecommunications problems head on. The Government's plan to step up the telephone population from the present 4 million lines to 30 million by the turn of the century seems beyond reach because, quite simply, the money is not available. Also, the systems in place are too bureaucratic.

The commission is Pitroda's idea, and he explains: "The way telecommunications is changing, it is essential to have a flexible organisation that can respond to these changes." Adds Planning Commission member Abid Hussain, who's heading a committee that will pick the commission's members: "Government departments are too rigid for quick decision-making."

Modelled on the lines of the Atomic Energy Commission, the new organisation will have a chairman and four full-time members from various walks of life, plus four part-time members (the finance, industry, Planning Commission and electronics secretaries). Members of the Telecom Board (which now oversees the Telecommunications Department) will be inducted as "executive members" of the commission, reporting to the full-time members. The commission's chairman will report to the communications minister.

A finance corporation is to be set up to raise money from the public, a task handled in recent times by the Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Ltd (MTNL), set up a few years ago to run telephone systems in Bombay and Delhi.

Administrative control of the Centre for the Development of Telematics (C-DOT) will pass from the Department of Electronics to the Department of Telecommunications. The Government-funded society—which Pitroda helped set up to develop indigenous technology for a digital electronic telephone exchange—may also be eventually merged with other government research organisations such as the Telecommunications Research Centre.

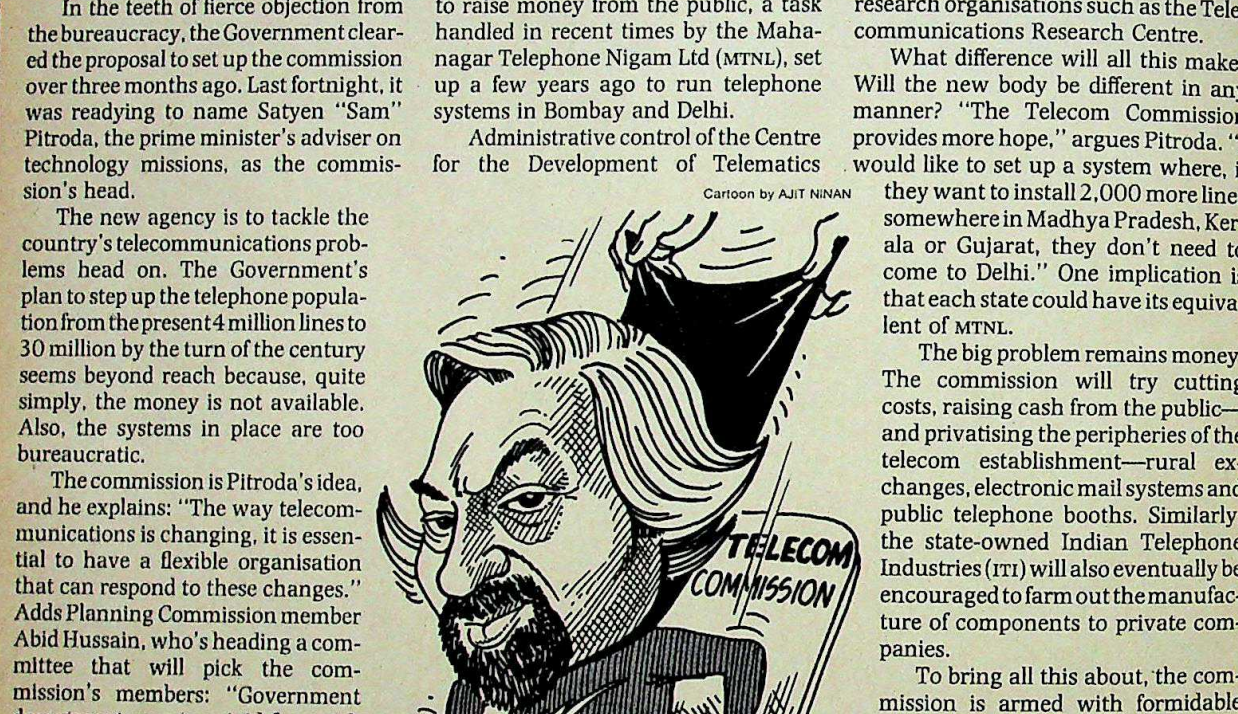
What difference will all this make? Will the new body be different in any manner? "The Telecom Commission provides more hope," argues Pitroda. "I would like to set up a system where, if they want to install 2,000 more lines somewhere in Madhya Pradesh, Kerala or Gujarat, they don't need to come to Delhi." One implication is that each state could have its equivalent of MTNL.

The big problem remains money. The commission will try cutting costs, raising cash from the public—and privatising the peripheries of the telecom establishment—rural exchanges, electronic mail systems and public telephone booths. Similarly, the state-owned Indian Telephone Industries (ITI) will also eventually be encouraged to farm out the manufacture of components to private companies.

To bring all this about, the commission is armed with formidable powers. Apart from formulating and implementing policies, it will sanction foreign collaboration agreements, recommend licences to manufacture equipment and import goods till a certain limit without consulting the Finance Ministry or the Department of Electronics. (The Telecom Commission will be able to bypass them because their secretaries will be its members.)

There's no denying that Pitroda's new post formally makes him the telecommunications czar he's widely perceived to be. As adviser to C-DOT and as a man who has the prime

Cartoon by AJIT NINAN



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

minister's ear, he already carries considerable clout. Now, however, he will directly shape and implement policy.

Inevitably, bureaucrats and politicians have not taken kindly to what they view as Pitroda's intrusion into their turf. In a confidential memorandum last November, the then electronics secretary K.P.P. Nambiar sharply opposed the transfer of C-DOT from his department to the Department of Telecommunications. Nambiar also recorded his objections to granting the commission the power to licence the manufacture of telecommunications equipment.

While the Cabinet seems to have overruled that objection, advocates of the commission had to beat a retreat elsewhere. An initial draft on the commission sent to the Cabinet sought the transfer of the public sector Hindustan Cables Ltd from the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE). But the BPE successfully opposed this.

Also, promotions in the telecommunications service have been held up because the commission was in the works and many have opposed its formation. The present Telecommunications Board has just one member; four other posts have been lying vacant for more than a year. Says a senior official of the Indian Telecommunications Services Association: "The commission will jeopardise the cadre's chances of getting the highest posts. We will now have as our bosses outsiders who have nothing to do with telecommunications." Complicating matters further, the association received support from unexpected quarters. Last year Communications Minister Bir Bahadur Singh put up a note to the Finance Ministry arguing that the commission's members should be drawn from the telecommunications services only.

Not surprisingly, Pitroda has been accused of empire building. He says he is ready to train a successor and step down from the commission's chairmanship after three years, but admits that he had not expected so much opposition.

Whether a more powerful, flexible organisation is the answer to the country's telecommunications problems has to be seen. MTNL Managing Director M.P. Shukla says: "The commission will take time to get off the ground. But it's a step in the right direction." Still, its eventual success or failure will be judged not so much by the telecommunications industry as by the telephone user. Pitroda probably sums it all up when he cautions: "Don't expect miracles from the Telecom Commission."

—SURAJEET DAS GUPTA

BUSINESSPEAK

SATYEN PITRODA

'Flexibility and Autonomy'

Satyen Gangaram Pitroda, 46, has travelled a long road since 1984, when the then US-based businessman convinced the Government to provide him with Rs 36 crore to develop indigenous technology for a digital electronic telephone exchange. He's been the prime minister's adviser on technology missions since 1987, and will now head the Telecom Commission, the Government's new apex telecommunications agency. Pitroda talks to Assistant Editor PALAKUNNATHU G. MATHAI *on what's wrong with telecommunications in India, on raising resources, and on the possibilities of privatisation.*

THERE are many issues in telecommunications. A lot of them relate to organisation. We have quite a traditional, hierarchical organisation and we're trying to implement the technology of the 1990s. This technology requires a different kind of work culture and standards. Our organisation needs to be given flexibility and autonomy.

Secondly, we've consistently looked for technology outside. If we got a loan from Japan, we bought Japanese products. If we got a loan from Sweden, we bought Swedish products. The result has been a lack of standardisation—too many kinds of equipment, requiring a variety of spare parts. Spares have to be common—and available 20 years from now. When you constantly import technology, you don't have a bank in the country for these parts. You can buy from one supplier, but they'll be making equipment for the world market, not to your specifications. If bells and whistles are required to be competitive in the market, they'll put bells and whistles—and you wind up paying for them.

The third issue is that technology has suddenly changed from analogue to digital, but you've not been able to train manpower in the new knowhow. Then, we've not had enough investment in technology. We never will have enough. The issue is: with what we have, are we doing the best in terms of productivity, cost reduction and maintenance? No, we have not done as well as we should have. By world standards, our costs are too high. We have too many people to maintain telephones. All of this will have to change.

Also, we've concentrated on increasing telephone density (number of telephones per 100 people). The West says that our country is poor because of our gross national product and telephone density. However, countries like India and China can never increase density significantly. We have four million telephones for 800 million people. Increase this to 40 million telephones, and have you really increased density? The solution: more accessibility or more public telephones. A country of 800 million has 40,000 public phones. Something is wrong here.

How will we solve these problems? I've identified 50 things to be done at my level, and can't talk about them now. But take one example. C-DOT has a hotline to Bangalore. Some law says that I can't switch that line through a PABX. You need a separate phone for a hotline. If I want to call Bangalore, I can't call from my room (because my phone is linked with the PABX), but have to go to the hotline. You can change the law. Companies will benefit, because they will be able to talk to anybody, anywhere from any phone in the office.

As for finances, we can reduce costs; issue bonds and go to the public for funds; and privatise. Why should we be in the coin telephone business? Let some fellow maintain 500 telephones and collect the coins. We also need to privatise our equipment industry. We've already done this: PABX is in private hands, a lot of the transmission equipment is in the joint sector. Only the production of large systems is with Indian Telephone Industries. As we go further, we will privatise more and more of the equipment industry. But we're not going to think of privatising services till we have a viable national network. Today, 250 of our 480 districts are not connected by subscriber trunk dialling. There's no sense in getting a fancy phone if you can't get a dial tone.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VIDEO CONFERENCING

Face to Face

New communications technology

CROMPTON Greaves Ltd, the electrical and electronics company, is located in Bombay. Nixdorf A.G., one of Europe's leading computer manufacturers, is based in Padeborn, West Germany. The two have been talking about a technical collaboration. Till recently, the "talking" was done face to face, with senior company executives flying to West Germany and vice versa. But travelling by air is an expensive proposition: a business class Bombay-Frankfurt-Bombay air ticket costs Rs 26,386.

Now, however, for Rs 12,000 an hour, executives of corporations like Crompton can talk to—and see—their collaborators overseas without leaving town. And all because of a new service launched by the government-owned Videsh Sanchar Nigam (VSN).

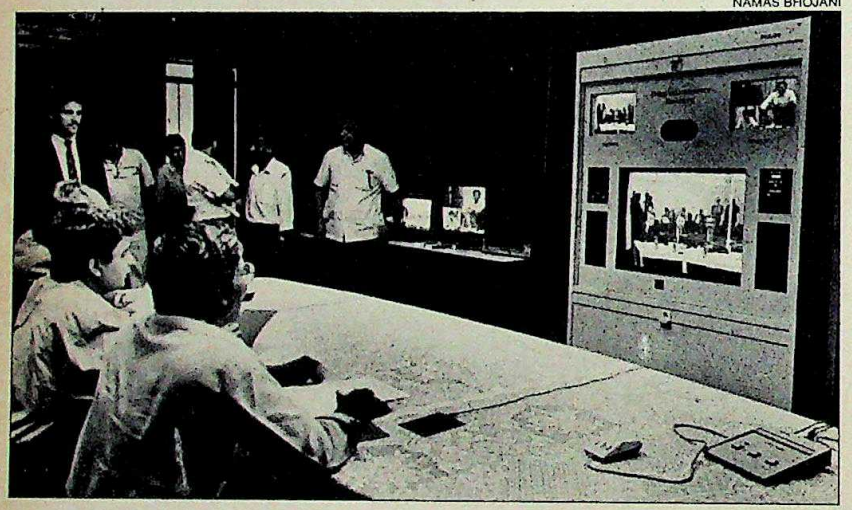
It's called video conferencing. Here, people sit in front of a television monitor and talk to others across the globe via a satellite. Says Gundu Rao, VSN's director of operations: "We feel that communicating is better than commuting."

Last month, VSN launched video conferences with technical know-how from the consultancy division of Deutsche Bundespost (the West German postal service). VSN kicked off its service by organising eight video conferences between Bombay and Hanover, where the CeBit fair—the world's largest electronics exposition—was held last month. This year India was the partner country at the fair and over 50 Indian companies exhibited their wares there Predictably, the new service launched by VSN found many takers. Among the participants were several Bombay-based companies such as Buckau Wolf, Siemens and Peico Electricals and Electronics, apart from Crompton. Says Rao: "It was a good time to start. We sorted out our technical problems."

The technology involved in the new system is fairly intricate. VSN used an International Telecommunications Satellite Organisation satellite positioned over the Indian Ocean to beam messages to Hanover. The earth station is located on VSN's terrace.

The public sector company is pulling out all the stops to ensure that the video conferencing facility gains in popularity. For the next six months, the service will be free for corporate customers in Bombay.

NAMAS BHOJANI



Conferencing via a satellite

The final price-tag will be decided after gauging customer response.

VSN stresses the advantages of video conferencing over other forms of communication. While long distance calls can be cumbersome, telex messages can come out garbled at the other end. Video conferencing on the other hand is eminently suited for specialised applications. For instance, surgeons conducting complex operations at hospitals can keep a doctor "on hold" for consultations, even if the doctor happens to be in New York. Multinational board meetings are another possible application.

Still, conferencing is not for all and sundry. The hardware costs a stiff Rs 20 lakh in West Germany, and far more if it's imported. Few Indian companies may, therefore, be interested in an in-house system. That should be to VSN's advantage. It hopes that they'll use the VSN video conference studio in Bombay. (Services in New Delhi, Calcutta and Madras are also on the cards).

So far, the corporate response has been encouraging. Says G.S. Krishnamoorthy, vice-president and director of Peico: "Any company with multiple locations can use it effectively." Adds K.K. Nohria, Managing Director of Crompton Greaves: "To a certain extent video conferences can be a substitute for travel." Watch out Air-India, competition is here.

—S.N. VASUKI

TAMIL NADU

Cleaning Up

Government abolishes sinecures

IT was certainly dramatic. In a sweeping move last month, the Tamil Nadu Government abolished nine state bodies and 30 government sinecures at one stroke. That was not all. The Government also ordered a review of the 68 remaining committees and other agencies in order to evaluate their usefulness. As a result, a dozen bodies are expected to get the axe within the next two months.

The corporations that have been abolished are the Tamil Nadu Tubewells Corporation, the Tamil Nadu Chit Funds Corporation, the Tamil Nadu Goods Transport Corporation and the Siddha Medicine Corporation.

Another company, the Tamil Nadu Meat Corporation, has been merged with the Tamil Nadu Poultry Development Corporation. In addition, there are three committees or directorates that have been abolished: one on Tamil development, another on agriculture, and the third on the traditional arts.

Tamil Nadu has as many as 77 state government boards, undertakings and committees, a majority of them created during M.G. Ramachandran's decade-long rule as chief minister.

MGR was well versed in the fine art of keeping all kinds of people happy. The slightly chaotic result was three different boards to develop Tamil, two different organisations to nurture the traditional arts and so on. One of the DMK's poll promises was that it would abolish all bodies that were superfluous. The recent abolition is seen as the first step at fulfilling this promise.

The fact is that not all these bodies and corporations had been conceived as purely superfluous. Some of them had been started with specific purposes in mind, which in the event were never fulfilled.

For instance, the meat corporation was started with the idea of building a modern abattoir near Red Hills, 30 km

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from Madras. The project failed to take off because environmental groups were of the opinion that the abattoir would pollute the waters of the Red Hills Lake, which supplies close to 30 per cent of Madras city's water.

Other corporations managed to barely limp along. The Siddha Medicine Corporation, for instance, has always been in the red—by just how much is not quite clear: the state Government says that the annual reports of these concerns are out of print.

Another one—the Tamil Nadu Tubewells Corporation—almost didn't function at all. The corporation dug some borewells in 1980-81, but simply failed to bag any more orders since then because other government departments—the Public Works Department, the Tamil Nadu Water Supply and Drainage Board—pipped it to the post.

SOME committees were started to accommodate loyalists. For instance, the high-level committee on Tamil development was formed to provide gainful employment to the octogenarian leader M.P. Sivagnanam.

Sivagnanam has the distinction of having been on the side of every party in power since Independence. When MGR abolished the Tamil Nadu Legislative Council two years ago, Sivagnanam was its deputy chairman. When he was rendered jobless after the council's abolition, MGR formed the Tamil committee to accommodate him.

In addition to all these corporations and committees, MGR had also created 30 sinecures, such as state poet and state danseuse. S. Muthuramalingam of the AIADMK was the state poet, and dancer Swarnamukhi was the state danseuse for a number of years.

The functions of those occupying these sinecures were left deliberately vague as a result of which most of them received a monthly pay cheque for very little work. Says a sinecure holder: "The pay was not all that important. What was important was the free telephone. We could make STD calls to our heart's content."

The abolition of all these bodies and posts is expected to save the new government no more than Rs 20 lakh every year, largely because employees of abolished organisations will have to be absorbed elsewhere in the Government. But, as a senior government official puts it aptly: "The point is that we have set an example. Till now government bodies, once created, had a life of their own. We have shown that they need not be eternal."

—GUHA PRASAD

COMPACT DISCS

An Overture

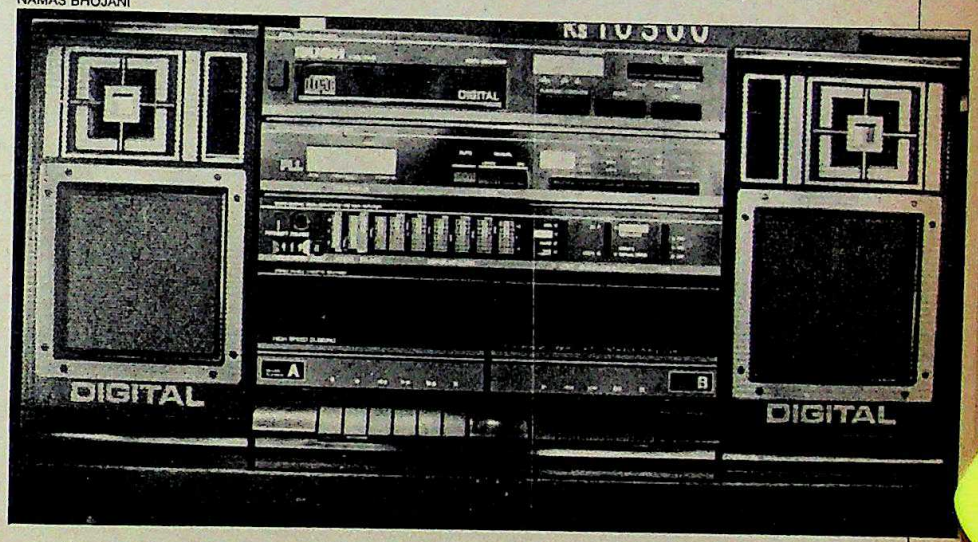
Bush makes a CD system

IT'S sleek and compact. What goes in is unbreakable. And what comes out at the press of a button is music to your ears.

Compact discs (CD) have revolutionised the audio business world-wide. It is an advanced blend of LP records and digital recording facilities used in digital audio tapes. Music is recorded on to the discs using lasers. A CD player gives a near-perfect sound reproduction. Now the system is available in India.

Last fortnight, Bush India, the Bombay-based audio and TV system manufacturer, launched the country's first compact disc player. Assembled from components supplied by an undisclosed Japanese manufacturer, the CDR 99 sells at Rs 10,500. For good measure, Bush has thrown in a conventional cassette recorder and radio along with the CD system. "We are still at the market development stage," confesses B.M. Sinha, sales coordinator, Bush India.

NAMAS BHOJANI



Indian CD player: record feat

Videocon, its principal rival in the CD sweepstakes, does not think so. Videocon has a collaboration with Toshiba for conventional audio systems and plans to launch a compact disc player shortly. Price: Rs 7,000. "We can sell 1,000 sets a month," claims Pradeep Dhoot, Videocon marketing director.

Bush initially placed 500 sets in the New Delhi and Bombay markets and Sinha says the response is good. "But awareness is a problem," he adds.

That's not the only problem CD system manufacturers will face. For starters, Videocon and Bush are yet to receive government clearance to manufacture compact discs. Given the country's tight foreign exchange reserves, observers feel that government clearance is unlikely. Admits Dhoot: "We've had discussions with officials. They want an export commitment."

Still, selling compact disc systems in the domestic market is going to be tough. Reason: the software or music is simply not available in the country. Music India and Gramophone Company of India have been marketing Indian music on compact discs for almost two years to the non-resident Indian community in Europe and the US. In the absence of recording facilities in the country, they use Hong Kong as a base. Music India's compact discs are recorded at the Hong Kong studio of its parent company, Polygram. A company spokesman says: "It will be a while before we set up shop in India."

So why are Bush and Videocon leaping into the business of making the system even before compact discs are readily available in India? The answer, quite simply, is that individuals bring compact discs from abroad. This trend is believed to have touched record levels. Industry observers estimate the number of compact discs in the country at between 30,000 and 35,000. The 250 per cent import duty on disc players and customs clearance are hassles. So Bush and Videocon are banking on the possibility of it being more economical to buy a system in the country. In contrast, discs themselves are relatively cheap and attract marginal duties.

Manufacturers reckon the CD market will grow by 10 per cent a year. They expect dramatic growth in three years. If that materialises, both Bush and Videocon will be listening to the sweet music of cash registers ringing.

—S.N. VASUKI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRICES

No Relief

Tax cuts not passed on

MATCH prices will not fall. Nor will those of a range of life-saving drugs. And the bill for cocoa butter, and ready-to-eat idli, dosa, vada, jalebi and gulab jamun mixes will remain unchanged. Regardless of government hand-outs, companies are unlikely to cut retail prices.

Budgets usually cut taxes on some products. Last month's was no different. In a budget that saw record taxes, there were few beneficiaries. But manufacturers of consumer products such as matches, ready-to-mix foods and condensed milk stand to gain from the duty reductions.

Last fortnight, most beneficiaries of the official largesse were still doing their sums or awaiting clarifications from the Government on the proposed tax changes. Nevertheless, most claim that the duty reliefs are inconsequential—and that prices will therefore not be cut. Said H.C. Maiya, who heads the Bangalore-based food company Mavalli Tiffin Room (MTR) Condiments: "The excise concessions represent a superficial gesture. Much of the concessions will be neutralised by the increase in raw material and packaging material prices." In fact, the retail price of MTR's popular gulab jamun mix will go up because skimmed milk powder prices are certain to rise.

On the match front, the Government will lose Rs 14 crore in revenue because it has cut duties across the board. But Bengt Nordman, managing director of WIMCO, the country's biggest producer of matches, says that match-box prices will not fall. After a few months, says Nordman, retail trade margins will go up from the current average of 20 per cent to an undisclosed percentage.

The story is broadly repeated in life-saving drugs, where the Government has handed out import duty concessions worth Rs 7 crore. But drug company executives claim that the reliefs are marginal and will have no impact on prices—a viewpoint endorsed by Ramu Deora, chairman of the Basic Chemicals, Cosmetics and Pharmaceuticals Export Promotion Council.

The picture is less clear when it comes to condensed milk, where the duty has dropped from over 15 per cent to about 10 per cent. Logically, this should mean a reduction of about 50 paise in the retail price of about Rs 17 for every 400 gm tin. Whether the price will really fall, however, is the big question. A spokesman for the Delhi-based Food Specialities Ltd (FSL)—which turns out 95 per cent of India's annual condensed milk output of around 5,000 tonnes—declined to comment on whether the price would be cut, until the proposed tax changes became law. Last November, in fact, the company jacked up the pre-tax price of condensed milk by 8 per cent per tin. And this was followed up by a further pre-budget increase (in the printed price, inclusive of taxes) in February this year.

The Government has also cut taxes on a broad spectrum of items, ranging from fish and meat preparations in containers to buttons and imitation jewellery. But at the retail level, their prices have not fallen either. Confirms P.S. Bajaj, a button seller in the capital: "Prices have gone up by at least 15 per cent in the month after mid-February."

Yet some manufacturers have a case when they argue that some of the tax concessions are illusory. A prime example is milk powder. Packages of up to 1 kg were exempt from duty. The budget cut the excise duty on packages of above 1 kg from 15 per cent to 10 per cent, but imposed a flat 10 per cent duty on all milk powder packages, irrespective of size. This was done, says a senior Finance Ministry functionary, because companies had been evading excise by hawking almost all milk powder in small packages. Some firms like FSL would buy milk powder in small packages as a raw material for other products. They will now have to pay tax on it—which will be passed on to buyers of other milk-based products.

In the case of cocoa butter (used in pastry), on which also the Government has lowered the excise duty, there is one manufacturer that has cut prices: the Karnataka government-backed Central Arecanut and Cocoa Marketing and Processing Cooperative. An official of the Mangalore-based organisation said that the benefit had been passed on to the consumer, but added that most of its cocoa butter was exported.

"As far as I can recall, industry has never passed on the benefits of tax concessions to consumers and I don't think this will ever happen," says I.Z. Bhatty, director-general of the National Council of Applied Economic Research, the New Delhi-based think tank. The Finance Ministry's Chief Economic Adviser Nitin Desai maintains that the latest duty reductions were meant to help producers overcome temporary problems, and that only a hefty tax cut can bring prices down. Still, the argument is only partially convincing, because the Government last fortnight jawboned companies into lowering edible oil prices.

If there's a moral in all this, it's that companies always increase prices when taxes go up, and rarely lower them when duties are cut. Either way, the consumer is the loser.

—PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

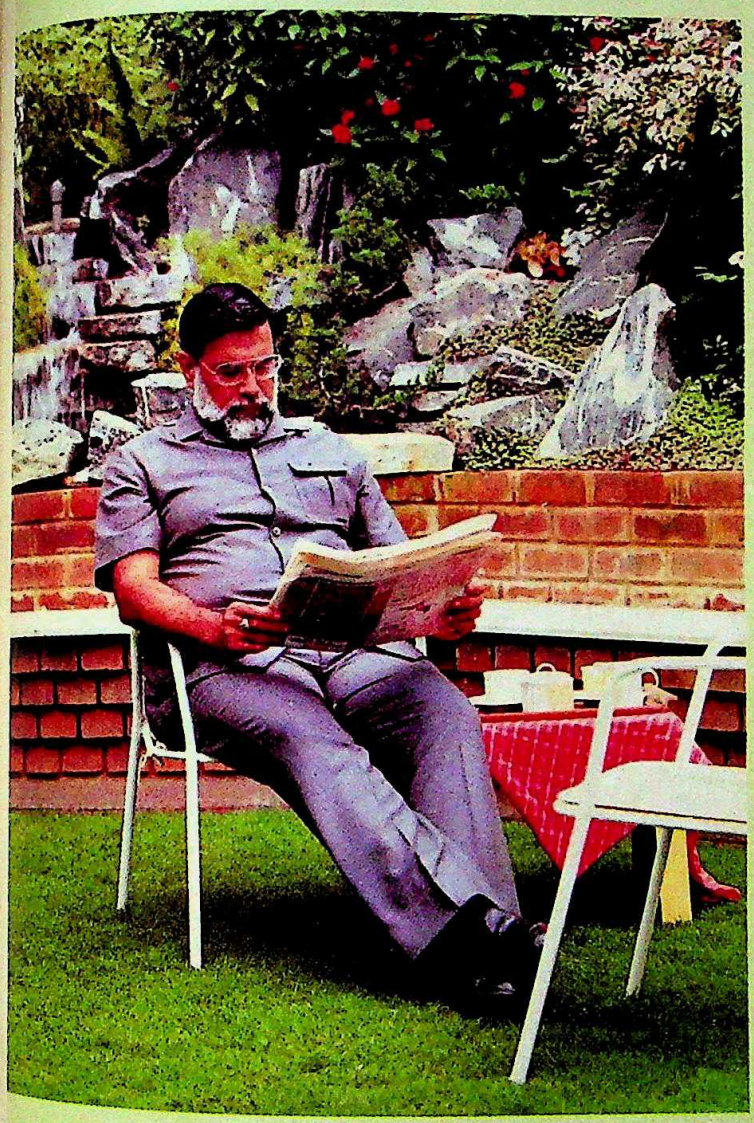
Drugs and consumer products: no change in prices

The budget cut taxes on drugs and a variety of consumer products. But manufacturers, pleading higher raw material prices, have declined to reduce retail prices.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When you are riding the crest of success



You deserve a bank with matching traits – VYSYA BANK

Success, achieved by hardwork, sacrifice and a steady determination to excel. A state which demands respect, admiration and deference, natural features of Vysya Bank — itself, distinctly successful by its understanding and regard to its elite clientele, through versatility in service.

That is — the experience and maturity of Vysya Bank, set about to support success to sustain.

And this has been the secret of our success — in being responsive, in being proactive to challenges, in going beyond banking through equipment leasing and credit cards, in occupying the premier position in the private sector.

In your pursuits, team up with the winner – Vysya Bank.

VYSYA BANK Now ranked 150th In ASIA

Come, let us grow together.

THE VYSYA BANK LTD

Regd. Office: Avenue Road, Bangalore-560 002.
Admv. Office: 72, St. Marks Road,
Bangalore-560 001.

Chairman: Ramesh Gelli

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Kiron/VBL/Corp/891

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DISTINCT.

AS YOU ARE.

of course GRAVIERA SUITING GR

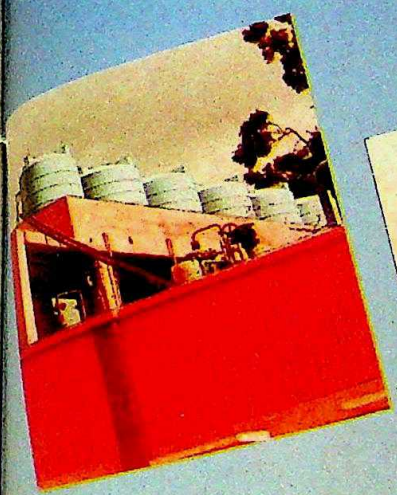
AKSHARA/GR 1847

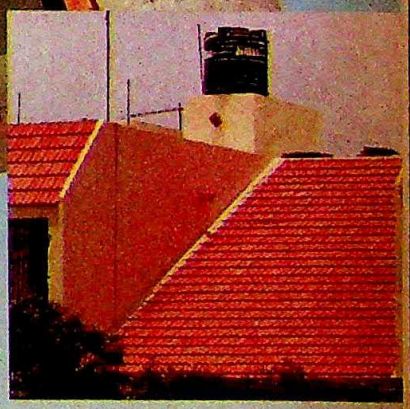
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sintex

THE ONLY RELIABLE AND TIME-TESTED WATER TANKS





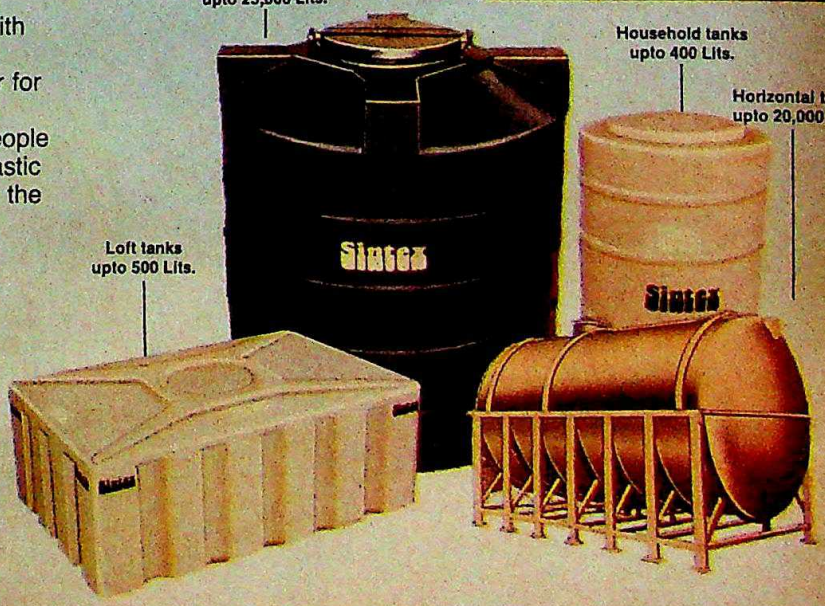
As Pioneers, Sintex has given excellent performance for nearly 15 years. Withstanding all the tough and rough Indian conditions. Dotting the Indian scene with lakhs and lakhs of installations-from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and Kutch to Kohima. Proving popular for all the water storage and carriage applications. The proof enough to understand why more and more people count on Sintex. Making them the largest selling plastic water tanks in the world. After all sky is the limit for the real Innovator.

Vertical tanks upto 25,000 Lits.

Household tanks upto 400 Lits.

Horizontal tanks upto 20,000 Lits.

Loft tanks upto 500 Lits.



For further information contact:

SINTER PLAST CONTAINERS

Plastics Division: **The Bharat Vijay Mills Ltd.,**
KALOL (N. GUJARAT) 382721
Phone: (02764),2228,3144,3145 Gram: "SINTEX"
Telex: 01203-202 SPC IN Fax: (02764) 2436

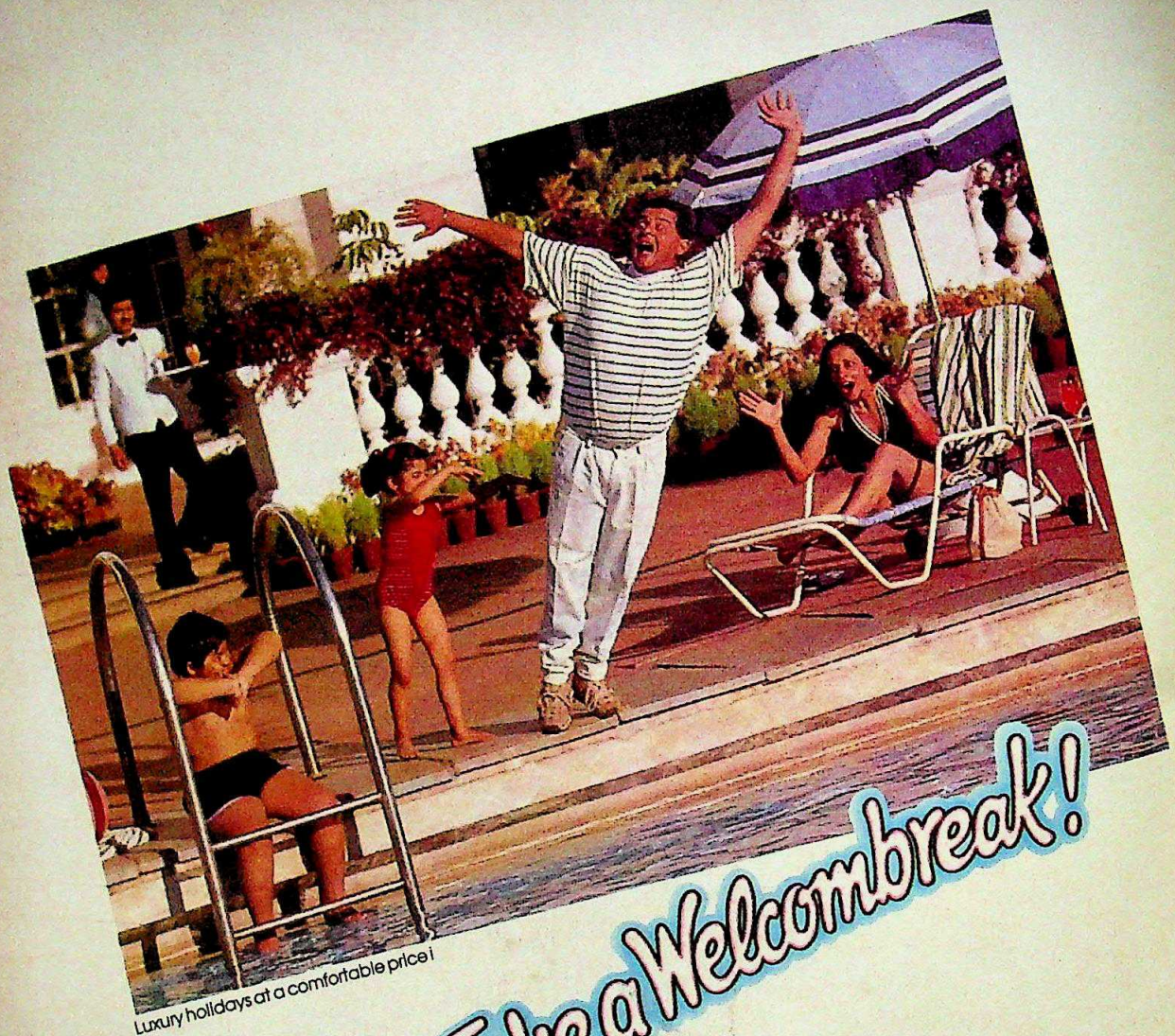
Sintex

WORLD'S NO.1 PLASTIC TANKS

Offices At: Ahmedabad ● Baroda ● Bombay ● Bhopal ● Calcutta ● Hyderabad ● Jaipur ● Lucknow ● Madras

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Luxury holidays at a comfortable price!

Take a Welcombreak!

Pamper your family with a quick, getaway holiday—in the luxury of India's best hotels!

There's more to it! Welcombreak also gets you very attractive discounts on food, services and facilities; with a host of add-ons that make a holiday complete—airport-hotel-airport transfers, welcome drinks, sightseeing tours and the recreation found only in the best luxury hotels.

It's so convenient! It's a bother-free holiday. Bookings are simple and instantaneous—just a phone call away!*

So reach for it! And take that luxury holiday. Take a Welcombreak!

Welcombreak rates for a Short Break (2 nights, 3 days):

Place	Welcomgroup Hotel	Rs.
Agra	Mughal Sheraton	1299/-
Andamans	Bay Island (Long Break) (3 nights, 4 days)	1335/-
Aurangabad	Rama International (Inclusive of breakfast)	900/-
Bangalore	Windsor Manor Sheraton (Inclusive of breakfast)	999/-
Baroda	Vadodara	799/-
Bombay	SeaRock Sheraton (Inclusive of breakfast)	1445/-
Jodhpur	Umaid Bhawan Palace	666/-

- Rates listed are for 2 people sharing a double room.
- Free accommodation for 2 children below 12 years, in the same room. An extra bed at Rs. 100/- per day.
- Packages available are Mini Break (1 night, 2 days), Short Break (2 nights, 3 days), Long Break (3 nights, 4 days) and Big Break (5 nights, 6 days).
- Price valid on prior reservation. Service charges and taxes extra.
- Offer valid from 1st April, 1989 to 30th September, 1989.

WELCOMGROUP
Palaces, hotels, resorts, indovilles

*For details and reservations:
CALL WELCOMNET
Welcomgroup Hotels' Instant Reservation Network.

Delhi	3014127, 3010849	Hyderabad	831023, 825428	Baroda	321261, 323232
Bombay	221121, 220923, 2042286	Bangalore	258030, 70433	Ahmedabad	468603, 468557
Madras	473691, 479460	Coimbatore	22629	Or any Welcomgroup hotel.	
Calcutta	203222, 203223, 209527	Pune	666115		

HTA 6324

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAJASTHAN

Booming Business

Industrialisation proceeds at a brisk pace

THE Delhi-Jaipur highway stretches for miles, a straight ribbon of tar that cuts across the waste land and stray farms. About 60 km from the capital, a road forks off from the highway. Enter Bhiwadi.

Barely a decade ago, Bhiwadi was a desolate patch of land with under 100 inhabitants. The closest grocery shop or telephone was over 30 km away. Today, it's a booming industrial township that boasts of 280 factories, a population of 1 lakh, luxury hotels, skyrocketing land prices and video parlours.

Bhiwadi is not an isolated case in Rajasthan. The story has been repeated in towns like Alwar, Shahjahanpur and Kankroli as a once-barren desert state suddenly leaps into the industrial age. Says a confident V.B.L. Mathur, chief secretary of Rajasthan: "Industrialisation has at last taken off in the state. We will move forward."

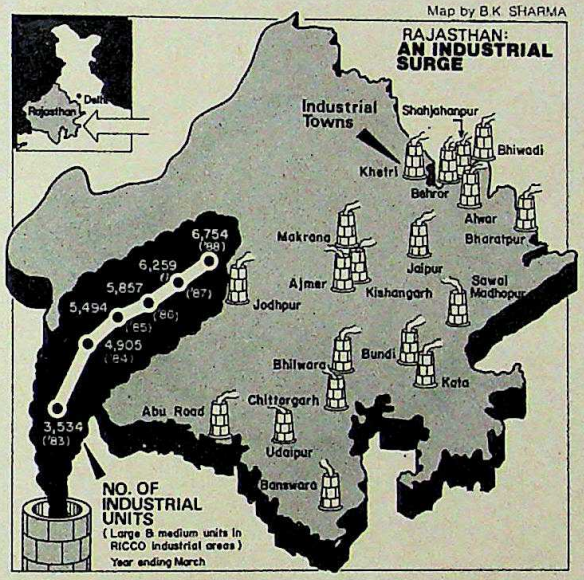
Backing his confidence is an array of impressive numbers. In 1983 the number of medium and large units set up in Rajasthan was 3,534. In 1988 it went up to 6,754. Simultaneously, the number of industrial estates shot up from 119 to an impressive 176.

What is more, the pace of investment has been stepped up sharply. Over the last six five-year plans, the state was able to muster a mere Rs 1,100 crore in investment. But between 1985 and 1988 (the first three years of the seventh plan), the Rajasthan State Industrial Development and Investment Corporation (RIICO) and the Rajasthan Financial Corporation (RFC)—the state's two promotional and financial agencies—roped in investments of Rs 2,000 crore.

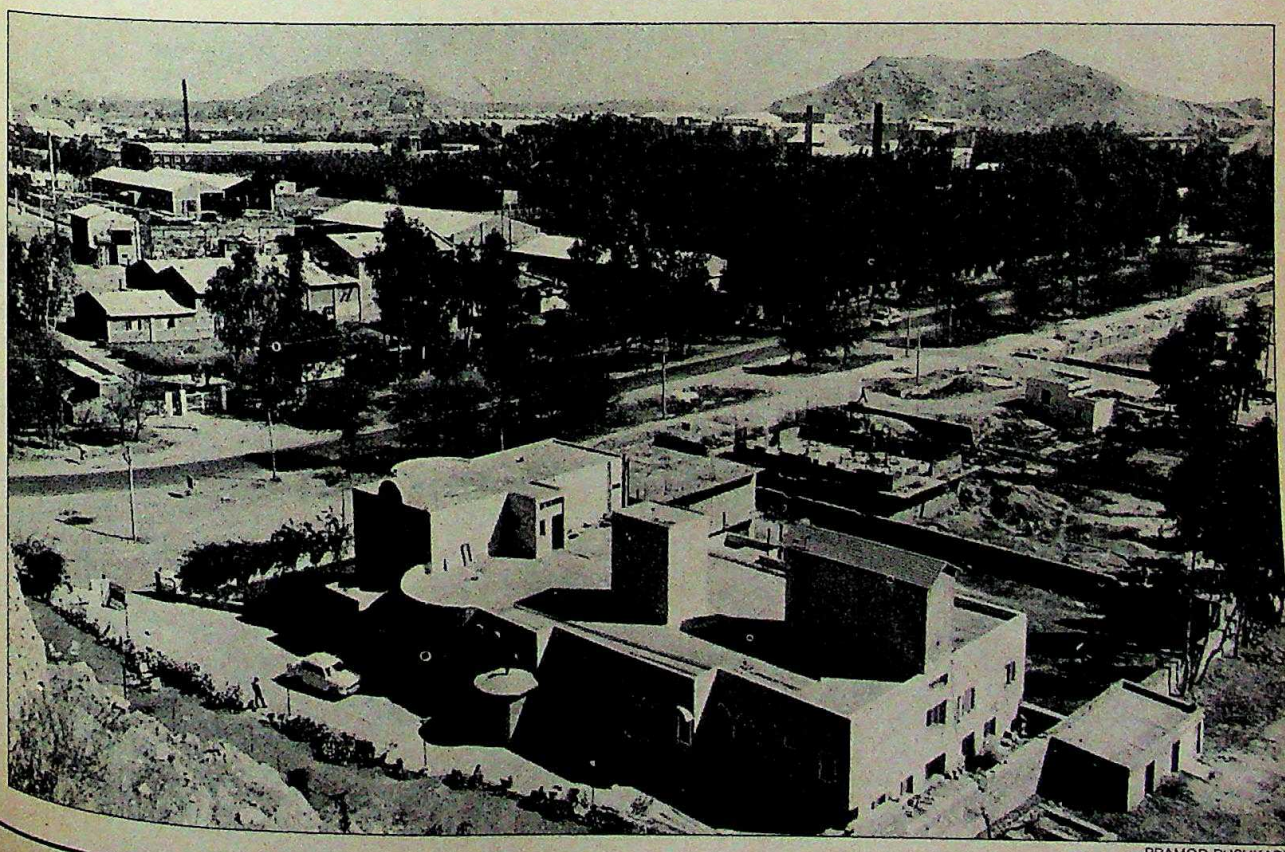
That's an impressive track record by any yardstick, and it's partly due to the state government's initiative in wooing out of state entrepreneurs. RIICO aggressively markets the state in cities like Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta, and even smaller towns from Guwahati to Coimbatore. RIICO Chairman A.L. Roongta says happily: "The result has been encouraging. Businessmen from as far as the south have shown interest in investing in Rajasthan. Nearly 40 per cent of the projects we sanction comes from these campaigns."

Certainly, big business is either furiously putting up projects in Rajasthan or proposes to do so. Industrialist K.K. Birla's companies are investing Rs 944 crore in a gas-based fertiliser

Map by B.K. SHARMA



The Bhiwadi industrial complex: radical transformation

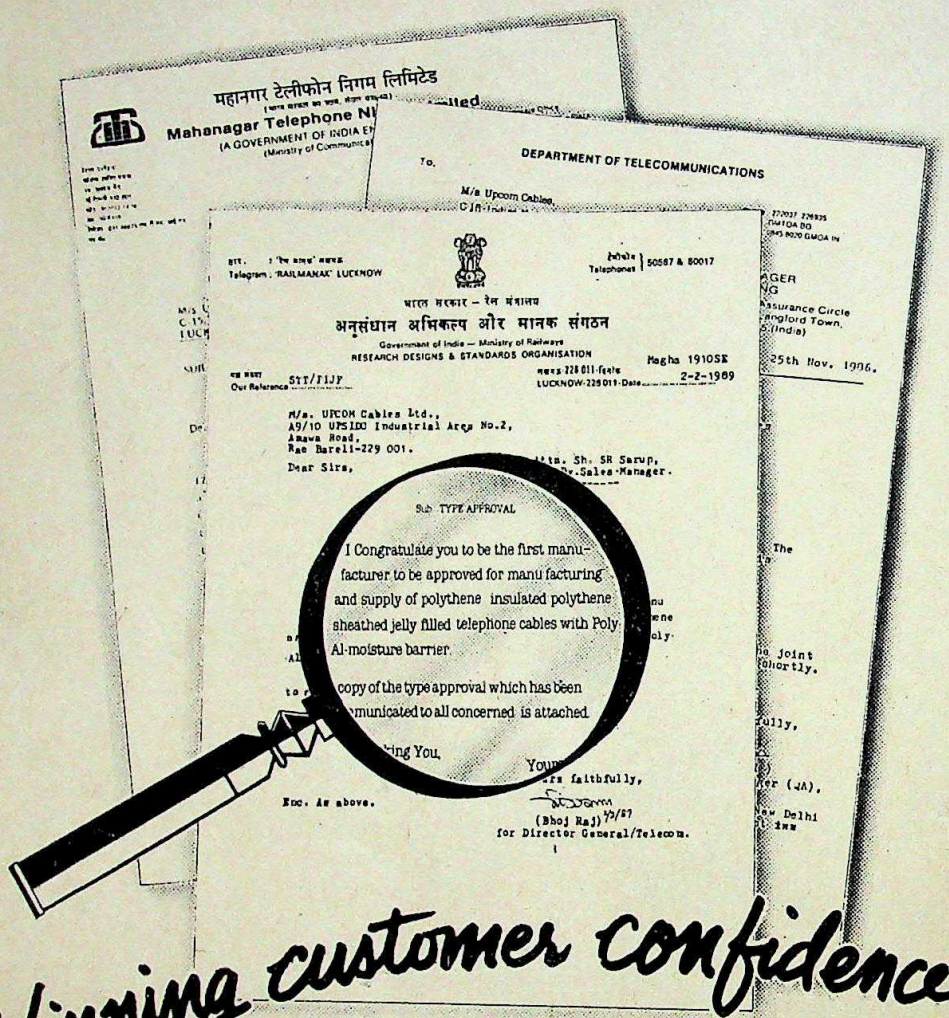


PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Upcom Jelly-filled polythene cables



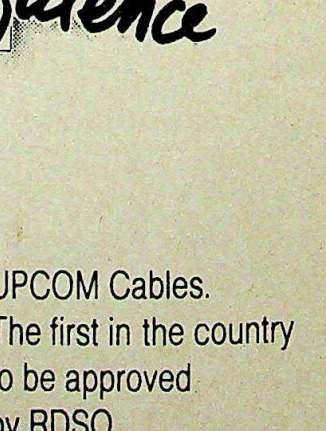
Winning customer confidence

Our jelly-filled polythene cables are the first in the country to be approved by the Research Design and Standards Organisation (RDSO). Department of Telecommunications (DOT) and Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited (MTNL) also have accepted UPCOM as one of the leading manufacturers of jelly-filled polythene cables. Their increasing confidence is clear from their orders on UPCOM rising progressively over the past two years from 200 to 400, 600, 800, and now to 1200 pair cables.

These are some of the first fruits of labour. Of incessant striving for excellence and meeting the most exacting requirements of the Customer. Through state-of-the-art technology, automated plant and machinery and master workmanship.

For with us at UPCOM, Customer is the raison d'être of business. And, when they give their resounding approval, obviously we are more than pleased.

UPCOM Cables.
The first in the country
to be approved
by RDSO.



Upcom
Cables Limited
9, Laxmi bai Marg, Lucknow 226 001

RPG ENTERPRISES

PARTNERS IN COMMUNICATION REVOLUTION

VIDIT :UPCOM: 489

CC-0

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

project and in a cement plant. The Singhanias are putting up a nylon tyre chord and tyre yarn fabric project at a cost of Rs 200 crore. RPG Enterprises has signed a memorandum of understanding with RIICO to set up a Rs 30-crore optical fibre plant. The Lalbhais of Ahmedabad are putting up Rs 40 crore for projects to manufacture worsted yarn suit material and plastics, and the Modis want to invest Rs 60 crore in a spectrum of industries, ranging from electronics to distilleries. Finally, EID Parry is also talking with RIICO in connection with a glazed tiles and sanitary ware project.

Even the public sector has joined the rush. Hindustan Zinc Ltd is setting up a Rs 900-crore zinc smelter plant, while Rashtriya Chemicals and Fertilisers Ltd is partnering RIICO in a Rs 75-crore methanol venture.

What explains the phenomenon? Some believe, rightly or wrongly, that a Congress(I)-ruled state can obtain letters of intent more easily than opposition-ruled ones. This factor becomes a powerful attraction when combined with the proximity of industrial towns like Bhiwadi, Bhilwara, Behror and Shahjahanpur to Delhi or even Bombay and Ahmedabad. Says L.N. Jhunjhunwala, chairman of the Bhilwara-based Rajasthan Spinning and Weaving Mills, among the largest mills in Rajasthan: "The proximity to Ahmedabad and Bombay, our major marketing centres, was a major factor when we chose the site for our mill."

Businessmen also talk of the state's other advantages—a bureaucracy that does not hesitate to cut through red tape, a relatively non-militant labour force, a package of tax incentives and more power than in, say, the neighbouring state of Haryana.

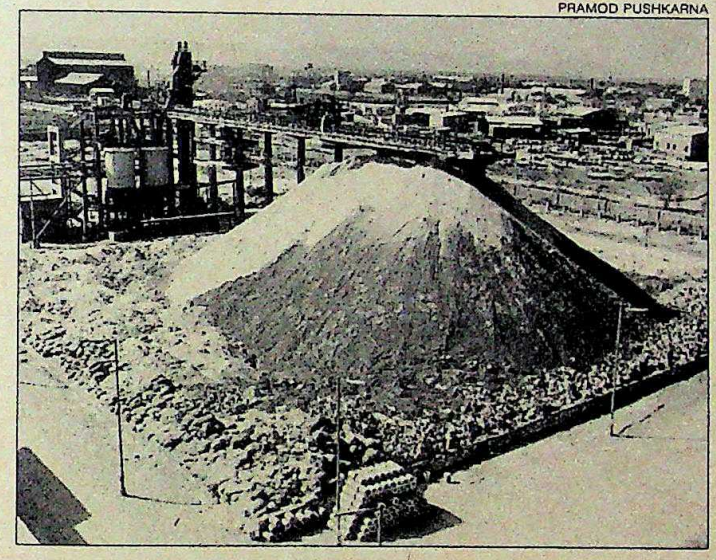
Referring to the bureaucracy, Arvind Khanna, managing director of cutlery company Khabros Steel India Ltd, recalls; "We tried Delhi and even Haryana. Government officials in Haryana told us, well, come later and we'll see. We got an immediate response from Rajasthan. Land for the project was transferred to us in a few days."

Yet for every two testimonials, there is at least one complaint. Says Vikram Lal, chairman of Eicher Tractors, which has a plant at Alwar: "The Government has let us down badly. None of the promises it made was kept. It had said that it would invest in housing but has hardly done anything. We had to make heavy investments in this." Satish Kaura, managing director of television picture tube company Samtel India, which has a factory in Bhiwadi, talks in the same vein: "The Government has no funds to pay back sales tax as per the sales tax remission scheme. What then is the point of incentives?"

"Absenteeism is high; the industrial culture is not widespread."

RAGHUPATI SINGHANIA
managing director, JK Industries

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA



Industrial estate at Alwar: changing face

"Industrialisation has at last taken off the ground."

V.B.L. MATHUR
chief secretary, Rajasthan

OTHERS argue that the state has developed too many industrial estates rather than concentrating resources in a few areas and developing them full steam. Certainly, transport and the untrained workforce remain major bugbears. Maintains Raghupati Singhania, managing director of JK Industries: "The whole state is served by metre gauge rail lines. There is a serious bottle-neck, especially in the handling of coal. Our plants had a 70-per cent coal shortage. There is also a high rate of absenteeism as the industrial culture is not widespread."

The Government will, however, be investing money in pepping up the infrastructure. A Rs 151-crore World Bank loan will help it improve the state's roads. Plans are also being finalised to construct key broad gauge railway lines linking the state's industrial belts. And the Centre has cleared a freight containerisation depot project.

The state's headlong rush into progress has had two main consequences. Industry's contribution to the state's gross domestic product is up from 16.85 per cent in 1986-87 to 19.42 per cent in 1987-88—a sign that Rajasthan's predominantly rural economy is quickly acquiring industrial overtones. Says a senior state government functionary: "The new industrialisation should help us in raising our annual economic growth rate from the current 4 per cent to about 9 per cent by the end of the decade."

On the debit side of the ledger are the changes wrought on the state's landscape. Once serene towns like Alwar and tourist spots like Mount Abu have become noisy and polluted. And Bhiwadi's docile villagers are now either members of a strong labour union or truck-owners, flush with the cash they obtained from RIICO as compensation for acquiring their land. And not long ago, Samtel's workers struck work, demanding higher wages.

Clearly, a once-tranquil state is caught in the throes of unprecedented change. With investments of about Rs 3,000 crore expected in industry over the next couple of years, the pace of change will only quicken. Says a local businessman: "More jobs will be available, even if the price is congestion and pollution."

—SURAJEET DAS GUPTA in Jaipur, Bhiwadi, Shahjahanpur and Alwar

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Qantas one-stop to Australia. (But we never stop spoiling you.)

Qantas flies more people, via Singapore, to Perth, Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne, Cairns, Brisbane, Darwin and Townsville than any other airline. And all flights offer the inflight service that has made Qantas one of the world's great airlines. For details call your travel agent or Qantas.

QANTAS
THE AUSTRALIAN AIRLINE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MARKETS

Ups and Downs

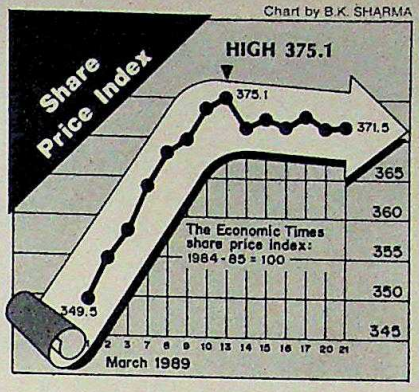
Prices move both ways

IT was a time of ups and downs. First, share price indices soared, peaking by early last fortnight at a new high for the year. Then, prices began tumbling.

And there hangs a tale. The stock market men were clearly disappointed by the budget's absence of fresh incentives for investment in shares. So the markets plunged on budget day. But the Government was determined not to have egg on its face. So the financial institutions stepped in and started price support operations—and virtually every share price index shot up. *The Economic Times*' Bombay regional index, for one, climbed to 453.4 on March 13, shattering the previous record of 450.2, set in the first week of last December. Punters were still hoping that the Government would relent and grant incentives—Finance Minister S.B. Chavan said in Parliament that demands for tax concessions would be considered later.

Last fortnight, however, price indices began dropping again. *The Economic Times* all-India index, for instance, fell from the year's high of 375.1 on March 13 to 371.5 by March 21. While that is higher than the post-budget low of 349.5, the reversal of the earlier trend is intriguing, and there are no clear answers for it. Had the institutions stopped large-scale buying? With the financial year drawing to a close, they may be reluctant to continue the buying binge.

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



Meanwhile, in a sideshow to the main trends of the fortnight, R. Saraogi and Company, the Calcutta stockbroking firm, ran into payment problems. Around budget time, the firm had committed itself to selling equity of companies like Hindustan Aluminium, Tata Tea, Brooke Bond. But owing to factors favourable to the corporate sector—the increase in steel prices, the lifting of price controls on aluminium, the post-budget mark-up in car prices, among other things—the price of these scrips went up. The institutions also went on a buying spree, pushing up prices further.

Compounding the problem, the firm apparently had made short sales—that is, committed itself to selling shares without having the scrips to tender at delivery time. This is not unusual. Believing that share prices will fall, a broker commits himself to selling shares at a specified price at some future point of time. If prices fall, he can pick up the shares at a lower price and then sell them for the predetermined, higher price. But prices went up instead, and the firm burnt its fingers. The Calcutta Stock Exchange authorities did not declare it a defaulter, but they suspended trading on the market for two days.

This was, however, an isolated incident and did not seem to affect the overall mood of uncertainty. Late in the fortnight, it looked as if share prices could move either way. Much will depend on what the financial institutions do. The next few weeks could prove crucial. But given the way prices have been moving, the markets may still spring a surprise.

ACTIVE STOCKS

	1989 HIGH	LOW	CLOSE 21.3.89	Change in Fortnight	
Ashok Leyland	72.00	61.00	70.00	nil	
Associated Cement	345.00	285.00	287.00	20.00	–
Asian Paints	226.25	200.00	212.50	2.50	–
Atlas Copco	51.00	41.00	46.00	1.00	+
Bajaj Auto	417.50	352.50	367.50	1.75	+
Baroda Rayon	347.00	285.00	335.00	7.50	–
Bata India	82.00	61.00	63.50	9.00	–
Bayer	860.00	580.00	840.00	30.00	+
Bharat Forge	202.50	92.50	95.00	91.25	– *
Birla Jute	49.25	41.50	48.25	5.25	+
Bombay Dyeing	137.00	104.00	128.50	8.50	+
Britannia Ind.	108.00	89.00	102.50	12.50	+
Brooke Bond	141.00	98.50	139.00	3.50	+
Century Spinning	1750.00	1230.00	1740.00	60.00	+
Chloride India	79.00	72.00	78.00	nil	**
Colgate Palmolive	348.50	281.25	335.00	11.25	+
Cyanamid	87.00	55.00	85.50	13.00	+
DCM	48.00	31.00	43.75	3.38	+
Dunlop	86.00	70.00	78.00	1.00	+
E.I. Hotels	60.00	50.00	56.00	1.00	+
Escorts	71.00	58.00	64.00	1.30	+
Finolex Cables	430.00	360.00	365.00	6.25	–
Food Specialities	224.00	161.50	200.00	7.00	–
Garware Nylon	46.50	36.00	37.50	2.50	–
G.E. Shipping	42.00	33.75	34.25	1.50	–
G.S.F.C.	158.75	123.75	155.00	10.00	+
Grasim Ind.	107.00	75.00	101.50	5.50	–
Hind. Aluminium	276.00	155.00	268.00	29.00	+
Hind. Ciba	1020.00	600.00	900.00	35.00	+
Hind. Cocoa	117.50	98.75	106.25	1.25	+
Hindustan Lever	82.00	69.50	78.50	4.00	+
Hindustan Motors	40.00	26.75	40.00	6.30	+
IEL	51.00	39.00	50.25	7.25	+
Indian Organic	46.50	23.00	25.00	6.00	–
Indian Rayon	93.00	76.50	86.00	1.00	–
Indrol	315.00	218.75	290.00	2.50	–
Ingersoll-Rand	395.00	315.00	360.00	5.00	–
ITC	67.00	46.25	64.50	3.50	+
J.K. Synthetics	88.50	66.00	66.00	8.00	–
Kinetic Engineering	395.00	177.50	182.50	17.50	–
Kirloskar Cummins	88.75	68.75	74.75	0.25	–
KSB Pumps	365.00	305.00	355.00	5.00	+
Larsen & Toubro	128.00	85.50	87.00	11.00	–
Lipton	80.00	67.00	74.00	3.50	–
LML Ltd.	16.00	12.50	13.75	0.25	+
Madura Coats	97.00	92.25	94.00	nil	
Mahindra & Mahindra	95.50	76.50	90.00	1.00	+
Milk Food	250.00	185.00	237.50	17.50	+
Motor Industries	620.00	560.00	600.00	nil	
Mukand Iron	98.00	75.00	89.00	5.00	+
National Organic	835.00	710.00	775.00	10.00	+
Nirlon	14.00	10.50	12.50	0.50	+
Orkay Silk Mills	29.00	20.25	23.00	1.50	–
Peico Electronics	28.00	20.50	21.75	nil	
Pfizer	79.50	62.50	74.00	nil	
Ponds	185.00	157.50	178.75	8.75	+
Premier Auto	50.00	40.00	46.75	0.25	+
Raymond	75.50	65.50	74.00	nil	
Reliance Industries	155.00	112.00	112.00	17.00	–
Siemens India	95.00	74.00	77.00	3.00	–
Shaw Wallace	103.25	75.00	80.00	1.00	–
Shriram Fibres	91.00	64.00	91.00	16.38	+
SKF Bearings	2470.00	1760.00	2350.00	80.00	+
SPIC	56.50	39.00	48.25	3.25	–
Tata Steel	1266.25	1062.50	1206.25	21.25	–
Telco	840.00	657.50	772.50	2.50	+
Vam Organic	175.00	136.00	167.00	6.00	+
Videocon Int.	91.25	55.00	81.25	5.00	+
Voltas	645.00	470.00	640.00	40.00	+
Wimco	27.00	15.75	20.00	0.50	+

*Ex-bonus **Ex-dividend

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

COUNTRY	CURRENCY	UNIT	TT Selling Rates Rs	TT Buying Rates Rs
Australia	Dollar	1	12.9542	12.8152
Austria	Schilling	100	1.1964	1.1807
Bahrain	Dinar	1	41.1563	41.0000
Bangladesh	Taka	100	48.9433	48.7520
Canada	Dollar	1	13.1159	12.9783
Denmark	Kroner	1	2.1520	2.1303
Egypt	Pound	1	6.0000	5.9000
France	Franc	1	2.5126	2.4510
Hong Kong	Dollar	1	2.0106	1.9901
Indonesia	Rupiah	100	0.0880	0.0700
Iran	Rial	100	21.9860	21.8530
Italy	Lira	100	1.1300	1.0800
Japan	Yen	100	12.1507	11.8483
Kenya	Shilling	1	0.8000	0.7800
Kuwait	Dinar	1	52.2660	52.0000
Malaysia	Dollar	1	5.6957	5.6369
Mauritius	Rupee	1	1.0600	1.0400
Nepal	Rupee	1	0.6400	0.6000
Netherlands	Guilder	1	7.4508	7.3687
Pakistan	Rupee	1	0.8000	0.7500
Singapore	Dollar	1	8.0730	7.9875
Spain	Peseta	1	0.1335	0.1200
Sri Lanka	Rupee	1	0.4780	0.4236
Sweden	Kroner	1	2.4621	2.4335
Switzerland	Franc	1	9.7199	9.6160
Tanzania	Shilling	1	0.1180	0.1000
Thailand	Baht	100	60.9926	60.4526
UK	Pound	1	26.9288	26.7881
USA	Dollar	1	15.6617	15.5039
UAE	Dirham	1	4.0000	3.9000
USSR	Rouble	1	24.7240	24.6826
W. Germany	Deutschmark	1	8.5251	8.3126

These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo Limited, New Delhi and quoted between the banks on 23.3.89.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EXIM BANK
EXPORT-IMPORT BANK OF INDIA

EXIM BANK
INTERNATIONAL TRADE RESEARCH AWARD 1989

in
Commemoration of Jawaharlal Nehru
Centenary (1889-1989)

To commemorate the Jawaharlal Nehru Centenary Year, the Export-Import Bank of India has instituted an Annual Award for research in
International Trade and related financings.

THE AWARD

The objective is to promote research in International Trade and related financings at universities and academic institutions in India. The Award will consist of a sum of Indian Rupees Fifty Thousand and a citation.

THE ENTRY

Research work in international trade or related financings leading to a doctorate from a university or equivalent academic institution in India is a prerequisite for eligibility of the Annual Award. Exim Bank will also accept, as entries, theses by which doctorates have been obtained during the four calendar years prior to the year in which the prize is to be awarded. Award for the year will be announced in October 1989. July 31, 1989 is the last date for submitting entries.

Entry forms can be obtained by writing to :

Dr. Ms P.V.M Desai
Manager Planning
Export-Import Bank of India
Post Bag No. 19969
Bombay 400 021

Imageads-EXIM-89112

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In its 25th year, CCI takes stock of its past, and rededicates itself to the service of the Nation

In tune with Nehru's vision.

CCI : Not just quality CEMENT at fair price, but an unending commitment to the Nation building.

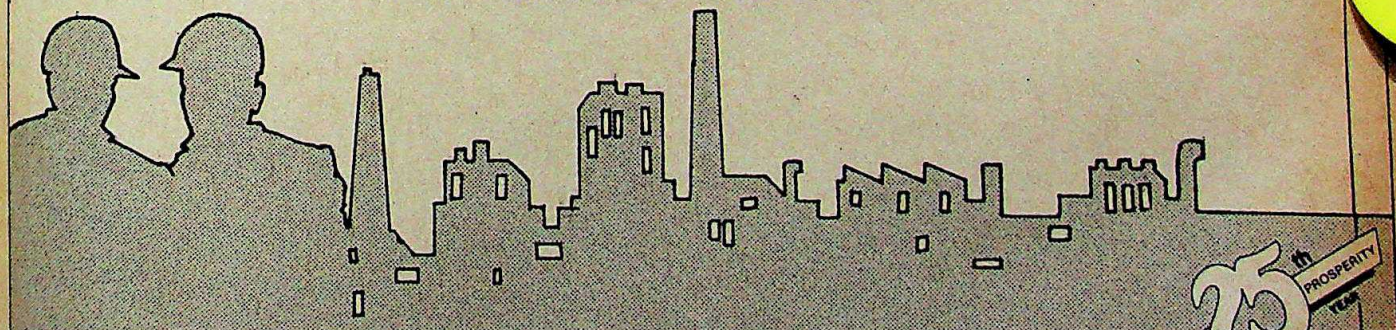
The beginning of its 25th Year is the beginning of a new resurgence for **CCI.** Increase in capacity utilisation, energy conservation, cost and quality control-are some of the hallmarks of this resurgence.

CCI was incorporated as a Central Government Undertaking in 1965. Since then it has not looked back. Today, with 10 operating units in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh with a total capacity of 4.72 million tonne, **CCI** provides direct employment to over 6,500 people. It has encouraged a balanced regional growth at its plant sites and has strived to provide employment opportunities in underdeveloped areas. Implementation of 20 Point Programme and integrated rural development at all units viz, health-care, family welfare, etc. has been an abiding commitment with **CCI.** It has set up a full fledged **CONSUMER SERVICE CELL** to provide technical know how for economical use of cement and to attend to the grievances/ complaints of the consumers and stockists etc. — an important milestone in consumer service. **CCI** has also revitalised its marketing set-up to meet the challenge of the emerging competitive market.

So, when you think of **CCI,** its **Quality Cement** plus **national commitment**

CCI CEMENT

All India network
of sales offices and authorised stockists



CEMENT CORPORATION OF INDIA LIMITED

(A GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ENTERPRISE)
CCI House : 87 Nehru Place, New Delhi-110 019.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

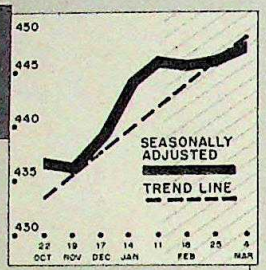
The balance of trade position continues to be a cause of worry as imports spurted last month and exports grew much slower. The devalution of the rupee against the dollar in nominal terms continues but has little effect on export growth. A fresh whiff of the much-expected optimism blew into the share market and thus finally replaced the despondency which descended on the otherwise chirpy markets following the presentation of the budget.

All data are seasonally adjusted. Current trends are computed on the basis of six months' (weekly data) or two years' (monthly data) figures.

Wholesale Price Index

1970-71 = 100

Current Trend
9.0% p.a.

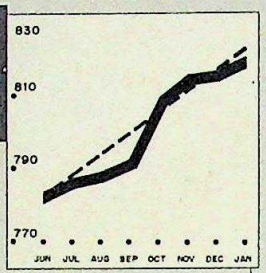


Wholesale prices increased by 0.4 per cent last week. It appears that much of the increase is a direct result of the budget.

Consumer Price Index

1980-81 = 100

Current Trend (18 month figures)
8.6% p.a.

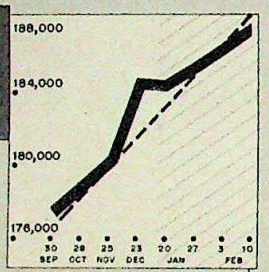


Consumer prices have shown a welcome decline in the month of January over and above the normal seasonal fall.

Money Supply

Rs Crore

Current Trend
17.8% p.a.

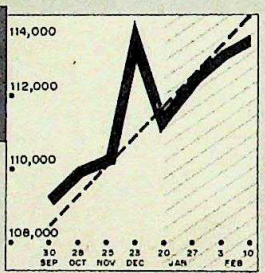


Money supply continues to show the same upward trend and grow at about 1 per cent above target.

Commercial Bank Credit

Rs Crore

Current Trend
14.2% p.a.

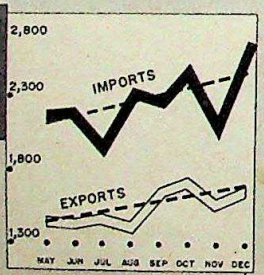


Credit conditions remained as tight as they usually are mainly because there was little expansion in the last fortnight.

Foreign Trade

Rs Crore

Current Trend (18 month figures)
24.6% p.a.
EXPORTS
27.0% p.a.
IMPORTS

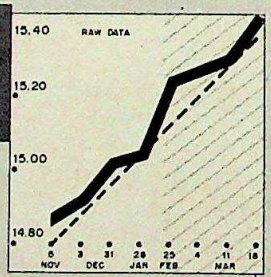


Imports jumped by an amazing 30 per cent last month while exports growth, as has been the average pattern, lagged far behind.

Foreign Exchange

Rs per $

Current Trend
10.06%

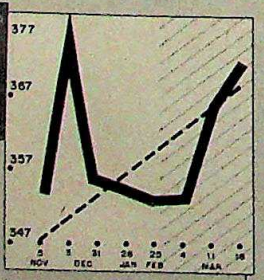


The rupee continued to be devalued against the dollar—the next benchmark to watch is an exchange rate of the Rs 16 to a dollar.

Share Price Index

1984-85 = 100

Current Trend
16.2% p.a.

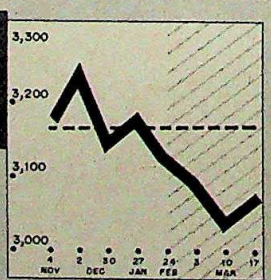


After the budget, share prices boomed again. This was initially on account of institutional buying.

Closing Gold Prices

Rs per 10 gm

Current Trend
0.7% p.a.



Gold prices fell again last fortnight and the long-term trend shows that bullion has been a poor investment last year.

WHOLESALE PRICES

Growth of items in the 2nd fortnight of February 1989

	% Growth
Boilers	27.46
Ball Bearings	18.42
Electrical Motors	13.16
Skelp	12.64
Plates & Sheets	9.48
Jute Textiles	7.84
Semis Billets	6.46
Pig Iron	5.91
Khandsari	5.86
Fish	5.68
Bars & Rods	5.54
Art Silk & Artificial Fabrics	5.25
Steel Structurals	4.93
Onions	4.33
Ceramic Tiles	4.38
Rails	4.32
Handloom & Powerloom Products	4.11
Soda Ash	3.92
Machine Tools	3.56
Rape & Mustard Seeds	2.38
Groundnut Oilcake	2.11
Eggs	2.04
PVC Compounds	1.99
Milk	1.86
Jowar	1.28
Gram	1.21
Meat	1.09
Gur	1.06
Cotton Yarn	0.98
Maize	0.96
Arhar	0.87
Barley	0.75
Moong	0.63
Masoor	0.54
Caustic Soda	0.52
Urad	0.45
Board	0.00
Dyeing Materials	0.00
Cement	0.00
Paper	0.00
Hides Tanned & Leather Belting	0.00
Phosphatic Fertilisers	0.00
Pesticides & Insecticides	0.00
Tubes	0.00
Nitrogenous Fertilisers	0.00
Camel Back	0.00
Synthetic Fibres	0.00

Of the 138 series considered 36 of them with a total weight of 26.8 had a positive growth and 15 of them with a total weight of 21.206 had a negative growth.

SELECTED INDICATORS

	1989	1988
Coal Thousand Tonnes, February	19810	17550
Saleable Steel Million Tonnes, February	778.9	793.3
Cement Thousand Tonnes, February	3556	3389
Petroleum Crude Thousand Tonnes, February	2507	2438
Petroleum Refinery Products Thousand Tonnes, February	4184	3956

Compiled by THE POLICY GROUP

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Be what you choose with North Star Shoes

Available at select **Bata**, **BSC**, **NORTH STAR** and **POWERSPORTS** stores

CC-0. Panini Kanya Maha Vidyalaya Collection. Varanasi

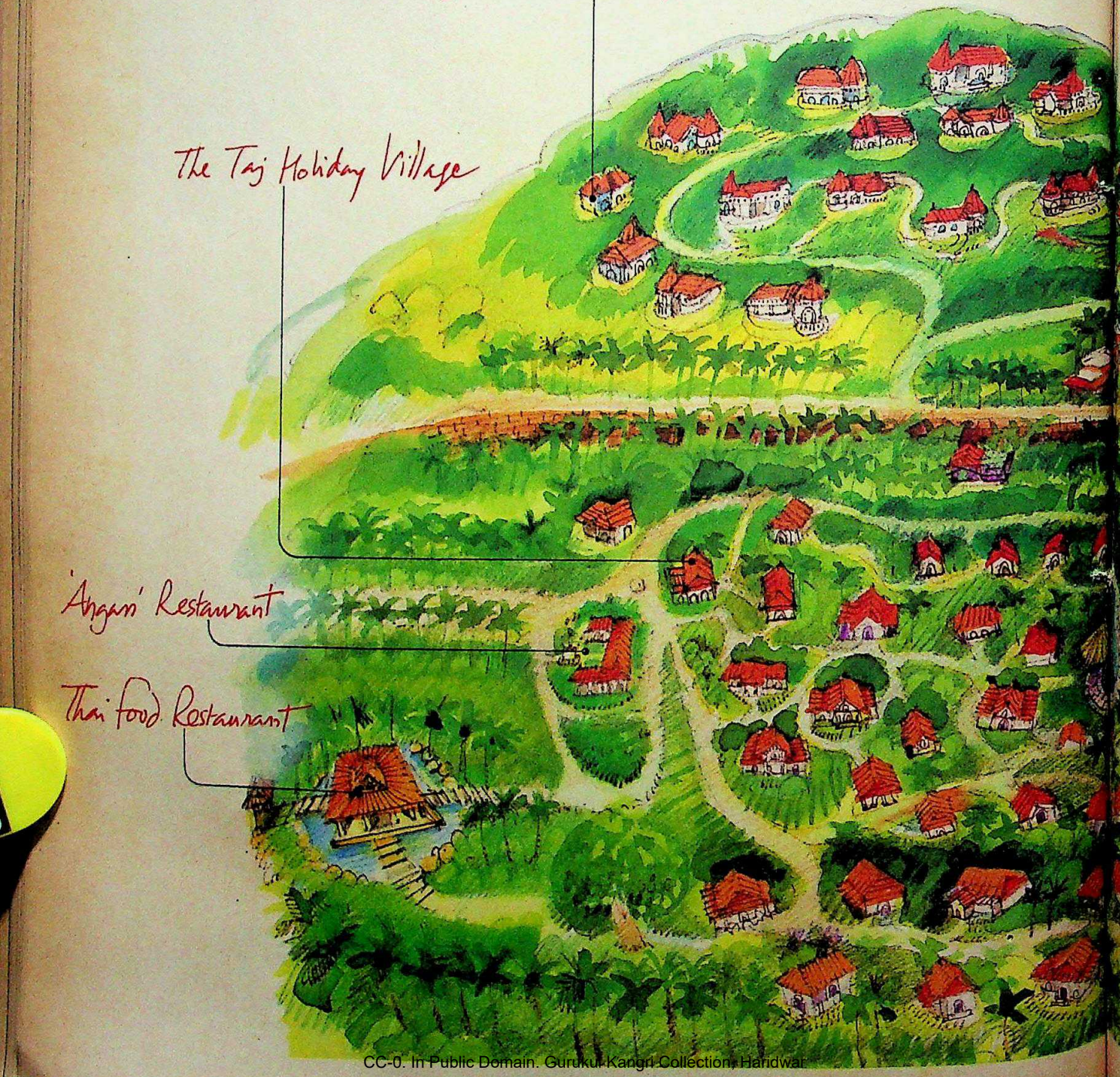
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

How a Goan village by the

1971 A barren headland. Wild cliffs. Sand and scrub. The ruined battlements of an ancient fort. At dusk, no-man's land. Only the howls of scavenging hyenas.

1974 Transformation against all odds. The Fort Aguada Beach Resort – Goa's first – makes a spectacular debut. High above a 10 km crescent of perfect beach. India discovers Goa.

1981 The Taj Holiday Village – an authentic re-creation of the rural environment – makes Goan villagers of us all. Cottages built of laterite brick with tiled roofs are set like jewels in exquisitely landscaped lawns and gardens about a swimming pool where – happy provision – you can swim up to the bar.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sea found a place in the sun.

1983 At the crest
e Aguada Hill with
at must surely be
finest prospect in all of Goa. The
rmitage – luxury villas with private gardens –
ens, appropriately, by playing host to the
mmonwealth Conference. 45 Heads of
vernment confer in serenity.

1988 The Village grows up. 57 Villas (each with a view of the sea) extend along three acres of virgin beach. Options are carefully arranged for the solitary beach-comber, young honeymooners, large undivided joint families! Three restaurants offer everything from genuine Goan cooking to Continental fare. And soon, Thai cuisine and (sorry grown-ups) a restaurant only for children, giving you five delicious options.

1989 Will The Taj Holiday Village need a Panchayat?

The Fort Aguada Beach Resort

The Sports Complex

The Kiddies' Corner

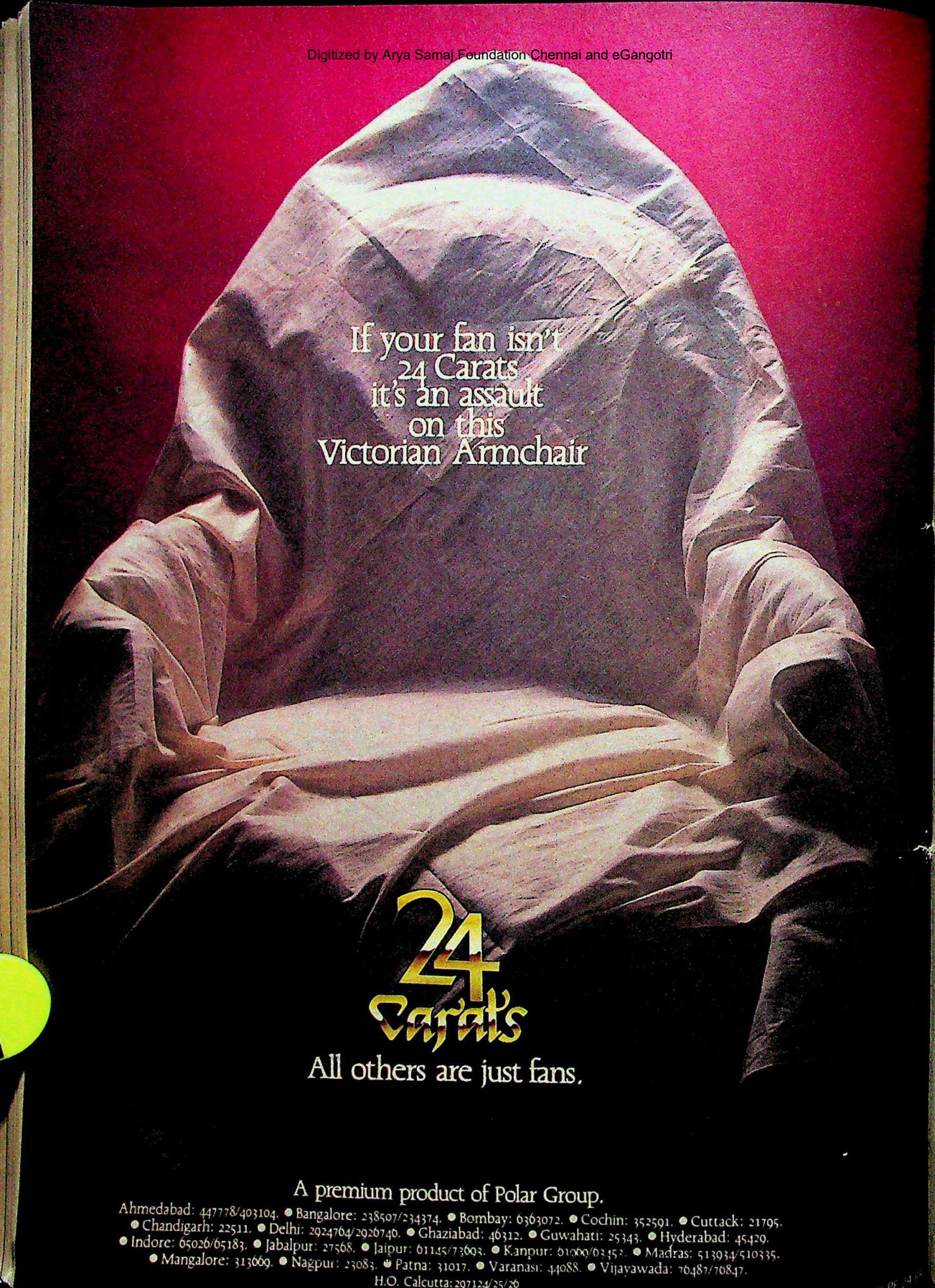
THE AGUADA HERMITAGE
THE FORT AGUADA BEACH RESORT
THE TAJ HOLIDAY VILLAGE

Great new things are happening at The Taj.

THE TAJ GROUP OF HOTELS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A premium product of Polar Group.

Ahmedabad: 447778/403104. ● Bangalore: 238507/234374. ● Bombay: 6363072. ● Cochin: 352591. ● Cuttack: 21795. ● Chandigarh: 22511. ● Delhi: 2924764/2926740. ● Ghaziabad: 40312. ● Guwahati: 25343. ● Hyderabad: 45420. ● Indore: 05026/05183. ● Jabalpur: 27568. ● Jaipur: 61145/73693. ● Kanpur: 61069/63352. ● Madras: 513934/510335. ● Mangalore: 313669. ● Nagpur: 23083. ● Patna: 31017. ● Varanasi: 44088. ● Vijayawada: 76487/70847.
H.O. Calcutta: 297124/25/26

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

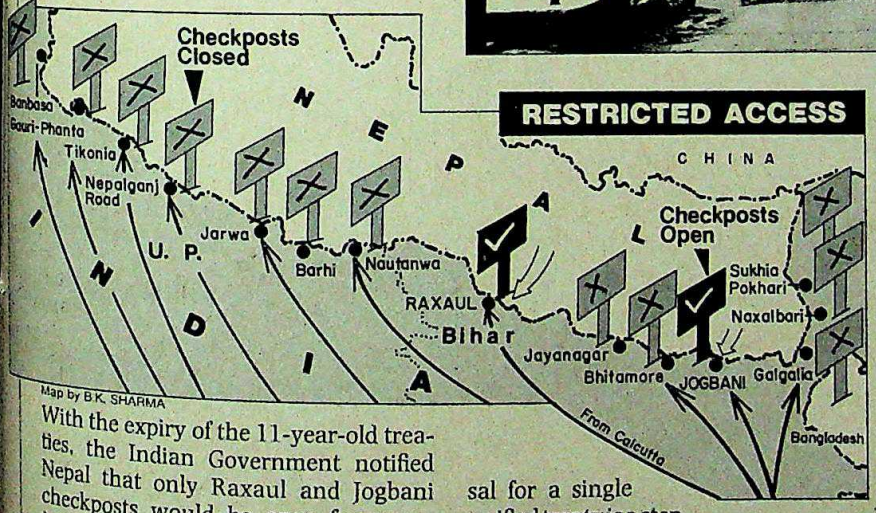
INDIA-NEPAL RELATIONS

Trading Tensions

Barricades go up as two important treaties expire

THE ties that have linked the two countries are centuries old. It was therefore natural that on the inter-government level too, India and Nepal should share a special relationship. One of the most striking features of that relationship was the open border—the world's second longest—which allowed unfettered access to people and goods from either side. Till last fortnight, when barricades went up at 13 of the 15 checkposts along the India-Nepal border and relations between the two neighbours dipped to a cool, almost cold, formality.

What brought this impasse about was the expiry, on March 23, of two treaties—one on trade which accords preferential treatment to each other's goods and the other on transit rights which list 15 checkposts for entry of goods imported by Nepal through Calcutta and an additional six points of entry for India-Nepal goods movement.



With the expiry of the 11-year-old treaties, the Indian Government notified Nepal that only Raxaul and Jogbani checkposts would be open for cross-border traffic. Amid reports of attacks on Indian traders and shops at Birganj, and traffic bottlenecks at the border, Kathmandu residents girded for the impact of what local newspapers termed, an economic blockade. Most cars stayed off the roads as petrol rationing was enforced. Other shortages appeared imminent.

This scare brought Nepal's Foreign Minister S.K. Upadhyaya rushing to Delhi, where he received a correct, cool reception, but failed to resurrect the expired treaties. The Ministry of External Affairs was still smarting at the way Upadhyaya had publicised the diplomatic intent of Indian External Affairs Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao's carefully camouflaged "private" trip to Kathmandu in early March. An angry Rao had curtailed the trip, visited the Pashupatinath temple and returned home the same day without discussing the treaties as he had planned to.

Delhi now insists there should be a composite treaty encompassing trade and transit, a suggestion that Kathmandu finds unacceptable. "The proposal for a single unified treaty is a step putting the hands of the clock back by 11 years....While trade is a periodic arrangement between two parties, transit is a necessary permanent condition for the international trade of any land-locked country. It should, therefore, be dealt with separately," declared a spokesman for Nepal's Foreign Ministry.

The treaty differences are only one symptom of the distrust that has developed between Delhi and Kathmandu in the last two years, partly because Nepal repeatedly played the China card. India was annoyed that, after 1987, Nepal:

► ordered small arms and anti-aircraft guns from China without consulting India as the 1950 treaty of peace and friendship enjoins it to do;

► imposed an additional 50 per cent duty on Indian goods and at the same time reduced the duty on Chinese goods by 10 per cent, giving Chinese goods a 60 per cent tariff advantage;

► asked 1.5 lakh Indians in Nepal to obtain work permits, thereby acquiring a right to veto. Indians were also prohibited from travelling in the 10-km border belt adjoining China, while Chinese workers were allowed on road- building sites along the Indian border.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi raised these issues with the Nepal King, but in vain, and their last meeting at the Islamabad SAARC summit was described as "icy". "If Nepal does not want to maintain goodwill and trust, then it will be treated like any other country. They can't keep tweaking our nose like this," sources in the External Affairs Ministry said. S.R. Bhandary, economic counsellor in the Nepalese Embassy in Delhi, admitted that the latest development was a set-back. Said he: "Nepal had agreed in principle to rescind the additional duties, but the position now is uncertain."

R.K. GUPTA

India-Nepal border post at Gorakhpur

Apart from letting the two treaties lapse, India has not retaliated against Nepalese residents in India—estimated to number around 50 lakh—or their remittances to Nepal. The fact that such retaliation was considered, reflects the sorry state of India-Nepal relations at the moment. This distresses Nepal-watchers like B.G. Verghese who feels that "we don't need to teach them an instant lesson". The current confrontation, if pursued, may alienate the common people of Nepal and a whole new generation may be "inclined to lean towards China", says he. The Chinese would then have succeeded and India would have alienated another one of its SAARC neighbours.

—RAMINDAR SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHILD PROSTITUTES

Nobody's Children

Despite stringent laws, more and more innocents are being forced into the flesh trade, and escape from the depths of this depravity remains a remote possibility.

FOR India's flesh racketeers, the sordid business of child prostitution is flourishing, booming, expanding. But for the victims—an incredible 20 per cent of the 2.5 lakh prostitutes in the country are estimated to be minors—life is nasty, brutish and short.

Fourteen-year-old Sadhna lived in a village of central Bengal and dreamt of visiting Shantiniketan and Calcutta. A friend offered to take her to these places. But instead of a pilgrimage to Rabindranath Tagore's abode of peace, Sadhna was taken to Sonagachi, Calcutta's biggest red-light area where about 50,000 prostitutes live. There, she was brutally raped and told she would be killed if she did not entertain customers. She did not have the courage to fight back. Then onwards, her's has been a dark world.

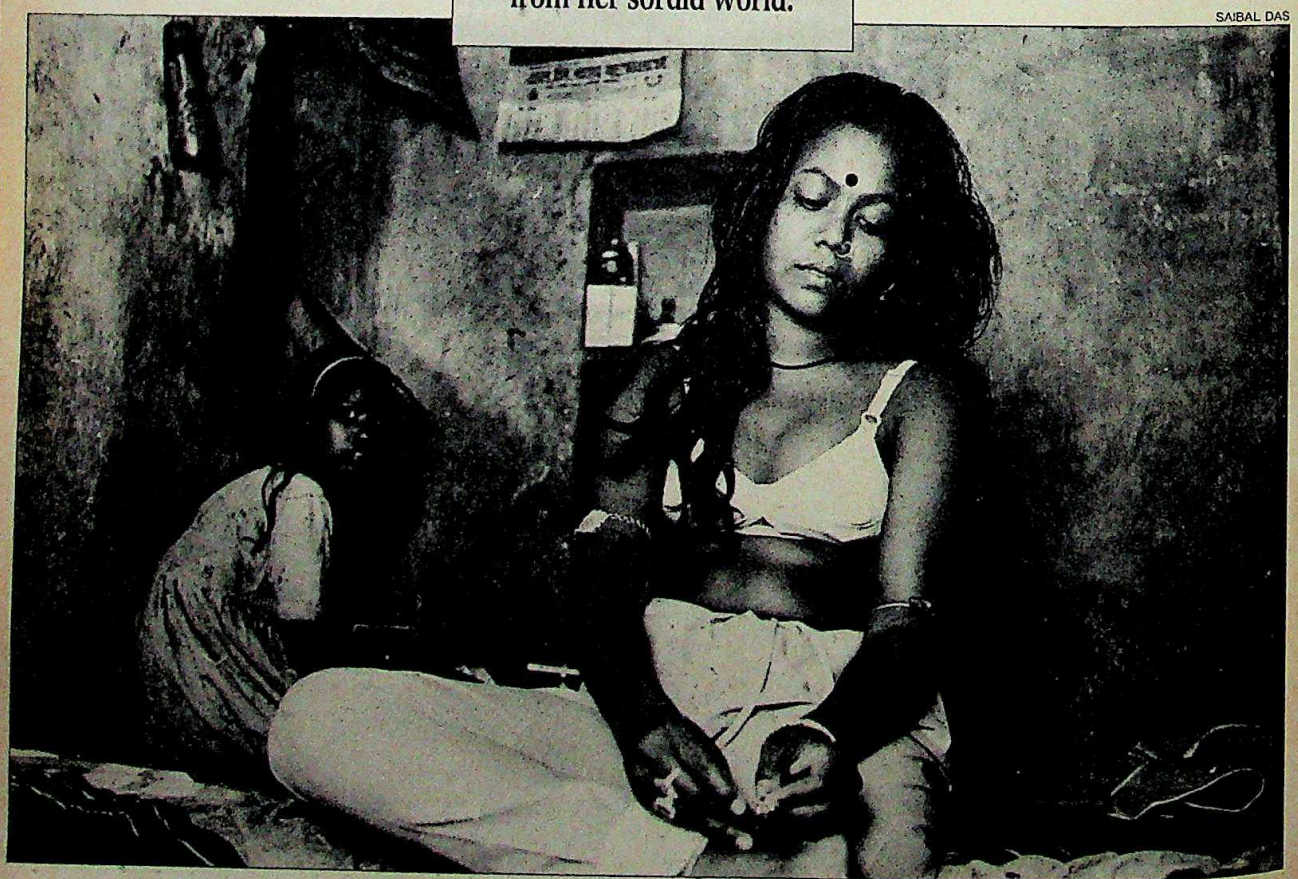
Three years have passed since then. Now Sadhna considers herself lucky if she gets customers who pay her not for sex—which she hates—but just to talk. They pay her Rs 30 just to sit beside her, and perhaps hold her hands. Last fortnight, she gets one such customer. She tells him that she likes Hindi songs and has recently acquired a tape recorder. She drinks often as it helps her forget.

At the age of 14, Sadhna was lured to Calcutta, sold to a brothel, brutally raped and told she would be killed if she did not entertain customers. Three years later, she knows there is no exit from her sordid world.

She hears that her customer has come to Sonagachi in a blue Maruti and wants to go for a ride. The customer—who discovers that Sadhna has never seen any part of Calcutta except Sonagachi—agrees. As the car speeds through Calcutta, Sadhna is transported into another world. She says it's the best day of her life.

But when the car turns back towards Sonagachi, Sadhna retreats into silence. And by the time the car enters the filthy lanes of the red-light area, tears glimmer in her eyes. Still, she steadies herself and with a plastic smile, bids her customer goodbye. Sadhna knows there is no es-

SAIBAL DAS



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rape from her sordid world.

Seema, 14, was barely 12 when a smooth talking flesh trader lured her to Bombay from Kathmandu. The starry-eyed girl wanted to become a film actress. Instead, she was sold to a brothel.

At first she resisted—screaming, crying and attacking all prospective customers. But the madam who ran the brothel would have none of it. She sent in a muscled toughie to pin the girl down while an old man deflowered her. The pain was so intense that Seema lost consciousness and had to be hospitalised for a week. After that it was back to the brothel. There, other child prostitutes told her she could not win this battle.

But Seema's spirit was not broken. Nine months later, she escaped from the brothel and got into a Howrah-bound train, hoping to eventually reach her home in Nepal. At Howrah, a soft-spoken lady promised to help: she lured the young girl to a Calcutta brothel and sold her. Seema had only managed to escape from one brothel to another.

Now, Seema appears resigned to her fate. She hits the streets of central Calcutta as soon as it gets dark and stands under a lamp-post soliciting customers. Her parents in Nepal have no idea where their daughter is. She does not have the courage to tell them the truth and cannot make herself lie; and anyway, they probably think that she is dead and it is better that way, she insists. But she still dreams of making enough money to escape to a life of freedom and dignity.

Seema's dreams are unlikely to be realised. As are those of other child prostitutes. Despite stringent laws, more and more helpless children are being forced into the flesh trade everyday. The Suppression of Immoral Traffic Act was amended last year to give it more teeth and it now provides punishment for a term not less than seven years to anyone inducing children into prostitution. But there are many loopholes in the law. And pimps, brothel owners and madams adeptly bypass the law to continue making numerous girls' lives a living hell.

Sixteen-year-old Radha from Bombay has been plunged into the depths of depravity. Sexual perversions and outright sadism are her lot. Once, she was badly beaten up by five young Arabs in a hotel room after she refused to do everything they wanted. For the last one-and-a-half years she has been having recurrent nightmares. She lives in constant fear of again being sent to cater to rich sadists.

Officials tend to explain the increase in child prostitution by blaming it all on Arab tourists. But Indians are as guilty of paying for sex with minors as anybody else. Most of the child prostitutes claim to get an average of four to five customers a day. Psychiatrists say these adults suffer from a poor self image and are emotionally deprived. Moreover, sex with a child gives many ageing men a temporary sense of being youthful. Another reason is the widespread myth that sex with a virgin can cure impotency and sexually transmitted diseases. This is why most children contract venereal diseases immediately after induction into the flesh trade.

Consider the experience of Shameen, 17, from Latur in Maharashtra. One day, a fashionable girl called Lata arrived in her village. She told Shameen that she could help out her poor family if she migrated to Bombay where there were jobs for the asking. Shameen agreed, only to find herself in a brothel. On her first day there, she was tied to a cot and raped by five men, all suffering from venereal diseases. The men had paid a hefty sum of money for sex with a virgin, which they believed would rid them of the dreaded disease.

Equally insidious is child prostitution under the guise of religion. Last month, 3,000 minor girls were inducted as devdasis in Karnataka and conditioned to believe they are exclusively for the pleasure of men.

But Shameen was one of the lucky few who managed to escape. Drawing inspiration from a Hindi film she had seen, late that night she slid down a drain pipe and ran to a nearby police station. The police discovered that Lata was a major girl runner and Shameen was the 14th minor she had sold in two years for sums that varied between Rs 5,000 and Rs 10,000.

Unlike Shameen, 13-year-old Tulasa escaped when it was too late. Abducted from Nepal and forced into prostitution in Bombay, day after day Tulasa got sexually battered till she contracted syphillis, gonorrhea, venereal warts, infection of the urinary tract and to top it all, tuberculosis. She was sent to a hospital as her condition

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

deteriorated. Dr Ishwarprasad Gilada, secretary-general of the Indian Health Organisation, came to know about her background and had her promptly rescued. She stayed in the hospital for over a year but ended up a spastic. When sent back to Nepal, her father, a small-time quarry contractor, refused to accept her fearing social stigma. Now Tulasa lives under the shelter of the Nepal Association for the Blind and Disabled.

Equally insidious is the child prostitution that flourishes under the guise of religion. In Karnataka's Belgaum district the devdasi system continues unchecked. There, thousands of minor girls are initiated into the cult of the Goddess Yellamma every year during Marg Purnima. They are conditioned to believe that they are meant exclusively for the pleasure of men and have to live off prostitution. During Marg Purnima last month, over 3,000 minor girls were inducted into the devdasi system. And although the law prohibits such practices, the policemen of Belgaum far from stopping the ceremony, directed traffic and managed crowds at the place.

Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh, there are jogins who are condemned to prostitution from an early age. Marriage pandals are erected and amid drinking and revelry girls barely over six years old are dressed in bridal finery. A priest ties the *mangalsutra* around their necks. As soon as these girl reach puberty, the richest landlord or businessman in the area deflowers them. From then on, these girls pass from one man to another.

Flesh traders use various ploys to procure girls from poverty-stricken areas of the country. Many are simply kidnapped. When she was just six years old, Pyari was kidnapped from her village in West Bengal. Her parents refused to pay the ransom, but the kidnappers did not panic. They just brought Pyari to Delhi and sold her to a brothel keeper. Now, Pyari asks pathetically: "Who will give me a job?"

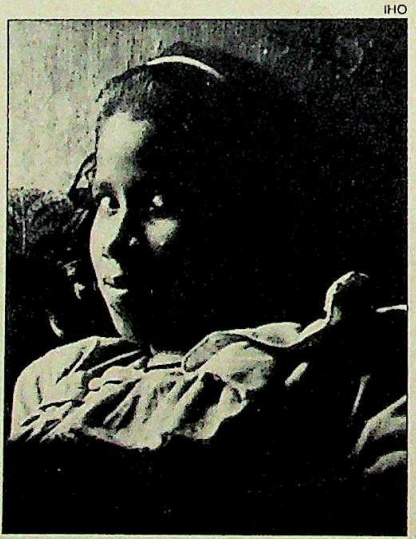
More common are instances of fake marriages. Aarti, 17, from Kerala thought her life would change for the better when she got married to a smartly dressed young man who claimed to have a well paying job in Kuwait. He brought Aarti to Bombay on the pretext of getting her a passport. Soon Aarti found herself in a brothel as her "husband" had vanished.

Says Beena, a Delhi prostitute originally from Tibet: "Most of us came as child brides and were sold off to brothels. Once we got in there was no way of getting out." Today Beena lives a double life. In the morning she helps her husband sell readymade garments on the streets of New Delhi and at night, she paints her face and solicits customers in the notorious G.B. Road area. "My husband wants me to do this," she says in a tone of pain mixed with anger. "Men only want our money. No one wants to love us."

ASHADEVI of Delhi, who became a prostitute at the age of 14, also spews venom at the male sex. She had the misfortune of becoming emotionally dependent on one of her regular customers who claimed to love her. One night this man said he was in urgent need of money to start a business. Without hesitation, Ashadevi handed him all her jewellery. He never showed up again. But, Ashadevi always wears *sindoor*. She says prostitutes need some dreams to cling on to. "Men know our weakness, so they keep emotionally blackmailing us."

Also duped by a suave customer was Ronnie, a stunningly beautiful child prostitute from Nepal. The man promised Ronnie a new life, so she ran away with him. But after a month, he wanted her to sell her body again—to earn for him. A

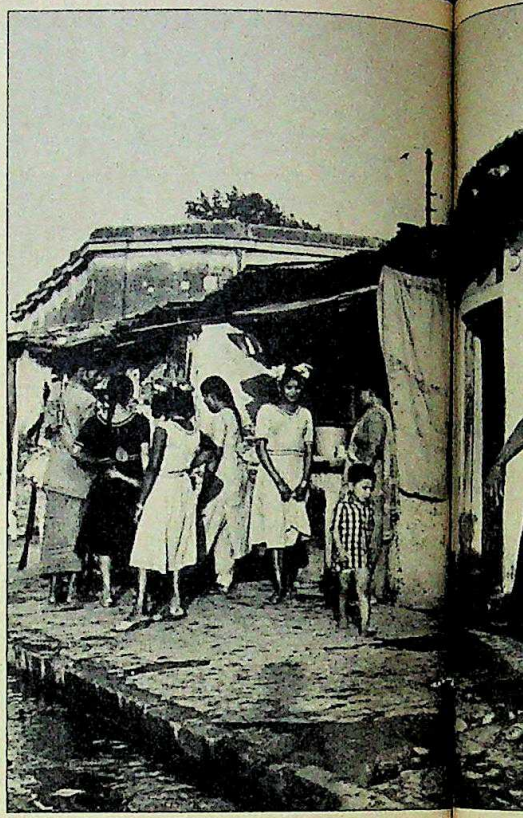
IHO



disillusioned Ronnie went back to the *kotha* in Delhi. Love, she now believes, does not exist.

Parents can be equally heartless. Manju Das, 16, hands over most of her earnings of Rs 60 a day to her father who does not balk at visiting his daughter's *kotha* in Calcutta. In recent years, she has been rescued thrice by the police but was bailed out by well connected brothel keepers. Now, Manju says she hates the world. Similarly, Shama Das, who became a prostitute at the age of 13 in Calcutta, regularly sends money to her parents. Says she: "My brother comes every month to take more money but he has not suggested even once that I get out of the profession."

And a New Delhi social service organisation called Kalyani recently rescued a



A red-light area in Calcutta; and a child prostitute

12-year-old being pushed into prostitution by her parents. Expectedly, many of these children don't want to go back home as the situation there is often worse. They come from broken homes and are victims of neglect and incest.

Mallika, 11, was initiated into the trade just two months ago by her mother, a maidservant, who had incurred heavy debts. Out of every Rs 25 Mallika earns, Rs 13 goes to the madam in Calcutta and the rest to her mother. She says she will stop selling her body when her mother's debts are paid. In her spare time, she plays with a two-year-old child of another prostitute. "I only care for him," she says hugging the baby. Sadly, there is no one to care for Mallika, whose life has been destroyed even before she entered her teens.

Children of prostitutes usually follow in their mother's footsteps. The girls become whores and the boys, pimps. Leena, 30, was forced into prostitution in Delhi at the age of 10. She had her first child at the age of 13. Says she: "There were days when my four-year-old son used to tell me that my customers have come, just like any other pimp, and I realised that he had to grow up elsewhere. Many of our children become prostitutes before our eyes and we are as much responsible as flesh traders for child prostitution."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fake marriages are a common ploy used by flesh traders to procure girls. Suave young men simply marry village girls and sell them to city brothels.

This fact has not been lost on the madams who run brothels: many send their children to expensive boarding schools. And the experience of Khairati Lal Bhola, who has formed a union of prostitutes in Delhi, is revealing. When he tried to identify children of prostitutes for rehabilitation by the Delhi Administration, he found that mothers would part with their sons but wanted to hang on to their daughters for obvious reasons.

Sadly, instead of implementing the law, the police are hand in glove with the brothel keepers, pimps and madams. Innovative as ever, many policemen steer clear of the new law by arresting child prostitutes as vagrants and missing children. In Calcutta, for instance, not a single case of child prostitution has been registered in the last three years. Yet, a single raid in D.C. Mitra Street in Sonagachi would help rescue at least 500 minors. Once the street lamps come on, hundreds of gaudily dressed children line the streets openly soliciting customers. Admits a senior New Delhi police functionary: "The police do not have their heart in it and are aligned with the flesh traders."

PAYOFFS to the police by brothel keepers are high. So even if honest officers go to raid a brothel, usually the madams and pimps there have been tipped off well in advance by other policemen. Further, children in brothels are masqueraded as relatives of prostitutes and due to lack of evidence the police fail to pursue the case. And if minors are rescued, the brothel keepers produce fake affidavits or birth certificates claiming to be the parents. The juvenile court releases the children and back they go to the brothels.

Worse, often it is the authorities who force children into the trade. Shanaaz, 16, a Bangladeshi girl, found herself in Calcutta's Presidency Jail after being arrested under the Foreigners Act. Jail employees got Shanaaz released, took her to Bombay and sold her to a brothel. In the first 10 days she was made to have sex with 35 men. The brothel keeper took Rs 75 per customer, but gave Shanaaz nothing, saying that she had paid Rs 30,000 to buy her. Shanaaz escaped with Rs 60 given to her by a kind customer, came to Howrah by train and headed towards the border to cross back into Bangladesh. As luck would have it again she was arrested and sent to Presidency Jail. Fortunately, Shibshankar Chakraborty, an advocate, got wind of Shanaaz's plight, saw to her release and even arranged her marriage to a Calcutta boy. Suddenly, Shanaaz's faith in humankind was restored.

Similarly, Sonali Rai, 17, another Bangladeshi was intercepted while crossing over to India. First BSF jawans gang-raped her. Battered and bruised, she arrived in Calcutta. There, she fell into the hands of flesh traders of Sonagachi. Now the attractive Sonali is one of the richest prostitutes of the area.

Courts too are often insensitive to the plight of these innocents. Take the case of 16-year-old Asha. After molesting her repeatedly for more than two years, her father sold her for Rs 500 to a slum dweller who in turn sold her to a brothel. She was rescued by the police but the court handed her back to her father although it was told that she was a victim of incest. Her father again raped her. "It is a self-defeating exercise," says a police officer, "the child prostitute is no one's baby."

Hardened by their experiences, many child prostitutes end up as madams. A common pattern in most red light areas is to see the victims of crime turn into the perpetrators of the very same crime. Nimmi Bai, 51, from Hyderabad was forced into prostitution at the age of eight in New Delhi. Now she is a madam at G.B. Road with over a dozen prostitutes under her wing, some of them minors.

The few child prostitutes who do manage to escape from their depraved world, find themselves battling social stigma. Sheela is one such girl who got married. But in the last six years, Sheela and her husband have had to move from place to place as people find out about her past, sooner or later. Sheela has not lost courage. But others are unable to face the social boycott and return to the familiar dingy lanes of the red-light areas.

Doctors who treat child prostitutes say they often have psychosomatic disorders like pain in the abdomen, headaches, diarrhoea, loss of appetite, insomnia and hallucinations. Not surprisingly, many numb their pain by taking drugs or alcohol. For a few moments they are able to escape from the harsh reality of their world. Living in filth, disease and neglect, for these poor innocents, any other escape is a remote possibility.

—RAMESH MENON in New Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay

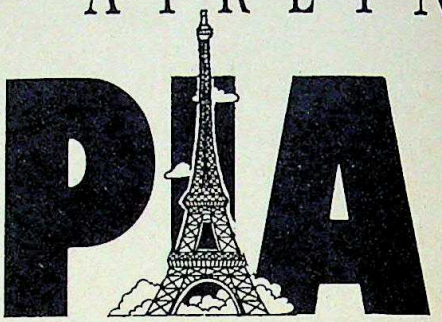
Names of child prostitutes have been changed to conceal their identity.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WHICH OTHER AIRLINE

takes you to the Towering heights of Paris...



drives you round the Ben in London...

gives you the Liberty of landing in New York...

adds a new Leaf to your schedule, with Toronto...

touches down at many other cities in the western world...
and yet leaves you walking on air with a memorable interlude at Karachi!

Only PIA does all this... and a bit more! It offers you the traditional hospitality and gracious service that many airlines try for. That's because PIA's highly efficient flight personnel have this special knack of making every passenger feel right at home, in any corner of the earth... or sky!

And now, every PIA traveller enjoys a memorable interlude in the beautiful tourist city of Karachi, en route to Europe, America, the Middle East, Africa and many more places — courtesy PIA.

PIA
Pakistan International
Great people to fly with

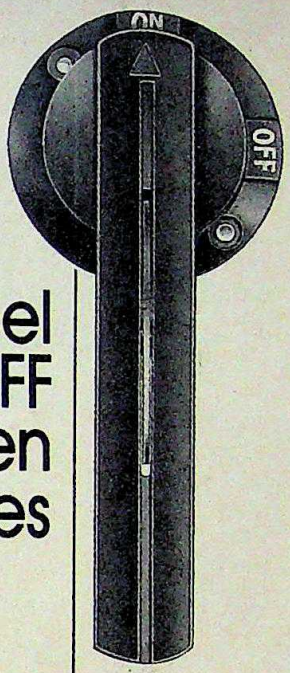
InterpubPIA/4/88

DELHI: Kailash Building, 26 Kasturba Gandhi Marg, New Delhi-110 001 Phone: 3316286, 3316121.

BOMBAY: Hotel Oberoi Towers, Nariman Point, Bombay-400 021 Phone: 2021480, 2021598.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

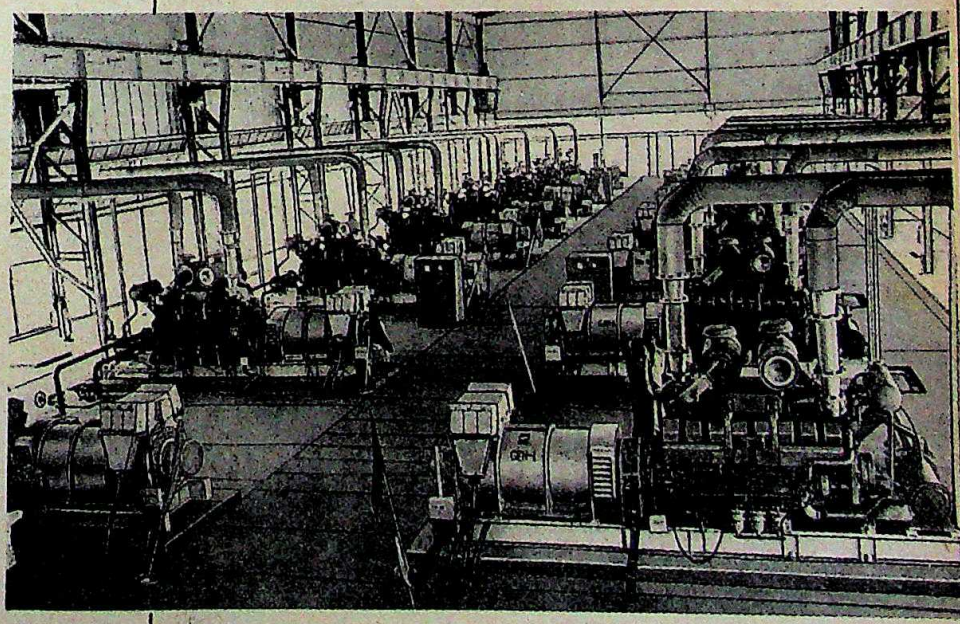
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



At Tata Steel nothing goes OFF when the power does

When Tata Steel decided to go in for its own power station it could have used worldclass imported generators. Instead it chose A. C. generators from Kirloskar Electric, the subcontinent's largest manufacturer of A. C. generators. Making this the first time Tata Steel ever used indigenous technology for a 12.8 MW power station with **sixteen 1000 kVA 6.6 kV** A. C. generators working in tandem. Because, when it is Kirloskar Electric it is as good as the world's best.

Tata Steel now has India's largest indigenous diesel power station. With A.C. generators from Kirloskar Electric.



Kirloskar

KIRLOSKAR ELECTRIC CO. LTD.
P. B. No: 5555,
Malleswaram West,
Bangalore 560 055.

Interpub/PIA/4/88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

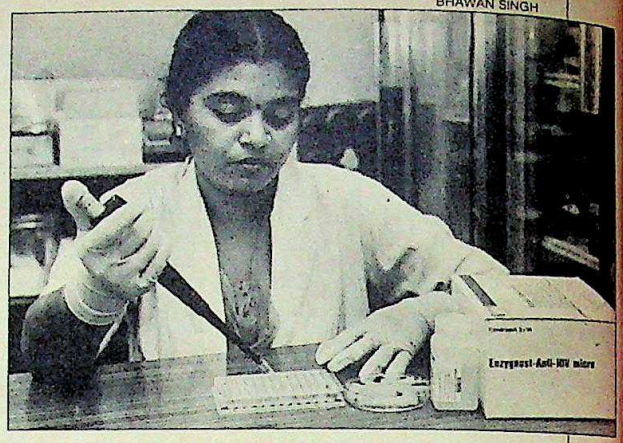
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AIDS

A Bloody Scam

Alarm over contaminated injections

BHAWAN SINGH



AIDS test being carried out

IT was a devastating revelation. Something that made the threat from Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome, better known by its dreaded acronym, AIDS, a frightening reality.

A chance discovery saw the Union Health Ministry order tests on samples of the entire range of 19 blood products manufactured in the country. The chilling result: a "substantial number" had been made from human blood infected with the AIDS virus. The Government then moved quickly and took one of its most drastic measures ever. Last month it ordered the nine Indian companies making these products to withdraw all their stocks from the market, destroy them and suspend further production.

Dr SNEH BHARGAVA
AIIMS Director

"It's clear that some manufacturers were not following the laid down drill and were using shortcuts."

"We've evolved a structure of control that incorporates the world's best technology."

R. SRINIVASAN
Union Health Secretary

The products tested included the anti-D Rho injection given to women with a negative rhesus factor in their blood after delivery, injections given to haemophiliacs for coagulation deficiencies in their blood and to patients with suspected diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus and jaundice (these are different from those given to immunise children). An estimated one lakh people take these injections every year.

The stunning find was made when a doctor at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) in New Delhi requested a friend to carry out an AIDS test on an injection his wife was about to take. To their disbelief, it was found the injection contained antibodies against the AIDS virus.

The results triggered off a nationwide debate over whether the presence of antibodies in these products meant that the virus too was present. And if so, whether those who had taken such injections would soon become infected with it. Manufacturers, citing American research, claim that the virus itself gets inactivated during the process of isolating the blood products. The Health Ministry says this may be true, but Professor G.K. Vishwakarma, director-general of health services, says: "We have requested all persons who have received such injections in the past two years to come in for an AIDS test."

Meanwhile, though the Government liberalised imports in order to meet the public demand for these products, there was an inexplicable gap between orders and implementation. A month after orders for withdrawal of the stocks were issued, many of the products were floating around freely in several states. In Karnataka, over 6,000 women were given similar injections before the products were finally withdrawn. In Chandigarh, the banned products were freely available till last week.

It was also apparent that it was the manufacturers who were to blame. Sneh Bhargava, AIIMS director, points out: "It's clear that they were not following the laid down drill for making these products and were employing short cuts." First, they had no business using contaminated blood to manufacture products, especially after the Government had ordered last year that tests for AIDS be carried out before using blood. Second, doubts persist over whether the process adopted for isolating the blood products was similar to the one US manufacturers use to inactivate the dreaded virus. Union government officials admit that "some of them were not following the safe manufacturing techniques for these products". Also evident was the Government's laxity in not checking the products earlier.

There is now considerable pressure on the Government to check the spread of the disease. Already, the Indian Council of Medical Research's surveillance of high-risk groups shows that of the two lakh blood samples tested earlier, about 750 were "sero-positive" (having AIDS antibodies). And 29 developed into "full-blown" AIDS cases. Says Union Health Secretary R. Srinivasan: "While there's no reason to panic, the growing numbers are a serious concern."

Following the blood products scam, the Government has laid down stringent manufacturing procedures to lessen, if not eliminate, such contamination in future. Claims Srinivasan: "We have now evolved a structure of control that incorporates the best technology available anywhere in the world." Manufacturers have been told to carry out AIDS tests when they collect blood from donors, then in their "plasma pool" and at the end-product stage. They also have to follow the procedures used by US manufacturers to inactivate the virus in case there is a chance contamination.

The bloody scandal has brought a new sense of urgency in preventing the spread of AIDS. But as AIIMS Professor of Medicine Dr A.N.Malaviya says: " We are fast running out of the grace period that the disease has given us."

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

SPECIAL NEWSTRACK OFFERS

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

Rs. 135/- for a single cassette of April — If you're not satisfied return it within 7 days by Registered Post and you can get your money back.*

FREE INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION FOR 6 MONTHS

Rs. 720/- for a half-yearly subscription (6 cassettes of *Newstrack*) — and you get a free six-month subscription to INDIA TODAY.

FREE INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION FOR 18 MONTHS

Rs. 1200/- for an annual subscription (12 cassettes of *Newstrack*) — and a free 18-month subscription to INDIA TODAY.

(The rates given above are inclusive of all taxes and delivery charges).
Cassettes will be sent by courier for speedy delivery. For all cities/towns not covered by courier services cassettes will be sent by Registered Post.

* To avail of the 'Money-back' offer the cassette must be returned by Registered Post within 7 days of receipt, to Living Media India Ltd., 316 Competent House, F-14 Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001. The company will not be responsible for any postal delays.

For further enquiries please contact any of our Regional Offices:
• Delhi: 3320689 • Bombay: 2027867 • Madras: 479163 • Calcutta: 445398 • Bangalore: 210834

Yes, I want to subscribe to *Newstrack*. Enclosed is my subscription of —

* Rs. 135/- for a single copy of the April *Newstrack* with MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

* Rs. 720/- for 6 months (6 *Newstrack* cassettes) and my free six-months subscription to INDIA TODAY.

* Rs. 1200/- for 1 year (12 *Newstrack* cassettes) and my free 18 months subscription to INDIA TODAY.

by Cheque/D.D. No: _____ dated _____

Please deliver my cassette to:

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Pin Code: _____ Tel. No.: _____

Please draw remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd., and mail the coupon with the remittance to Living Media India Ltd., P.O. Box No. 29, New Delhi — 110 001.

This coupon can also be used for subscription renewal. Please indicate your subscription no _____

BUFFALO®

Buffalo loves your shape

Mfd. by BUFFALO APPARELS PVT. LTD., 209, Parvati Industrial Estate, Sun Mill Compound, Lower Parel, Bombay-400 013. Available at all leading stores.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AIDS

A Bloody

Alarm over contamin

IT was a devastating revela
Something that made the threat
Acquired Immuno-Deficiency
drome, better known by its dr
acronym, AIDS, a frightening real

A chance discovery saw the U
Health Ministry order tests on samp
the entire range of 19 blood pro
manufactured in the country. The
ing result: a "substantial number
been made from human blood inf
with the AIDS virus. The Govern
then moved quickly and took one
most drastic measures ever. Last m
it ordered the nine Indian companies making these products to withdraw all their stocks from the market, destroy them and suspend further production.

Dr

The products tested included the anti-D Rho injection given to women with a negative rhesus factor in their blood after delivery, injections given to haemophiliacs for coagulation deficiencies in their blood and to patients with suspected diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus and jaundice (these are different from those given to immunise children). An estimated one lakh people take these injections every year.

The stunning find was made when a doctor at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) in New Delhi requested a friend to carry out an AIDS test injection his wife was about to tal their disbelief, it was found the inj contained antibodies against the virus.

The results triggered off a nationwide debate over whether the presence of antibodies in these products meant that the virus too was present. And if so, whether those who had taken such injections would soon become infected with it. Manufacturers, citing American research, claim that the virus itself gets inactivated during the process of isolating the blood products. The Health Ministry says this may be true, but Professor G.K. Vishwakarma, director-general of health services, says: "We have requested all persons who have received manufacturers who were to blame. Sneh Bhargava, AIIMS director, points out: "It's clear that they were not following the laid down drill for making these products and were employing short cuts." First, they had no business using contaminated blood to manufacture products, especially after the Government had ordered last year that tests for AIDS be carried out before using blood. Second, doubts persist over whether the process adopted for isolating the blood products was similar to the one US manufacturers use to inactivate the dreaded virus. Union government offi- in the world." Manufacturers have been told to carry out AIDS tests when they collect blood from donors, then in their "plasma pool" and at the end-product stage. They also have to follow the procedures used by US manufacturers to inactivate the virus in case there is a chance contamination.

The bloody scandal has brought a new sense of urgency in preventing the spread of AIDS. But as AIIMS Professor of Medicine Dr A.N.Malaviya says: " We are fast running out of the grace period that the disease has given us."

—RAJ CHENGAPPA

BACKTRACK WITH NEWSTRACK

Newstrack brings you incisive coverage of various issues.

- September had V.P. Singh, the Women of Paradia, Shashi Kapoor and lots more.
- October covered the Syed Modi Murder Mystery, R.K. Hegde and Shatrughan Sinha.
- November showed a new Maneka Gandhi, the Human Rights Concert a close-up of of the latest turn-coat politicans and more.
- December had a candid interview with Benazir Bhutto, the Bofors Scandal and other interesting features.
- January *Newstrack* featured the Tamil Nadu Elections, a story on Rajneesh, Sam Pitroda and Aamir Khan.
- February portrayed Devi Lal, Safdar Hashmi's alleged killer, AIDS, Competitive Advertising and Kabir Bedi.

March *Newstrack* laid bare the political mess in Bihar, had in-depth interviews with Hershman, Swamy and Hegde; and also featured Sanjay Khan's mishap, the Maha Kumbh and Award Winning Folk Musicians and Craftsmen.

You needn't miss out on any of this. There are two back-issue subscription offers to enable you to complete your *Newstrack* library.

- All seven *Newstrack* issues (Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., Jan. & Feb.,) for Rs.805/-.
- Any one of the last seven *Newstrack* issue for Rs. 125/- (please specify the months you want)

To get your back issues just write to us at the address given on the coupon overleaf alongwith your remittance in favour of LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD.

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY

The New York Times
"Newstrack has in-depth or investigative reporting on topical subjects" (Nov. 3, '88)

The Sunday Observer
"Newstrack has taken off with a bang..." (Sept. 9, '88)

SUNDAY
"India Today's Newstrack video magazine continues to make waves..." (Feb. 5-11, '89)

TIME
"Newstrack strives to be unbiased... it could herald something of a journalistic revolution in India." (Nov. 21, '88)

THE TIMES OF INDIA
"There's finally an alternative to Doordarshan... Newstrack." (Oct. 23, '88)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
"... comes across as being the brilliant work of courageous young minds." (Jan. 7, '89)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Mfd. by BUFFALO APPARELS PVT. LTD., 209, Parvati Industrial Estate, Sun Mill Compound, Lower Parel, Bombay-400 013. Available at all leading stores.

THE PSYCHO-ANALYSIS O
(Shouldn't you know what your Skyb

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

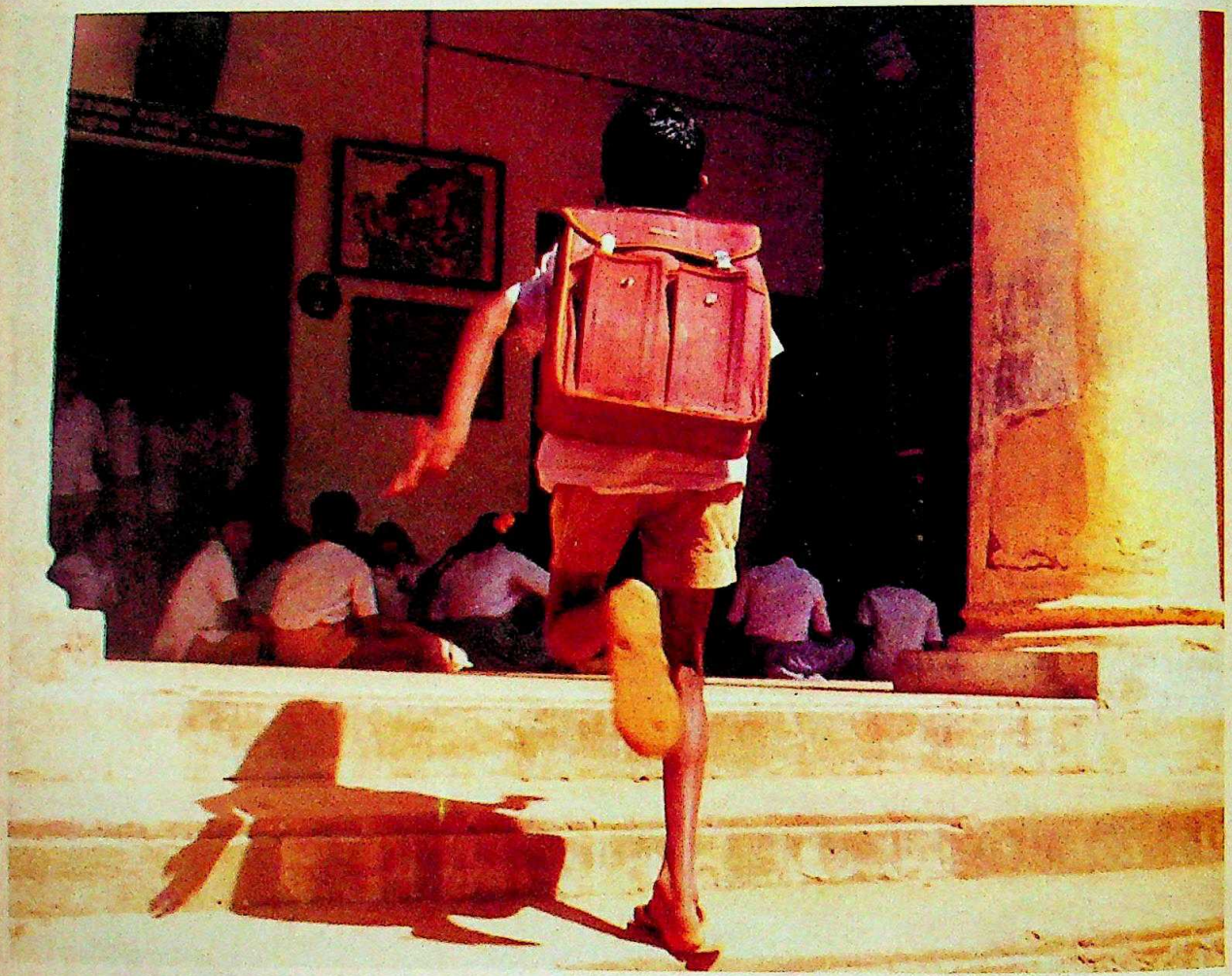
IS OF A SKYBAGS OWNER...

our Skybag's been saying about you?)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Ha

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Visionary who saw the Future in these small steps



Jawaharlal Nehru.

The Visionary who saw in children,the future of India, who felt, in their innocence a sense of profound peace which marked the beginning of a new era.

United India contributes to the ideals of this great visionary through its Insurance Policy for children.

In the turbulent forces of modern life UI guards the future leaders from calamities. The Students' Safety Insurance Policy has brought to Educational Institutions and Parents an insurance scheme which cares for children.

Protection, for everyone and everything.

United India — Insuring your future

UNITED INDIA INSURANCE CO. LTD.

(Subsidiary of General Insurance Corporation of India)

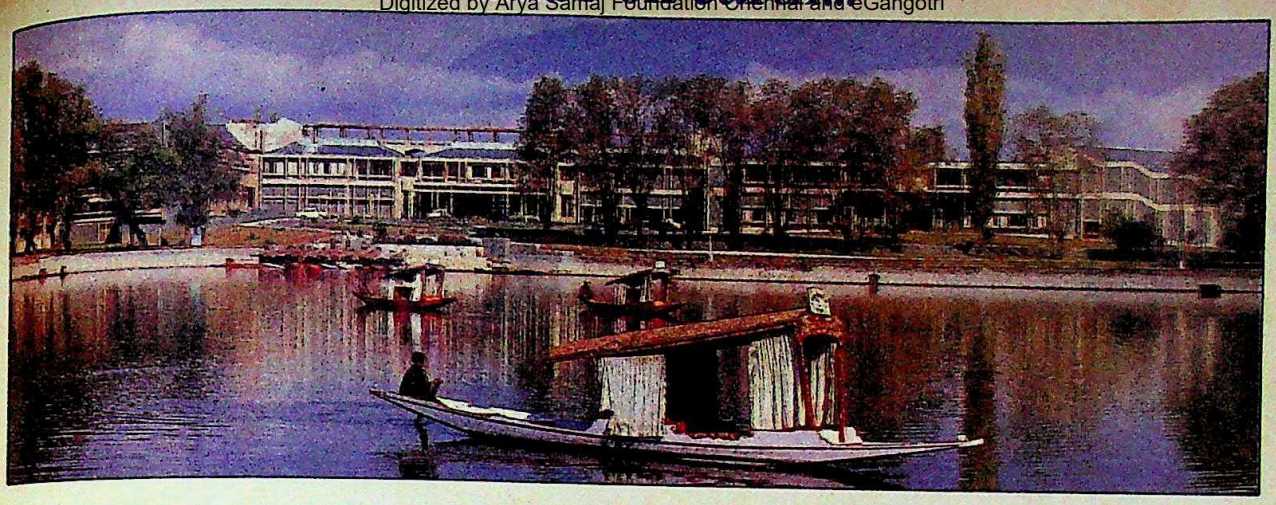
24, Whites Road, Madras - 600 014

MAA COMMUNICATIONS 8925

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Paradise on earth...

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



and the setting for a world class conference centre

Kashmir... there's no place on earth like it. And there's no place like the Sher-i-Kashmir International Conference Centre to make things happen... businesswise or otherwise. The Sher-i-Kashmir International Conference Centre meets every requirement of high-powered conventions — of 10 to 1000 delegates. Plenary Hall with simultaneous translation in 5 languages. Conference Rooms. Banquet Hall. Projection Room for films, audio visual and video viewing. Business Centre offering Fax, Copier, Computers and Secretarial help. Trained staff to orchestrate complex business meets with computer controlled efficiency. For leisure and pleasure...Golfing, Fishing, Trekking, River Rafting, Mountaineering, Water Skiing, Heli-skiing, Sightseeing, Shopping. Or just relaxing in a room with a view. Yes, make the most of Kashmir — the playground of the world... now also a world class conference venue.

where business is always a pleasure!

Sher-i-Kashmir
INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE
CENTRE

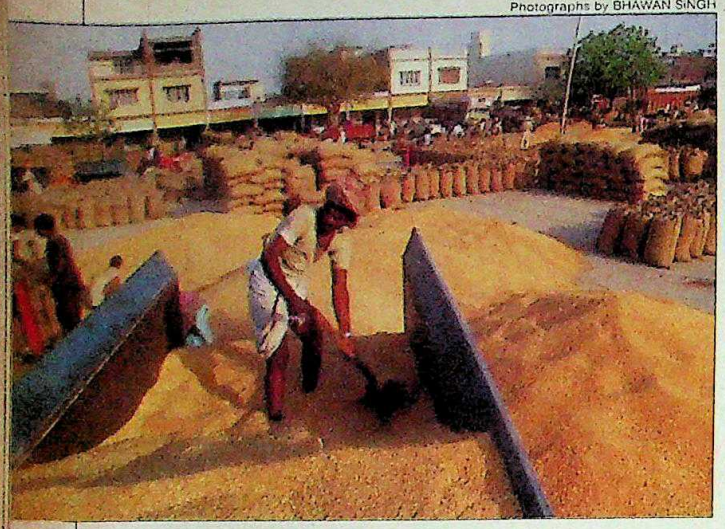
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

For assistance and reservations or a free colour brochure contact: Sales & Marketing Division, Sher-i-Kashmir International Conference Centre

MAA COMMUNICATIONS 8925

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by BHAWAN SINGH



AGRICULTURE

A Golden Revival

With the country experiencing the decade's best rainfall, foodgrain production is soaring to a new high. But India's agriculture is still not out of the woods. An in-depth report:

A mustard field in full bloom (above), harvested potatoes (left) and ripened wheat crop (right): winter's bounty

IT is nature at her pregnant best. The baked brown landscape has been transformed into a sea of green and gold. Yellow mustard flowers loom over rippling green wheat stalks. The smell of ripe sugarcane permeates the air.

Two seasons of bumper harvests have all but wiped out the devastating effects of the 1987 drought. And as farmers all over the country get ready to reap another record rabi (winter) crop, India is poised for a quantum leap in foodgrain production.

Barring unseasonal rains in the next fortnight that could affect the wheat crop, foodgrain production is likely to soar past a whopping 166 million tonnes. In fact this year's production is expected to be at least 14 to 20 million tonnes higher than the previous peak of 152 million tonnes in the boom year of 1983-84.

The figures that Krishi Bhavan now churns out are heart-warming:

► Wheat this season is likely to touch a new record of 51 million tonnes. (previous best: 47.05 million tonnes in 1985-86).

► With rice staging a great comeback during the kharif season and winter sowing doing well, production is likely to touch a new high of 68 million tonnes.

► Coarse cereals like bajra and maize and pulses like gram and tur are staging a dramatic recovery with production likely to either equal or cross earlier levels.

► In oilseeds, groundnut production, which caused so many tears in 1987, has surged to a record 8 million tonnes. Mustard and soyabean too are booming (*see box*).

► Sugarcane production has reached a new peak of 196 million tonnes. And potatoes, garlic and coriander have shown steep increases in production.

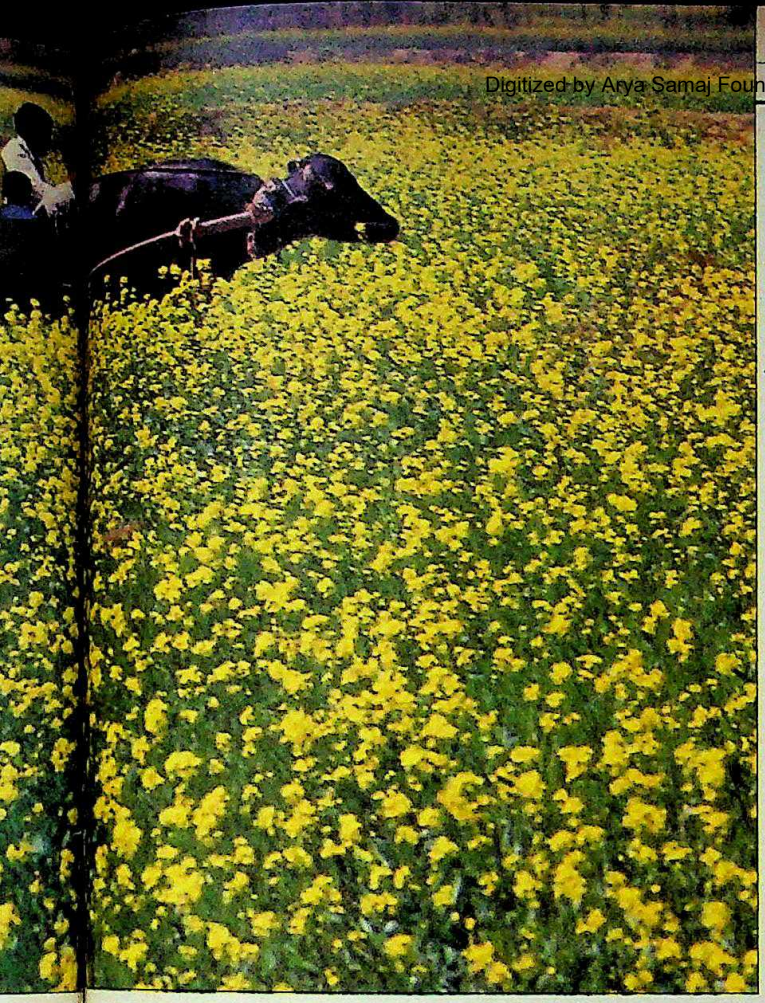
The result: The gross national product (GNP) has registered an estimated 9.6 per cent annual growth. It has triggered a spin-off boom among agro-based industries. Fertiliser off-take, for instance, has registered a 20 per cent growth. And the increased income from agriculture has seen a fresh spurt in the sluggish consumer goods industry. Says Dr Yogendra Alagh, Planning Commission member (agriculture): "Let's say it's a great revival. It's given us the much-needed boost to tide over the below-average performance of the previous two years. And the hope that we are well on the way to meeting targets."

While Krishi Bhavan revels over the golden harvest, agriculture experts are not so cheery. Much of their scepticism lies in the fact that the current boom is explained by the cyclical peaks that Indian agriculture experiences. Backed by an excellent monsoon (like the one last year) foodgrain production usually surges by 10 to 20 million tonnes every five or six years. Says Professor Gurdarshan Singh Bhalla of the Jawaharlal Nehru University: "There's nothing to gloat about in the current boom. After three years of going down the drain, the real increase has been barely 14 million tonnes. So what?"

More important, as critics point out, the agricultural sector in the past five years has continued to grow at what is termed as the Hindu rate of growth—2.5 to 2.6 per cent annually. While Dr Alagh claims the growth would be much higher he admits it's nowhere near the projected 3.5 per cent. This despite massive investments in crucial inputs like irrigation, fertilisers, seeds and credit in the past

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Things have never looked so good. Wheat production is reaching a new peak. Rice has staged a great comeback. And the oilseeds and vegetables sectors are booming.

decade. As Dr A.M. Michael, director of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, says: "Agricultural production has been fluctuating too much for comfort. If this is the best we can do in the best year, then the situation is still far from happy."

The good news, however, is that the agricultural sector is back on a high growth phase. The percentage of districts having excess or normal rainfall reached 88 per cent—the decade's best figures. But the rains brought problems too. Incessant rains in July delayed sowing of coarse cereals in the Bundelkhand area of Uttar Pradesh and Malwa Plateau of Madhya Pradesh. In August, floods in the Brahmaputra and Ganga affected crops in Assam, Bihar and West Bengal. Heavy rains in September saw flash floods destroy ripening crops in Haryana, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. And the north-east monsoon that followed wasn't too good especially in the south. But good winter rains in the north augured an excellent rabi season.

The Government's efforts too have helped considerably. A special action plan launched in 169 districts across 14 states after the drought saw crucial inputs—seeds, fertilisers and pesticides—being stationed well in advance of the season. As a senior Union Agriculture Ministry official said: "We weren't taking chances this time. Not only was money released on time but there was constant monitoring. Everyone was kept on his toes."

In fertilisers, for instance, the usual problem was nonavailability. Under the action plan, the Government said at least 100 retail outlets would be opened per district. By the end of 1988 over 5,000 new outlets were opened and functioning. And to benefit smaller farmers, fertilisers were sold in smaller packs. Seeds, another crucial input, were stationed in most districts even before the season began. There was a drive too to push seeds of high yielding varieties. But there were hiccups. In Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, there was a huge shortage of bajra seeds. And in Bihar in many districts the seeds arrived well after sowing.

Realising the farmers were going to be in desperate need of credit after the disastrous drought, the Government set about energising the clogged agricultural cooperative credit network. Over 40 per cent of the 94,000 primary societies had accumulated huge overdues that made them ineligible for fresh loans from the National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development (NABARD). The Government introduced a fresh scheme, whereby credit would be extended to these societies despite their backlog. Interest rates for crop loans were slashed by 1.5 to 2.5 per cent. Credit utilisation went up dramatically. Current estimates put the increase at around

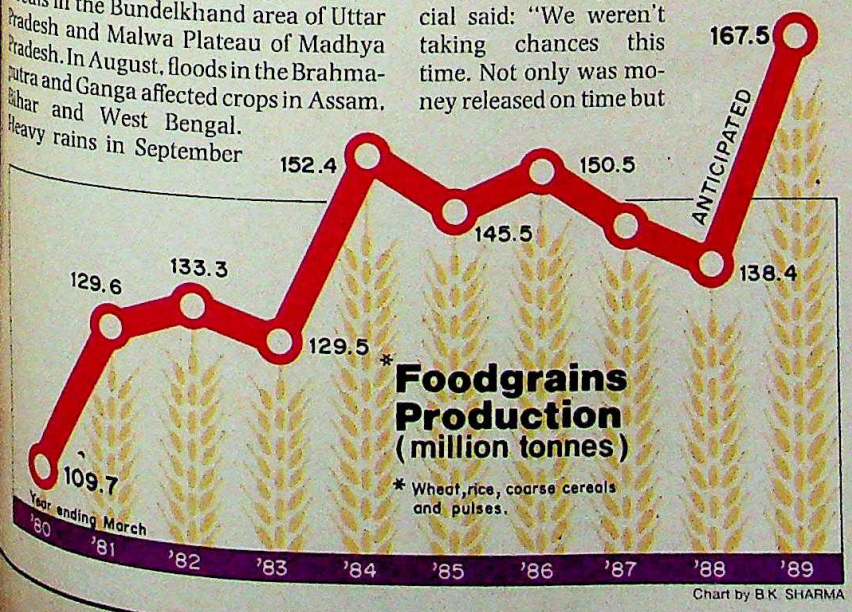


Chart by B.K. SHARMA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

SHIRTS FROM THE FINEST QUALITY LONG STAPLE COTTON

Get a feel of some of the best shirts in the world!

Made from the finest, long staple cotton, Ambassador shirts are soft and luxurious. The fine rich fabric with superior crease resistance, wears extraordinarily well. Impeccable stitching, classic styling, Ambassador shirts are perfect wear. To make light of a long day and turn the evening really fine.

Ambassador shirts. Just what you'd expect from us.

AMBASSADOR
COTTON CLASSICS

AVAILABLE AT
SELECT BATA STORES:
DELHI: B BLOCK CONNAUGHT PLACE. SOUTH EXTN. PART I. AJMAL KHAN ROAD.

CHANDIGARH: SECTOR 17E. SECTOR 22D.

BOMBAY: COLABA CAUSEWAY. GREAT WESTERN STORES (D.N. ROAD). CARNAC ROAD. BANDRA.

CALCUTTA: GRAND HOTEL ARCADE.

MADRAS: ANNASALAI.

BANGALORE: BRIGADE ROAD. COMMERCIAL STREET. BANASHANKARI.

NOW YOU WON'T BUY YOUR SHIRTS ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD

Bata

R KANGA/AS/2/89.

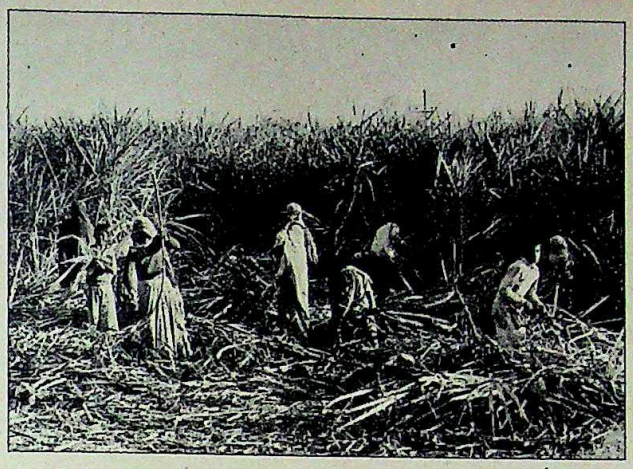
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs 3,000 crore or 30 per cent higher than the previous year.

With most reservoirs filling up rapidly, the water situation remained comfortable throughout. By September-end, a survey done by the Central Water Commission showed that in 47 major irrigation reservoirs, water levels had risen to 84 per cent of the total capacity. The storage level during the drought was a disastrous 54 per cent. Not satisfied with that the Government launched a minor irrigation programme that envisaged sinking of six lakh tubewells by March this year. While so far only half that number has been sunk, this has provided irrigation to an additional million hectares.

While government measures certainly helped, there were plenty of problems that kept stalling progress. In Bihar because of erratic power supply many of the new tubewells lay idle. Also the lack of what is called *hatia* rains after the heavy spell saw sowing delayed considerably during kharif. In many districts, the heavy rains saw roads clogged and crucial inputs like seeds and fertilisers arriving late. And rice production which was expected to touch six million tonnes dropped to around 5.5 million tonnes as a result. But Bihar's Agriculture Secretary K.N. Ardhanareswaran says: "The winter rains have been excellent and we are expecting a good harvest of wheat which would make up for shortfalls during kharif."

In Maharashtra, there were problems of a different kind. While everybody was weeping over the 1987 drought, the rainfall that the state received was just right for coarse cereals. Production of jowar, the state's main foodgrain, actually boomed. Last kharif, the good rains saw many farmers concentrating on rice.



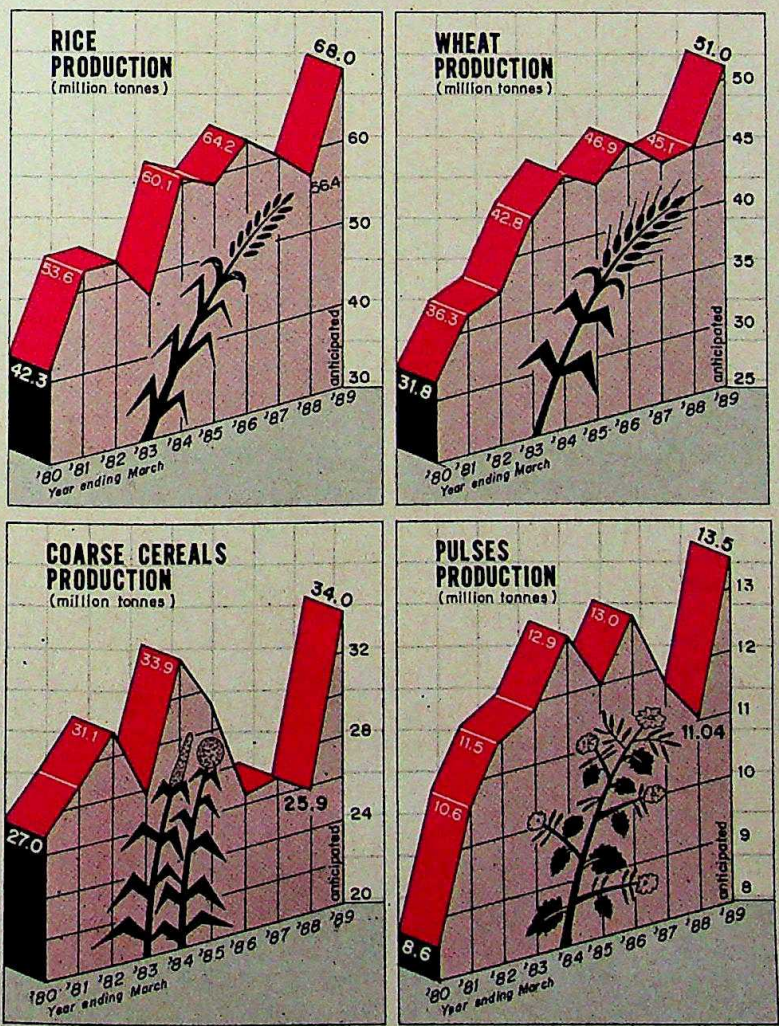
Farmers harvesting a sugarcane crop: sweet success

While the rice crop turned out to be excellent, the production of jowar dropped from a peak 3 million tonnes to around 2.3 million tonnes last year. And state Agriculture Secretary K. Rajan points out: "It was compounded by the fact that jowar was not included in the special action foodgrain programme and these farmers were starved of the necessary thrust."

There were problems at the individual level too. Near Meerut, Ved Prakash, who was just harvesting his sugarcane crop, said: "We had rains come up to my chest in our fields. That saw us delaying sowing. And our yields are just going to be average." Farmers too complained that government credit, fertilisers and seeds went to those who greased palms. In Khandpur in Haryana, Bhopal Singh said: "We have to buy good variety seeds in the black. And if we want credit we have to give a share to the managers. It's only money raj that works here." To make his point he adds dramatically: "*Jiski laathi, uski bhains.*" (Those who wield the lathi, take the buffaloes.)

It was left to nature to provide the healing touch in most areas. The abundant rains saw soil moisture levels rise considerably. Groundwater levels rose by at least a metre and in some states by over three. And if some states were affected others more than compensated by excellent crops. Thus while Bihar and Punjab showed average rice production there was a surge in West Bengal, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh that pushed figures beyond the record level. In wheat, while Haryana and Punjab are heading for a normal crop, increasing acreage in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh should see this crop shoot to new heights.

But if this year's production has brought plenty of hope, agricultural experts are quickly dispelling the euphoria building up. Their fears are founded on the fact that a record harvest is always followed by what is termed as the "complacency syndrome". After the 1983-84 boom year, for instance, states got so complacent that they failed to give an added thrust to agri-



Charts by B K SHARMA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

 Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

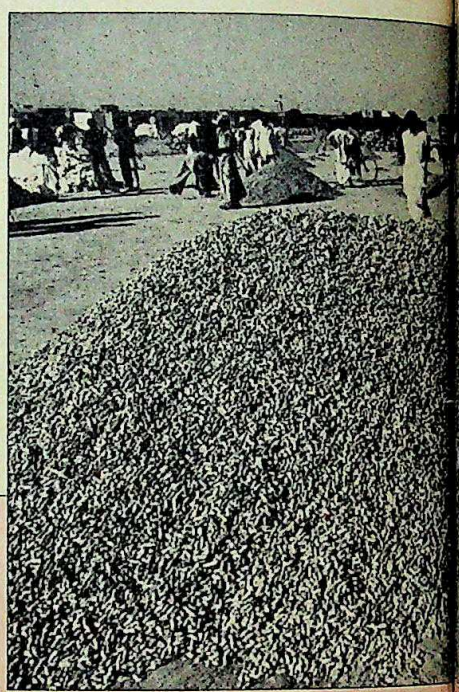
culture in the next three years. Central planners seeing foodgrain stocks swell to 23 million tonnes sat back and took it easy thinking that India's agricultural problems had all been solved. Three years of poor rains saw agricultural production plummet. It was only the devastating drought that saw the Government jackknife into action.

However, despite the current boom, the foodgrain stocks are still precarious. Although rice production reached an all-time high, procurement was barely 6.3 million tonnes—3 million tonnes short of expected levels. Agricultural officials say it's caused by higher price levels offered by private traders and large-scale hoarding of rice. Whatever the truth, stocks at the Food Corporation of India godowns are down to 10 million tonnes. With wheat procurement likely to add another seven million, the country is barely past the safe limit.

Apart from boosting foodstocks, there are several crucial problems that have to be ironed out if production has to reach targeted levels of 205 million tonnes by 1995. The major one is that the much touted green revolution is running out of steam. The thrust to boost yield in the '70s, saw grain production in Punjab, Haryana and parts of Uttar Pradesh shoot to levels that made India self-sufficient. But output is already plateauing in these states. And as Dr Michael says: "When we move to the '90s, we can't expect the rain gods to bail us out all the time."

THE need now is to spread the revolution to other parts of India and modify the earlier green revolution model. As eminent agricultural scientist Dr M.S. Swaminathan says: "The first task should be to tackle India's green areas that have not seen any revolution." Like the fertile eastern tract encompassing Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and parts of eastern Uttar Pradesh which account for around 50 per cent of India's rice production. But while area under crops in these regions is high, yields are abysmally low—barely a tonne a hectare as compared to 3 tonnes in Punjab and around the same in Haryana. In these states, the problem is one of managing the abundant rainfall to bring in an assured irrigation for two crops, introducing high yielding variety seeds, stepping up pesticide and fertiliser consumption, and activating the sluggish co-operative and agricultural extension networks.

Another area of neglect is the vast dryland farming tract that stretches from Rajasthan in the west to parts of Karnataka in the south. Here the major problem is that rainfall is not sufficient enough to



Groundnut in a Gujarat mandi: cashing in on a good monsoon

OILSEEDS

A Dramatic Recovery

IT'S been a mini revolution in an area of macro neglect. For years, the country's oilseeds production fluctuated crazily, dropping from peaks to troughs with stunning rapidity. And in 1987 edible oils imports soared to a peak of Rs 1,000 crore, making it the second largest import item next to petroleum.

But thanks to some determined planning by the Government that scenario is beginning to change rapidly. Total oilseeds production is likely to touch a peak of 15.5 million tonnes this year—way ahead of its previous best of 12.95 million tonnes in 1984-85. The result: for the first time, oilseeds import has been slashed by half to Rs 500 crore. And for the farmers the good news is that despite a boom year, the Government is moving determinedly to prevent a steep drop in prices.

"For us profit is not a bad word and self-sufficiency is not a dream," says Dr P.V. Shenoi, director of the Union Government's Technology Mission on Oilseeds. In the past two years, Shenoi and his team—with the top brains in the country in research, extension or production—have been quietly demonstrating that they mean business.

Some of the recent decisions are indicative. To stem the expected price fall they got the National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) to purchase oilseeds from farmers at ruling market prices. With NDDB already purchasing Rs 150 crore worth of oilseeds, prices that were threatening to fall below the minimum support price of Rs 430 stayed at Rs 450 to Rs 500. Also, under stiff opposition from consumers, ration shop prices of groundnut oil were jacked up from Rs 11 to a more realistic Rs 14 a kg (it costs Rs 20 to produce a kilogram of oil and consumers were heavily subsidised).

With oilseeds production booming, imports have been slashed by half. Steps are being taken to churn back profits to farmers. But self-sufficiency is still a distant goal.

The back of many traders—who allegedly cornered most of the civil supplies stocks—was broken by introducing 1-kg packs instead of the usual 15-kg tins. This made it more difficult for them to hoard large quantities.

Shenoi and his team are not stopping at just that. Using the Amul co-operatives as an example, they have begun to organise oilseeds farmers into growers' federations. Already in the eight states that account for 90 per cent of the production, over 3,600 federations have been formed. Not only are these federations acting as conduits for crucial inputs like seeds, fertilisers and pesticides, but they are now preparing to buy back the produce as well. And they are beginning to step in to where the money really is—processing of oilseeds. Already two such facilities are functioning at Bhavnagar and Junagadh in Gujarat. More are coming up in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sustain crops regularly. But this belt accounts for most of the country's coarse cereal production (maize, barley, jowar and ragi), pulses like gram, *tur* and *arhar* and most of the groundnut. There are signs that area under these crops is dwindling as farmers rightly switch to more remunerative crops. But with both pulses and coarse cereals production showing no remarkable surge, again technology in the form of high-yielding variety seeds, pesticides and weedicides and simple techniques like bunding to store the scarce rainfall will make the difference.

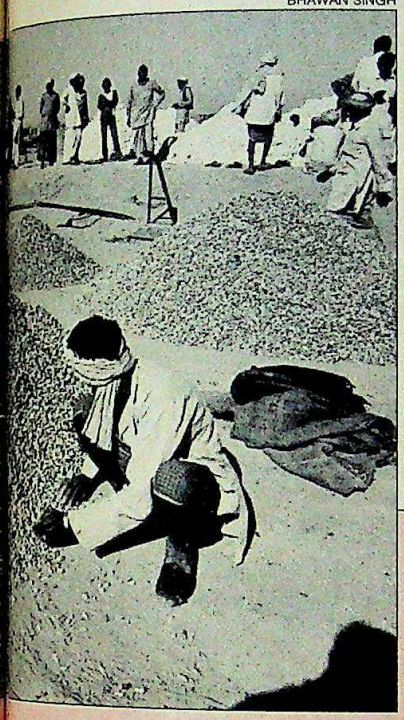
Hamstrung by successive droughts the Government has concentrated on milking the more favourable areas to make up the deficit. It has already started tapping the rich eastern belt but has been sluggish in changing the dryland farming scenario. However, there seems a determined bid going on now to rectify some of these problems.

Over the past two years, the Planning Commission has built a team to chalk out a detailed agricultural development plan. As a first step, after two years of collecting data and computing reams of statistics, they have divided the country into 15 agro-climatic regions based on the soil, water, rainfall and land contour conditions. They are now evolving a detailed plan that would involve the most optimum cropping patterns, better methods of land and water management and phased infusion of technology to boost productivity. As Dr Alagh, who heads the group, says: "It is clear that there can be no uniform solution for all areas. Existing institutions that supported the earlier phase of agricultural development would also have to be revamped. But all this is indicative of the fact that we are aware of the crisis building and are getting equipped to tackle it."

There are daunting problems to be overcome. With almost 90 per cent of the farm holdings belonging to small and marginal farmers, boosting their productivity is a difficult task. As it is, 60 per cent of these farmers barely account for 40 per cent of the total production. With a largely ineffective extension network, popularising research gains and infusing technology is a tough challenge. And with the co-operative sector highly politicised and clogged with overdues the task is going to be even more difficult.

The Eighth Five Year Plan now being finalised, would have to come with some bold steps to revamp India's agriculture. Because as Jawaharlal Nehru once said: "Everything else can wait but not agriculture." It could spell the difference between self-sufficiency and the return of the begging bowl. —RAJ CHENGAPPA

BHAWAN SINGH



Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa. And when ready these would begin ploughing back profits from sales to the farmers instead of traders.

Before the Government set its massive machinery into motion in 1986, the oilseeds sector was in doldrums for several reasons. With barely three million of the 18 million hectares where oilseeds crops are grown having assured irrigation (unlike wheat which has 72 per cent) production fluctuated according to the vagaries of the monsoon. And it was a high risk crop constantly under attack from pests and weeds. With no price controls, a boom year saw prices falling so much that invariably in the next year fewer farmers sowed oilseeds and production dropped.

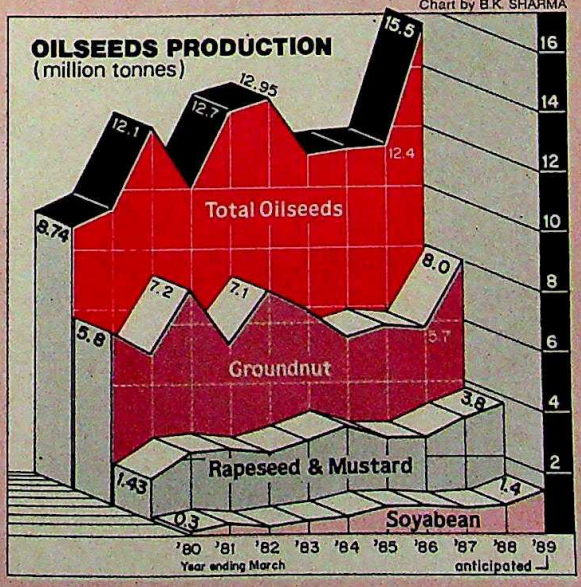
Worse, average yields were abysmally low, with groundnut for instance hovering at an average of 800 kg per hectare for over two decades. And hardly 10 per cent of the farmers used fertilisers: pesticide use was even lower at 2 per cent. The post-harvest situation was no better: an average of five lakh tonnes of oil went waste because of poor processing technology

To set right the problems, the Government launched its Oilseeds Production Thrust Programme (later dovetailed into a Technology Mission) and identified 246 districts across 17 states for special emphasis and set aside around Rs 60 crore annually for it. The objectives: yields were to be increased by an average 30 per cent by introducing better seeds, ensuring supply of fertilisers and pesticides and stepping up irrigation facilities. In post-harvest technology, apart from eliminating wastage, better processing facilities were to be introduced to enhance oil extraction.

Already several breakthroughs have been made. The Indian Council for Agricultural Research, which is coordinating the oilseed research programme, has come out with 40 new high-yielding varieties that give twice the normal yield and take a shorter time to mature. These are now being tested in many states. The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research was roped in to develop better processors and new models are undergoing field trials.

But the mission is far from complete. If the measures succeed it will take about four years for India to build up a modicum of self-sufficiency in oilseeds production. There are daunting problems ahead: inadequate extension services, poor seed production and distribution, clogged co-operative networks and the strong post-harvest nexus that traders have built up. But as Shenoi claims: "We are not far from the end of the tunnel and we are determined to see the light." —RAJ CHENGAPPA

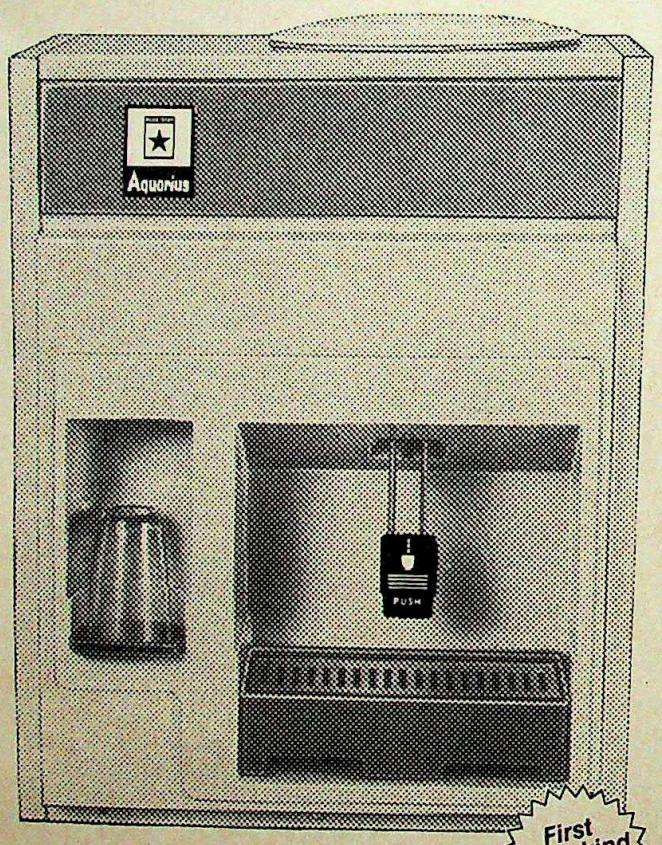
Chart by B.K. SHARMA



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pin up



First of its kind in India!

The New Aquarius Wall-mounted Water Cooler

In restaurants, showrooms, offices or banks

Wall-mounted or table-top convenience

Single-handed operation

15-litre storage/cooling capacity

Provides up to 150 glasses of ice-cold water in an hour

Connect directly to water supply or fill manually

Light-weight (39 Kg) & elegant

Nationwide, reliable service

Sophisticated manufacturing process ensures high product quality

Just a few reasons to pin you down. To our new pin-up.

BLUE STAR

Aquarius WATER COOLERS

FSA/BSL/W10

The only guarantee you'll ever need.

For more information, please contact Blue Star Limited, Appliances Division: Bombay; New Delhi; Calcutta; Madras; Ahmedabad; Vadodara; Pune; Nagpur; Bhopal; Chandigarh; Kanpur; Jaipur; Lucknow; Jamshedpur; Guwahati; Bhubaneshwar; Patna; Bangalore; Secunderabad; Cochin; Visakhapatnam; Vijayawada.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MAURITIUS

More than just a tropical island paradise!

Water Sports and casinos
Mauritius has something for everyone! Swimming, sunbathing, surfing, snorkelling, water-skiing, deep sea diving..., Mauritius also offers golfers, punters, gamblers, gourmets and spirited night lifers a chance to pursue what gives them most pleasure.

Shopping
If shopping is what interests you, there are sparkling, duty free diamonds and textiles, electronic goods, garments and souvenirs, at prices lower than you imagined.

Perfect for a honeymoon
If you wish to relax, sightsee and soak in the atmosphere, Mauritius is just the right place with its blinding white beaches, crystal clear coral lagoons, jagged volcanic mountains, lush rain forests, waterfalls, exotic flowers, bustling bazaars, colonial architecture and the intoxicating mixtures of people — Indian, French, Creole, African and Chinese. It's the most cosmopolitan island under the sun!

Group Return Fare Rs. 4950

Return fare from Bom./Del. for 7 to 14 days, from April to November. Minimum 4 passengers. ❖ Departures: Ex Bombay – Tuesdays/Fridays. Ex Mauritius – Mondays/Thursdays. In the comfort of AIR MAURITIUS wide bodied B767ER ❖ Stay: Self Catering Bungalows for 4 to 6 persons, US $ 34 to 63 per day. ❖ 6 Night Packages: Combination Beach/Town Hotels 3 nights each. US $ 175 upwards. Only Town Hotels, US $ 99 upwards. All twin sharing. Includes; breakfast, dinner and transfers. ❖ No Visa ❖ NTS US $ 250· ❖ *For details contact: AIR MAURITIUS, AIR INDIA, TCI, Raj Travels, East West Travels or any I.A.T.A. Agent.* ❖ ***Fly Air Mauritius. And your holiday's already begun!***

AIR MAURITIUS

Air India Bldg., Ground floor, Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021. Phones: 2028474, 2026430, 2024142 Ext 6673

▲ Triangular fare Rs. 8880 ▲
Bombay-Maurtius-Singapore-Bombay
Also Delhi-Mauritius-Singapore-Delhi
Minimum 10 days/Maximum 6 months,
valid only on Air Mauritius, Air India
and Singapore Airlines Services.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ACCOMMODATION

An Urban Nightmare

Housing shortage allows landlords to dictate terms and display prejudices

THE locale: south Delhi's Chittaranjan Park. The setting: a sunny winter's morning. At the edge of the road outside a double-storeyed house, a man in his early 20s has set up a desk and chairs. With furrowed brow and purposeful mien, he is conducting interviews.

No, he is not launching a new business. The first floor apartment in his parents' house has been advertised to be let out and hopeful tenants have been queueing up since dawn. They may not see the house immediately. They must first meet the approval of the gentleman.

That is not easy, given that most house-hunters are not ascetics. They play loud music. They keep pets. They throw parties. They eat, even cook, meat. Their children trot around, make a racket. Relatives stay over.

None of this will do. With this kind of life-style, they may not rent this flat. Nor a lot of other flats. Most people do not set up such a dramatic streetside interview, but landlords have become very choosey about who they will let their houses to—not only in Bombay and Delhi, but in cities across the country.

With burgeoning industrialisation, the demand for urban housing has far outstripped availability. Young executives and professionals are more often willing to move to distant towns than ever before. On the other hand, government jobs don't come with free housing as often as they used to. As demand mushrooms, house-owners can afford to be choosey. Not only are rents astronomical, their conditions are sometimes bizarre.

Murali Krishnan, 25, recounts how he and his friend went looking for a room in south Delhi's Safdarjung Enclave recently. The preliminaries concluded, the landlady popped the crucial question: did they have a cook? They said yes, a young man came to cook for them every morning. Then, said the landlady, they could have the place if their servant would cook for her too. Though a little dubious, Krishnan agreed to the terms. But that was not enough. The landlady wanted the servant to stay all day, do all her odd jobs and clean the car. The deal fell through.

Other deals have hinged on whether or not a tenant has a phone—sometimes a direct-dialling facility holds the key—or a video. One prospective tenant found he was expected to patronise the landlord's daughter-in-law's homoeopathy practice. Such 'special' demands might still be exceptional, but landlords are particular about the kind of people they will have. Tani Sandhu of south Delhi's Maharani Bagh was shocked one Sunday morning to find her husband in a suit. A nonconformist who refused to dress formally even for his graduation from Oxford, he was going to see a property dealer that morning. "He didn't even dress like that for our wedding," says Tani.

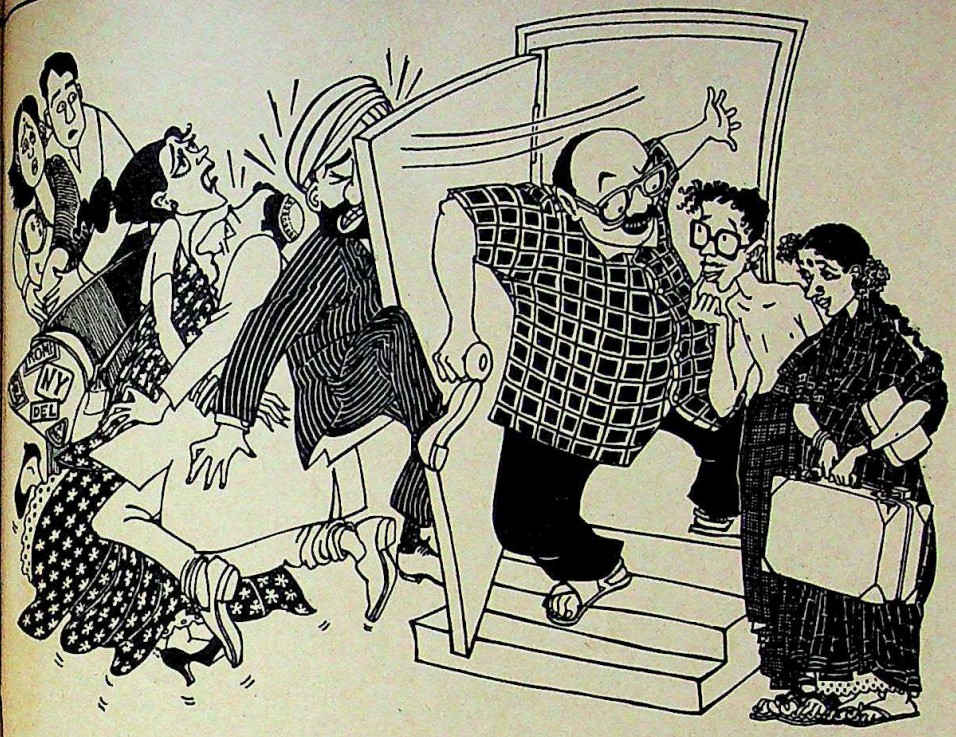
Just being well dressed is not enough, though. Origins play a major role in the rent race. For example, most people seem to prefer outsiders. In Delhi, 'to let' advertisements for well-heeled neighbour-

Illustrations by MANJULA PADMANABHAN

As demand mushrooms, house-owners can afford to be choosey. Not only are rents astronomical, their conditions are sometimes bizarre.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



All accross the north, the "little southie" is the house-owner's dream come true. It is the Punjabi, Bihari and Sindhi before whom landlords balk.

hoods often specify that "only foreigners need apply". Seetha Ramanna, who returned after 16 years abroad, was horrified at this reverse racism. "We had problems finding a house in the US because we were Indians. But, I can't believe it, we're not wanted here for the same reason". Foreigners with Indian cheque-books won't do either. Currency is the name of the game, played often enough in foreign banks.

In other cities, the preference is for non-locals. Says Dr Prabhat Kumar Sinha of Patna: "It seems Biharis have become virtual untouchables in their home state so far as letting out of houses is concerned." Householders seem to know their own type too well to trust them. Subhadra Sengupta, an old Calcutta landlady, holds that "Bengalis are very conspiring. They first create problems and then start depositing their rent with the rent control authorities." Shabnam Singh of Delhi explains why she wouldn't give her house to her own kind: "Punjabis are loud, they have a battery of relatives, they do up the house garishly. Basically, they're just more aggressive than the little southie in his *dhoti*."

Yes, "the little southie" seems to be the house-owner's dream come true—right across the north. Surinder Punjwani believes the reason he got a flat in Delhi easily was that he sent out his Tamil wife, who would introduce herself by her maiden name. "It worked like a charm," she says with a smile. Landlords will even reduce the rent if the tenant happens to be from the south. As for northerners, they are said to be devious. Delhi-based broker Anil Makhijani says 'parties' he has brought together don't give him the time of day after making an agreement. Southerners promptly pay the commission.

Landlords' preferences reflect deep-seated prejudices about regional types. The belligerent Bengali, the obstreperous Punjabi, the backward Bihari, the scroogish Sindhi, are all entrenched myths, before whom the landlord balks. Mohan Parekh, a salesman of legal books in Calcutta, took six months to find a place. It took Parekh a couple of months to twig on to what was going on and another couple to explain that though he was a Marwari, he was not a businessman.

HE finally managed and today his landlord, Bhabani Dutta, laughs as he explains his initial hesitation. "For us, every Marwari meant a rich man whose life-style was loud and uncultured," he says. "We hate their ostentation because that corrupts our children. We cannot compete with them."

Predictably, caste is the most dominant factor in Bihar. Most landlords avoid the three influential upper castes—Bhumihars, Rajputs and Kayasthas. The reasons: a Bhumihar by definition is one who loves land, and he has muscle power combined with a manipulative brain; Rajputs are "rough and tough"; Kayasthas have sharp brains.

The long and short of it is that tenants from dominant local groups can bring to bear the power of local connections when the landlord wants them out. A few years ago, a retired air marshal's lease for a flat in Delhi's Saket colony was not renewed. The reason: a retired air vice-marshal had become the Lt-Governor and the landlord was sure the administration would be on his tenant's side should any dispute arise.

Fear is the key. For, rent control laws (which cover eviction) being as biased in the tenant's favour as they are, the house-owner's constant nightmare is that his tenant might refuse to move. This accounts for the unpopularity of certain professions, which generally can pull strings. Bhopal-based journalist Raajkumar Keswani has looked for accommodation in vain for months. "Even landlords who agreed to rent out their houses after learning that I was a Sindhi would refuse the moment I pronounced the magic word, journalist", he says.

Landlords seem even more wary of lawyers than of journalists. So extreme is the aversion to lawyers that Kapila Joshi, who rented a one-bedroom flat in Bombay's Bandra, got an eviction notice as soon as she got engaged to one. Then, a broker who took a lawyer house-hunting in Delhi's Kailash Colony was stopped short at the gate. The landlord—a lawyer himself—brusquely announced that he had advertised by mistake and the house was not really for rent. He called later to explain that it was, but not for a lawyer.

Sadly, however, not all prejudices are rooted in fear about eviction. Some run deeper. Communal ones, for instance. While the provincial prejudice tends towards the outsider, the communal prejudice is inward looking. The result: virtual

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SUPER SALES
Agencies Limited

a premium issue.

THE PERFECT TRACK RECORD

Super Sales is a profit earning dividend paying company that has an astonishing record of result oriented performance.

In the first six years since inception Super Sales has declared cumulative dividends of 128%. And two bonus issues. Consistent profits have reflected the sound management and entrepreneurial capabilities of the company.

THE DOUBLE EDGE FOR PROFITS

The ideal mix of manufacturing and marketing keeps profitability consistently high.

*** Spinning profits — and yarn**

Super Sales has a 32,000 spindle unit for the flexible manufacture of a wide range of synthetic cotton and blended yarns. A unit that has a record of high capacity utilisation and peak performance.

Now the company is ready to take another progressive step, with an ambitious expansion-cum-modernisation programme. A move that will add a new dimension to returns.

*** Marketing — another money spinner**

Super Sales markets, leases and services textile machinery for Lakshmi Machine Works — one of the top five producers of textile machinery in the world. And the largest in India.

In addition they market LMW's sophisticated CNC Machines another profitable line of activity.

SUPER SALES — LAKSHMI VARDAAN

And now you too can share super returns, super growth and super performance. Super Sales offer you a premium opportunity to share its spiralling growth.

Where Lakshmi goes, prosperity follows.

Highlights

- A premium issue
- 128% cumulative dividends and two bonus issues in its first six years.
- Consistent profits and free reserves of Rs.135 lakhs
- A double edge to profits
  - — Manufacturing: a variety of yarns and blends from a 32,000 spindle unit.
  - — Marketing: Lakshmi Machine Works Textile Machinery and CNC Machines.
- Experienced and competent board
- Listing on Madras and Bombay Stock Exchanges

Public Issue of 9,00,000 Equity Shares of Rs.10/- each at a premium of Rs.10/- per share

MANAGERS TO THE ISSUE

Grindlays Bank

ANZ
Member ANZ Group
Merchant Banking Division
Bangalore.

SUPER SALES
Agencies Limited
Regd. Office: No. 695, Avanashi Road, Coimbatore-641 018.

Issue Opens 27th April 1989.

CORPORATE VOICE IS SSA 489A

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ghettos, where landlords and tenants belong to the same community. In Bangalore, for instance, Basavangudi and Malleswaram are orthodox strongholds where a Muslim or Christian is unlikely to get a house. Seetharama Rao, a retired government servant who rents out two outhouses in an old-fashioned house in Jayanagar which he inherited, explains: "I do not mean to exhibit a communal or religious bias, but it is always comforting to have someone who belongs to your community as a neighbour or tenant."

Even Calcutta has areas where it is tough for a Muslim to get a flat. Says Badruddin Ali: "I would love to stay in Jodhpur Park or Bhowanipur but my biggest problem is that I am a Muslim. Even repeated assurances that beef wouldn't enter the house could not get me a flat in these areas and finally I had to stay here at Dargah Road, which resembles a slum." Delhi-based Firoz Alam had a peculiar problem. He is a Muslim married to a Hindu. Landlords were suspicious of this liaison. "They just wouldn't believe it was possible," he says.

Sikhs face a recent problem. Says a Calcutta Sikh, Balkar Singh Ahuja: "Everyone thought that extremists would come and stay with us."

This morass of communal, caste and provincial prejudices only represents one dimension of the tenant's ordeal. Civil status is another. Single people have problems wherever they might come from. On the other hand, kids are not wanted either. Nor are old parents, who appear to give tenancy a touch of permanence. A pretty young wife sitting at home is also sometimes undesirable—to the landlord's wife. So the householder's ideal seems to be 'dinks'—double income, no kid, southies.

Ajit Sahi, a 23-year-old bachelor, says he's been through hell getting accommodation since he came to Delhi as a student four years ago. He has had to change seven times. The worst period was the three months he spent sleeping on the floor of the hostel room of a doctor friend from his native Allahabad. He finally found a room to share with a young executive. Then, his roommate's sister also came to work in Delhi. So the three moved to a flat. But he had to say he was a cousin to be allowed to stay with them. The landlord wanted to know how he was related to any visitor. "I was constantly having to work out what relation I was to any of their relatives who came over," says Sahi.

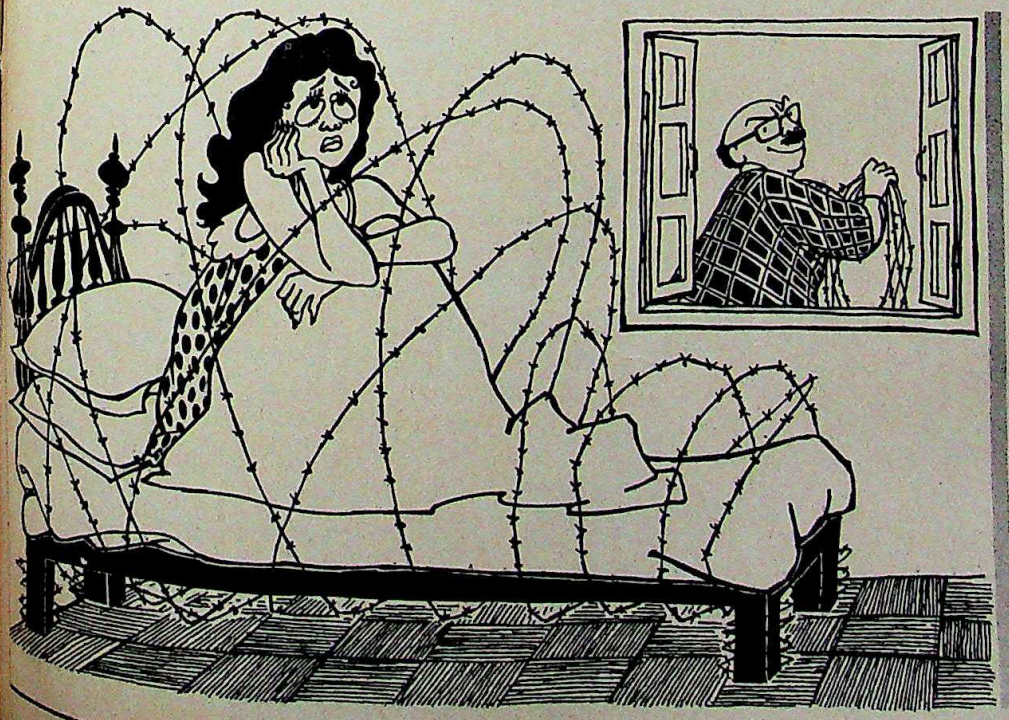
MANY landlords seem intent on protecting their tenants' morals. Bachelors may not entertain women and single women may not entertain men in their rented flats. The process of being interviewed by landlords is so maddening that "we used to come out and have a beer to cool ourselves", says Sahi. A couple of sisters, both air hostesses, say they've been asked the most embarrassingly personal questions when they go looking for a place. Once, a landlord grilled them, then asked them to come back after two days. When they returned, he told them they could have the place—he had rung up all their previous landlords and found they were okay. "We were so mad. We told him he could keep his place," they say, still in a rage.

"Even my grey hair didn't help," says a 51-year-old spinster, who works as a beautician in south Delhi. "They all seem to think a single woman must be a prostitute. My landlady would send her little maid up to my *barsati* early in the morning to ask if I needed anything. It was so obviously meant to check if anybody had spent the night over."

One problem that dogs many single persons is night curfew. Their landlords decree a time at which the gate is summarily locked. Dev Munshi, a paying guest in Bombay, works for a courier agency and is often late at work. His landlord locks up at 10 p.m. so he learnt to sleep in railway stations. Then, recently, his roommate discovered that the hinges of their first floor window were loose. Since then, Dev has been perfecting the art of climbing the drain pipe.

In the first place, most young people are handicapped without a phone or vehicle in the race to respond to Sunday advertisements. Doordarshan seems to have staggered the process somewhat. Tani Sandhu says the standard—and somewhat irritable—reply to her morning calls was: "Call after *Mahabharat*."

Responding to advertisements can be frustrating in more ways than one. For they often don't tell the whole truth. A "compact airy room" might turn out to be 6 ft by 8 ft, with lattice holes on one side, and a kitchen might turn out to be a niche in the wall. But the price will take all such 'amenities' into account. In Delhi's Safdarjung Enclave, for instance, a *barsati* room was offered for Rs 1,200 a month in



Many landlords seem intent on protecting their tenants' morals. Bachelors may not entertain women and single women may not entertain men.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Print Quality!
The Speed!
The Impressions!

SME
SQUARE WRITER.

Like nothing you've seen before

No one gives you print quality with speed as SME Square Writer.

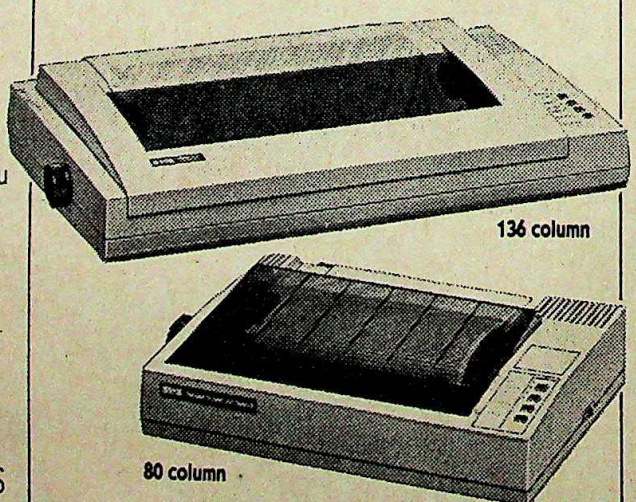
SME SQUARE WRITER –WORKS BETTER & FASTER – LASTS LONGER

All of us who use Dot Matrix Printers know fully well, how sharply the printer speed declines if we want to print "Near Letter Quality" documents. Or how sketchy it looks, in "draft mode", for in-house consumption.

Now SME Square Writer offers you correspondence-quality print-outs, even in draft-mode at full rated speed of 160 cps. Lasts longer because it produces quality print-outs in one single pass, unlike conventional dot matrix printers, which make 3 to 4 passes for Near Letter Quality Print-outs.

CUSTOMER SUPPORT: CONSUMABLES AND SPARES

SME is the only printer manufacturer in India who manufactures consumables and spares, as a support service to consumers. SME Ribbon Cartridges are readily available in Nylon & Film, in single strike as well as multistrike types for all popular brands of printers.



136 column

80 column

SME
THE EDGE IN COMPUTER PRINTERS

AFTER SALES SERVICE

In line with its commitment to service and as an integral part of their marketing activity, SME is setting up its own Nodal Service Centres at New Delhi, Bombay, Bangalore and Calcutta, supported by a network of service-oriented dealers in all major cities of India.

SME—committed to the pursuit of excellence. All geared to fill the printer gap in the world of Indian business and industry.

For further information please write to :

The Marketing Manager
Sierra Micro Electronics Ltd.,
Post Box 390,
Jaipur-302 001
Phone : (0141) 68897
Gram : ESEMEE
Telex : 0365-2120 SMEL IN

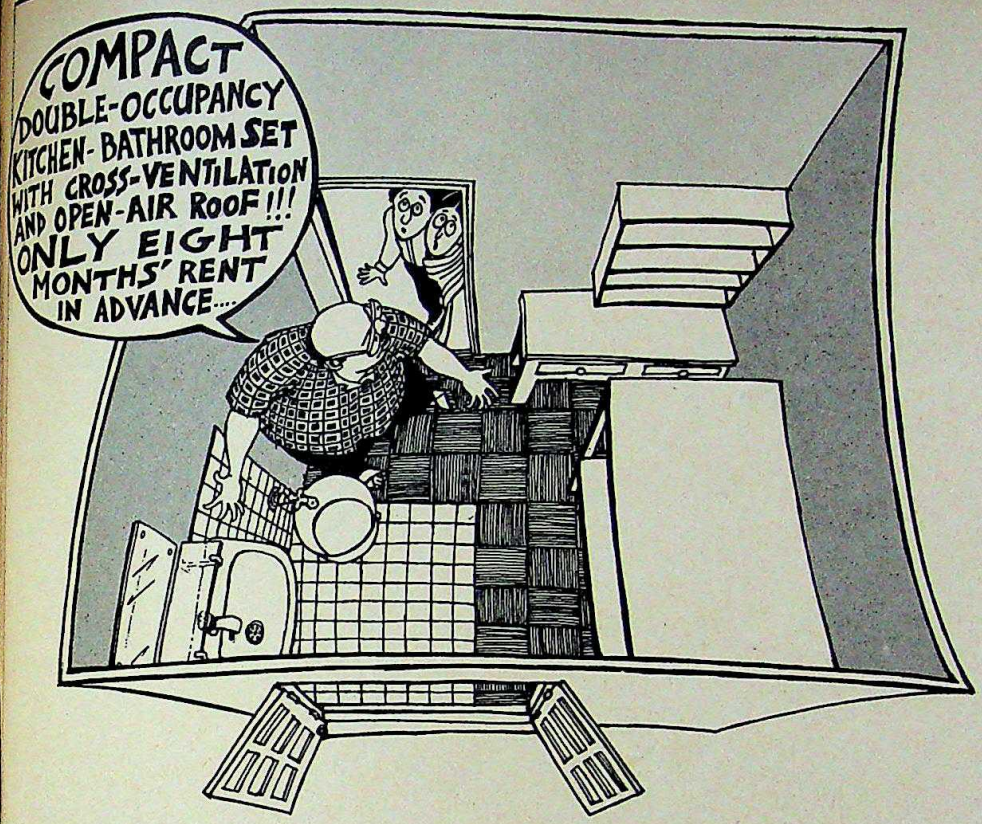
Authorised Dealers

• **Bangalore :** Kripamrit Enterprises Ph : 575542 • Computers & Peripherals Ph : 577662 • **Bombay :** Computer Shack Ph : 221809, 223404 • Seven Seas Marketing Co. Ph. 476254 (O), 486786 (R) • Computation Services • **Kanpur :** Computer Service Engineers Ph : 212695 • **Patna :** Office Automation Systems Ph : 50250 (O), 55725 (R) • **Hyderabad :** Premier Enterprises Ph : 868277, 868793 • Eclat Marketing Services Ph : 63729 • **Madras :** Tamil Nadu Electronic Components Pvt. Ltd. Ph : 860541, 863299 • Dynamic Computer Services Ph : 472749, 422726 • **New Delhi :** Interface Corporate Consultants Ph : 3823177 • Datamation Software Systems (P) Ltd. Ph : 2245887

R.K. SWAMY/SME/5318

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A "compact airy room" might turn out to be 6 ft by 8 ft, with lattice holes on one side, and a kitchen might turn out to be a niche in the wall.

January 1988. By November, the same room, with a wooden partition across the middle, was on offer as "a two-room set". The new price-tag: Rs 2,000.

Rental advertisements have developed their own code words. For instance, "businessman preferred" generally means the landlord wants to be paid in cash. More frequently a "company lease" is demanded. This, despite the fact that a corporate lease does not necessarily guarantee eviction when required. Mahavir Prasad, for instance, rues the day 20 years ago when his father rented their house in Delhi's Maharani Bagh to one of the country's best-known hotel companies. The house hasn't been vacated since.

Brokers are often no better than advertisements. In Delhi particularly, where they are a dime a dozen, many of them have learnt to persuade by hook or by crook. Sahi tells of how he and his flatmate were happily escorted to "a two-bedroom flat" in Delhi's Hauz Khas for which, they were told, they would have to pay Rs 800 each. There, they found two other bachelors already ensconced in one of the bedrooms. Each of the four was expected to pay Rs 800.

Brokers can no longer be content to sit in their offices awaiting customers. A new breed of sub-broker has emerged, pedalling down by-lanes, ferreting out vacant or soon-to-be vacant houses. For each deal, they get a percentage commission. So they lure even landlords with no intention of evicting their current tenants with promises of huge rent increases.

Asrar Shamsi reveals a scam which some brokers indulge in. They negotiate subletting of government flats and take six months' rent in advance. A couple of months later, he says, they turn up to inform the unfortunate tenant that "checking is on" and they must clear the place pronto to avoid prosecution. Shamsi should know. Having sublet part of an MP's house on Copernicus Road in New Delhi, he came home one evening to find all his things on the lawn and a lock on the door. Since it was an MP's official residence, there was nothing he could do but pick up his belongings and start walking.

MAKHIJANI defends brokers in typical brokerese: "A Rs 5,000 party wants a Rs 7,000 house. A Rs 7,000 party wants a Rs 10,000 house." But tenants who've been through the mill counter that it is landlords who up the ante as soon as someone shows interest, pegging the rent a couple of hundred rupees higher in the next round of negotiations. Certainly, house letting can yield a fortune. In an old-time Bandra mansion lives an old lady who charges each of five paying guests Rs 1,600 a month—with rules. And she herself pays Rs 200 as rent, having leased it decades ago.

Landlords in metropolitan cities can afford to—and do—demand heavy security. In central and south Calcutta areas like Park Street, Ballygunge and Alipore, people are willing to pay over Rs 1 lakh as *salami*, or unadjustable advance, whenever a place, infrequently, becomes available. And Kapila Joshi of Bombay says she was asked to deposit Rs 50,000, apart from the rent of Rs 2,000 for her one-bedroom apartment.

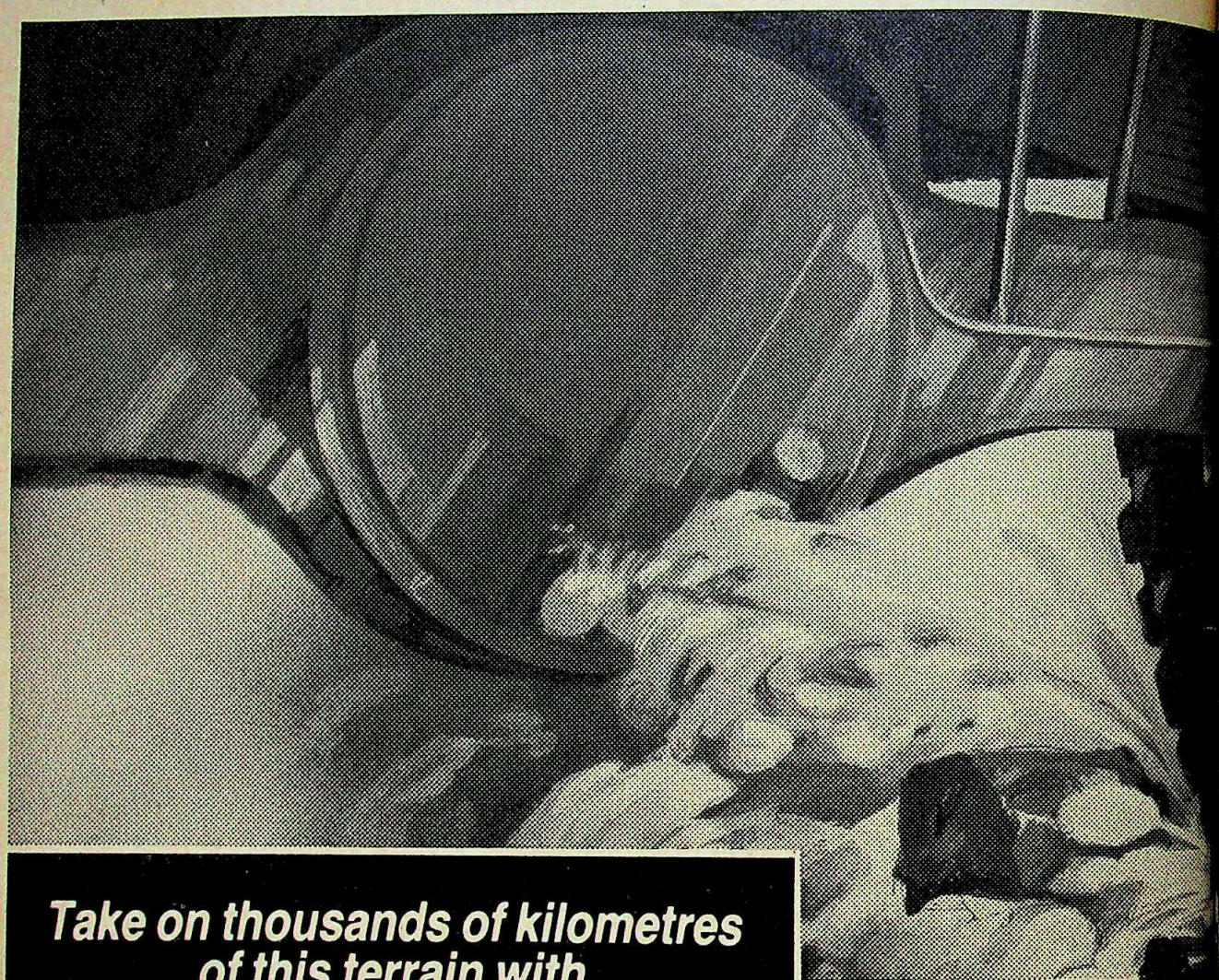
In Delhi, too, it has become common practice to demand rent advances for six months or a year. More remarkable, though, are the rents themselves, particularly in south and New Delhi areas. The paying ability of diplomats, multinational representatives and senior executives of Indian companies has sent the rent market haywire. If they want a house, they'll pay the earth for it. Between Rs 35,000 and Rs 50,000 a month is standard in places like Jor Bagh and Maharani Bagh and houses in West End and on Aurangzeb Road rake in even six-figure amounts. An executive with a foreign firm says they found it difficult to get a flat, though they were willing to pay Rs 50,000 a month. For some landlords, it was too little. Others wouldn't take payment by cheque.

If a multinational with resources like that had problems, it's hardly surprising that the man on the street faces the prospect of actually being out on the street. As a dejected Bombayite says: "The quest for the Holy Grail pales in comparison to the quest for accommodation".

—DAVID DEVADAS with KAMALJEET RATTAN and bureau reports

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Take on thousands of kilometres of this terrain with tonnes of load without strain.

VIKRANT

the reliable tyre

With technology that built India's first truck radials.

MAA COMMUNICATIONS VTL 488C

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Heavy monsoons, lightning floods
weeping over the roads, landslides,
es of pot holes; on an Indian road you
an expect the unexpected. One tyre is
pecially designed to meet the challenge
the unexpected — through thousands
kilometres and with tonnes of load.
krant — the reliable tyre, with advanced
chnology tempered to Indian road
nditions.

The world's No.1 racing tyre technology

Behind every Vikrant tyre is the technological superiority of Avon of UK. One of the major suppliers of Rolls Royce — the epitome of perfection in automobiles. And the world's No. 1 name in racing tyres. Vikrant R & D harnesses and improves upon Avon technology to suit Indian road conditions.

Technology that built India's first truck radials

When Vikrant R & D focussed its attention on truck radials the result was a tyre so tough it was quickly picked up by the British market. Making Vikrant the first Indian company to produce and export truck radials to the UK.

Vikrant — the original equipment

Vikrant's performance has proven reliable all over the transport industry. It features as original equipment in the vehicles of premier companies like Telco and Ashok Leyland. And carries thousands of people every day on the buses of major State Transport Undertakings all over the country.

So if you want a tyre that has proven itself, that is built with advanced technology and that you can rely upon when the unexpected turns up, you know which tyre to choose.....

VIKRANT

The reliable tyre.
The responsible company.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Arrival. Kai Tak Airport, Hong Kong.

ARRIVE IN BETTER SHAPE. Because check-in is uneventful and the flight is restful.

Because take-off is prompt and touch-down is precise.

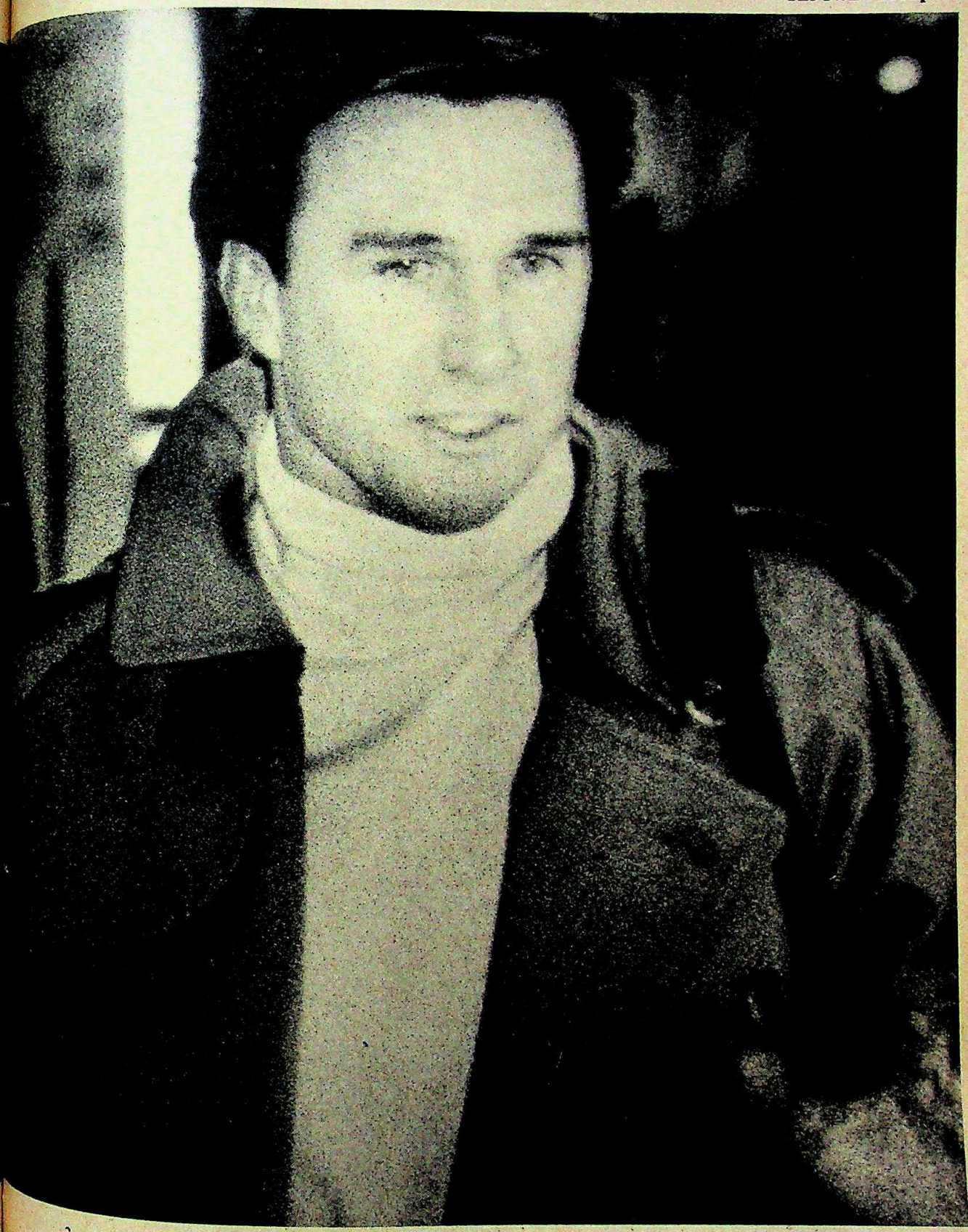
Because with a tough schedule ahead rest assured your luggage isn't left behind.

Because only Cathay Pacific reconciles your needs as a traveller with your demands as a business person.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Swire Group



Arrive in better shape
CATHAY PACIFIC

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

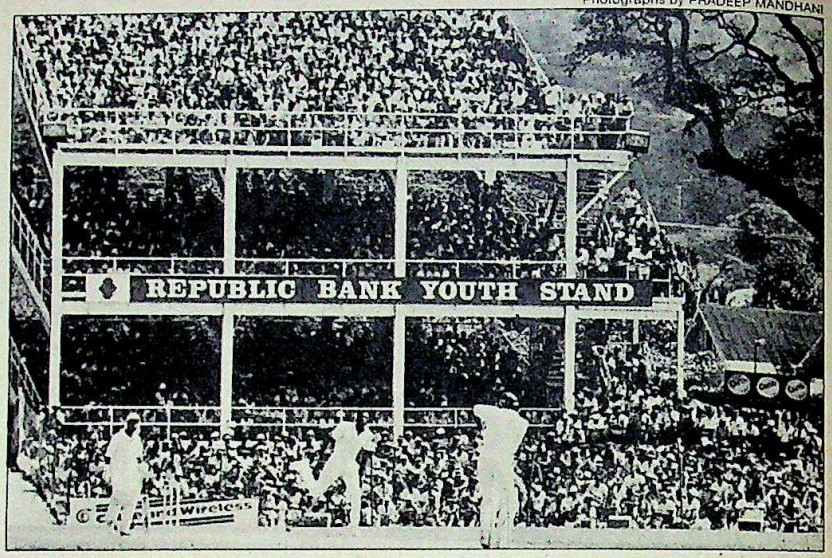
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

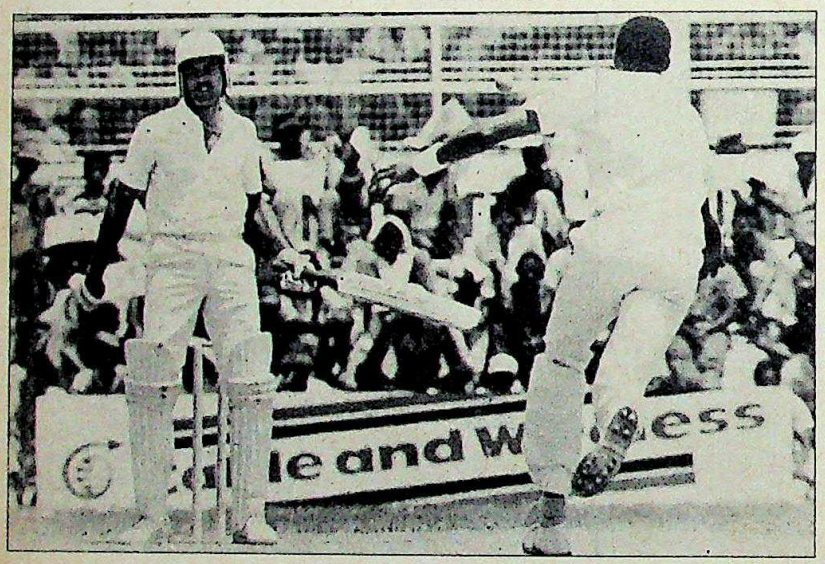
CRICKET

Torrid Test

Windies hold the whip hand

Photographs by PRADEEP MANDHANI





Spectators at Trinidad (top); and Vengsarkar facing Walsh: uphill task

IT took exactly two weeks for the Indian cricket team to realise that the paradise isles of the Caribbeans, are a cricketing hell for visiting teams. The Indians hopped from island to island leaving behind a trail of defeats. By the end of the one-day series, Dilip Vengsarkar's cocktail outfit of youth, experience, modest talent and abundant mediocrity had been blackwashed 5-0.

The most telling blow was delivered after the one-day series had already been lost—a lifter from new pace sensation Ian Bishop dealt opener Krishnamachari Srikkanth a crunching blow on his left forearm. Srikkanth, potentially India's most effective batsman against genuine pace, suffered a fracture which will put him out of action for the remainder of the tour. "The last time we toured here, I was left out for no apparent reason, and now, I am out just when I was beginning to bat well," said the dejected opener. Ironically, Srikkanth might not have played in the fifth one-day match had it not been for a last-minute change of mind. Hampered by a twitched back muscle, he had opted out of the last game but then decided that he needed one more look at the bowling. Stylish Tamil Nadu left-hander W.V. Raman, who has scored over 1,000 runs this season, flew in as replacement.

For the West Indies, the one-day internationals were no more than a vindication of inherent superiority. As skipper Vivian Richards put it: "We like to believe we are the best and go out on the field to prove this." In match after match, the West Indies did just that—with a ruthlessness that was both admirable and frightening.

Yet the Indian team believed it had been robbed of early wickets by some blatantly poor umpiring. And they fear the worst in the Tests. There is apprehension that bat-pad decisions will be turned down simply because West Indian umpires do not have much experience of judging spin bowling. And with spin being India's main weapon, the prospects ahead don't look too bright.

Moreover, any hope that the Tests could see a dramatic turnaround in fortunes seems far-fetched as the margins of victory in the one-day series reflects fairly accurately the relative strengths of the two teams. In no match did the West Indies lose more than four wickets while in every game India had to struggle to last out the 50 overs.

The only Indian batsmen to impress were Navjot Sidhu and Vengsarkar. Kapil Dev made his usual useful contributions, while Mohammed Azharuddin was unfortunate to be run out twice. But none of them extended their innings into match-winning ones.

To compound India's problems, the bowling, barring Kapil's, looked threadbare. The other seamers, Chetan and Sanjeev Sharma, were wayward and expensive. In fact, the only solace for India was that Pakistan was routed by the West Indies in the one-day games last year yet came back to nearly win the Test series. "I remember that lesson well," said Richards. "One-dayers are a lottery. Tests are a different ball game."

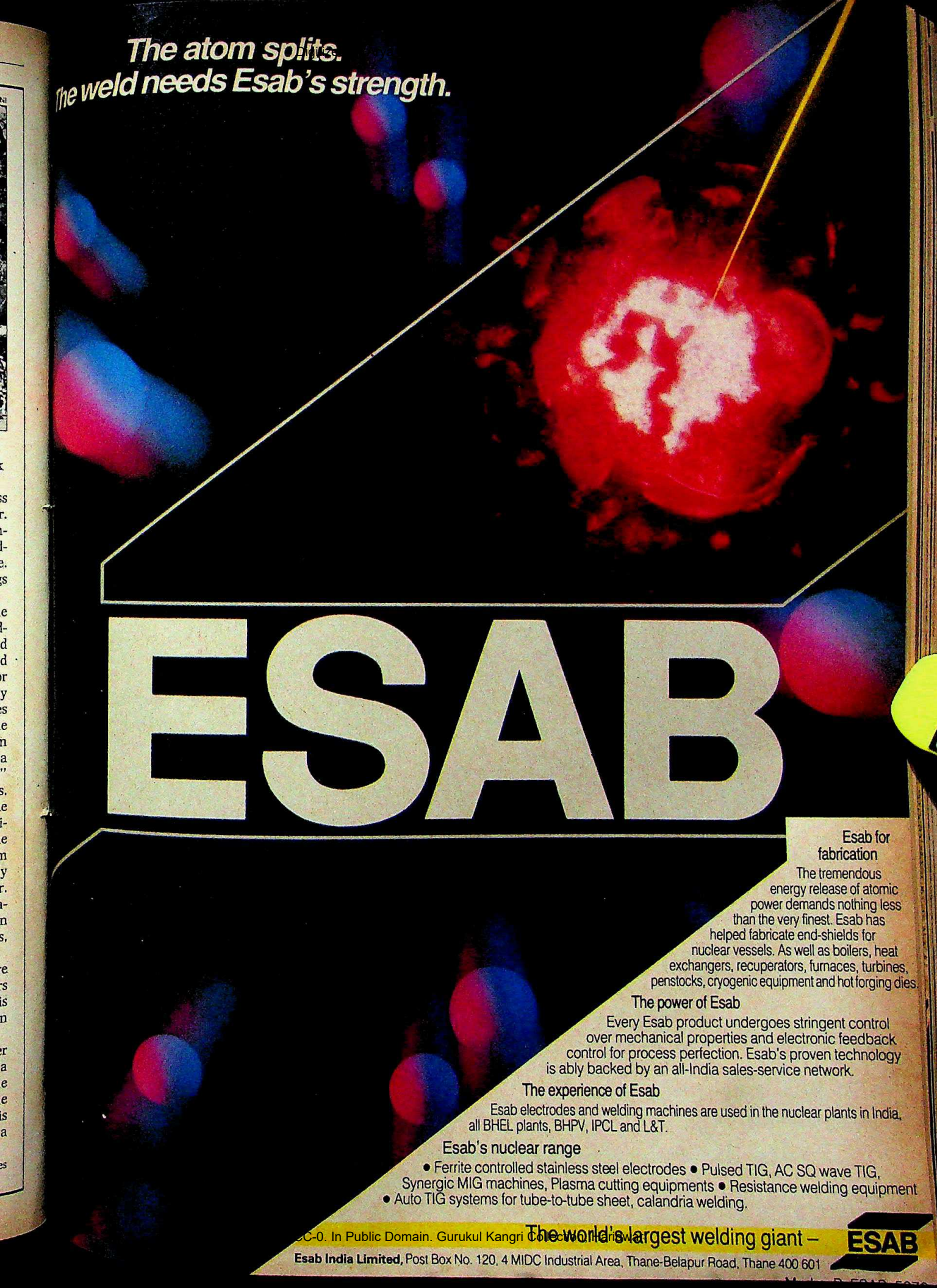
Vengsarkar has other problems, thanks to the shortsightedness of the selectors. The reserves are all inexperienced and not likely to be played in the important games even if they perform well in the lesser matches. The only exception could be Sanjay Manjrekar. The rest—Venkatramanna, Saba Karim, Sanjeev Sharma and Trinidad-born Robin Singh—are virtual passengers, unlikely to be risked.

After the one-day series, there were discussions among the senior players about calling in Maninder Singh. If he is recalled, it would make his omission seem all the more blasphemous.

The answer perhaps is Mohinder Amarnath, in the West Indies on a journalistic assignment. But with the "bunch of jokers", as he called the selectors, unlikely to forgive him his trespasses, the Indian tour is headed for a disaster of cyclonic proportions.

—TONY SINGH in the West Indies

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AS LONG AS THIS HAPPENS ON YOUR FLOOR...

WE'LL MAKE WONDERFLOOR'S ROBUST

Moving day? Onward march! Lift in the furniture. Shift the cupboard. Dig in your heels. Trample. Run. Don't walk.

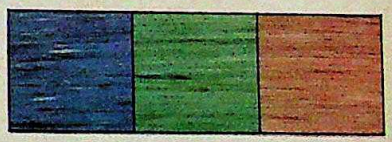
Only Wonderfloor Robust remains unmoved.

For it's been created that way. A vinyl flooring that won't crack under pressure. Nor chip or peel easily. Something that can take a beating in high traffic areas without a tell tale sign... Looking at it you'd never guess what happened underfoot. Designed to stay for years & years. Washable, one swipe and the face is blemish free!

Because Wonderfloor is manufactured by an exclusive process, in technical collaboration with **Pegulan Werke, A.G. of West Germany** — world leaders in vinyl flooring.

Exported to USSR, UAE, Oman & Bangladesh etc., Wonderfloor is available in a wide range to choose from. Robust, Gemini, Designer flooring, Antistatic, Chemical resistant... In colours, patterns,plains, rolls & tiles. **Rs. 6.50 per sq. ft. onwards.**

Also available Designer Floorings and Wall Coverings.



WONDERFLOOR
VINYL FLOORINGS

Please send me FREE Literature

NAME _____

OCCUPATION _____

ADDRESS _____

PREMIER VINYL FLOORING LTD
MANUFACTURED UNDER THE LICENCE OF PEGULAN WEST GERMANY

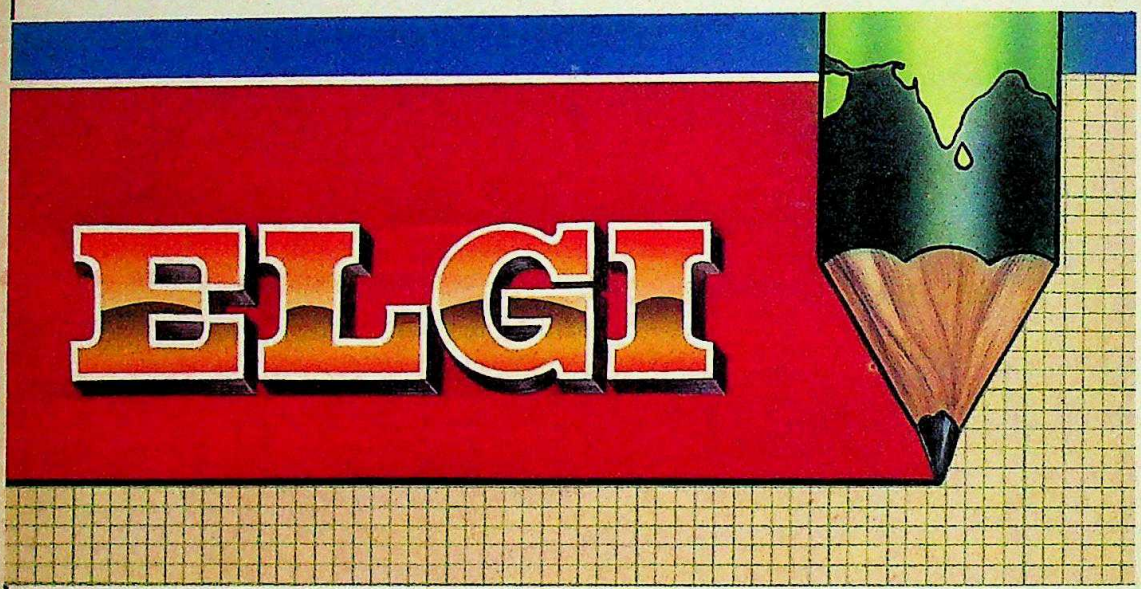
THE ONLY TOUGH FLOOR COVERING THAT LOOKS SO BEAUTIFUL.

Sales Offices:
New Delhi C-4, Commercial Centre, Safdarjang Development Area, New Delhi-110 016. Phone: 660023/664496. Telex: 031-73157/73178/73100. Gram: 'PREQUI'. Calcutta 3rd Floor, No. 3, Netaji Subhash Rd., Calcutta-700 001. Phoe: 281702/281703. Telex: 021-7091 BLKC IN. Patna Shiva-Dham, Nala Road, Kadam Kuan, Patna-800 003. Bombay 328, Kaliandas Udyog Bhavan, Behind Century Bazar, Worli, Bombay-400 025. Phone: 4300289/4228839. Telex: 011-4220 FIRE IN. Bangalore: 190/1, 4th Floor, Kota Shopping Complex, Brigade Road, Bangalore-560 001. Phone: 571178. Telex: 0845-2691 PIEB IN. Madras 43, IVth Trust Cross Street, Mandaveli, Madras-600 028. Secunderabad Emerald Complex, 3rd Floor, Adj. Park Lane, P.O. 2029, Sarojini Devi Road, Secunderabad-500 003. Phone: 823025 Telex: 042-56817

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Elgi Screw Compressors
Custom built solutions that gives industry the confidence to innovate

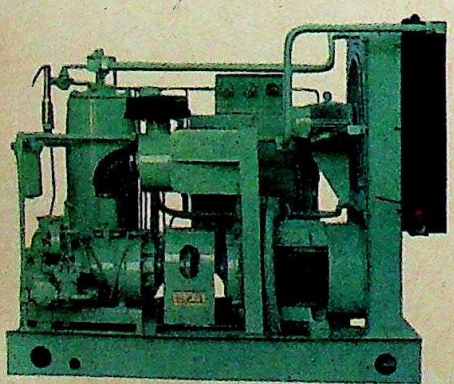


ELGI's R&D Wing comprises some of the finest minds in the industry. Working closely with the latest advances in American and German know-how.

The R&D Wing has been responsible for innovating relevant solutions to numerous industrial needs. Like the special oil flooded compressor for the textile, pharmaceutical and other industries. Over 1000 ELGI Screw Compressors have been installed in just 4 years.

Made with care and stringently tested, ELGI Screw Compressors come in over 30 standard models. Electric motor–and diesel-driven. Single and two-stage. Stationary and portable. In a range of working capacities. All built so ragged that basic maintenance is all they require.

ELGI. It is the final word in Screw Compressors.



ELGI
Screw Compressors

Low on maintenance.
High on performance.

ELGI EQUIPMENTS LIMITED
India House, Trichy Road, Coimbatore-641 018. Phone: 30355.
Grams: HYDRAULICS; Telex: 0855-222, 0855-347

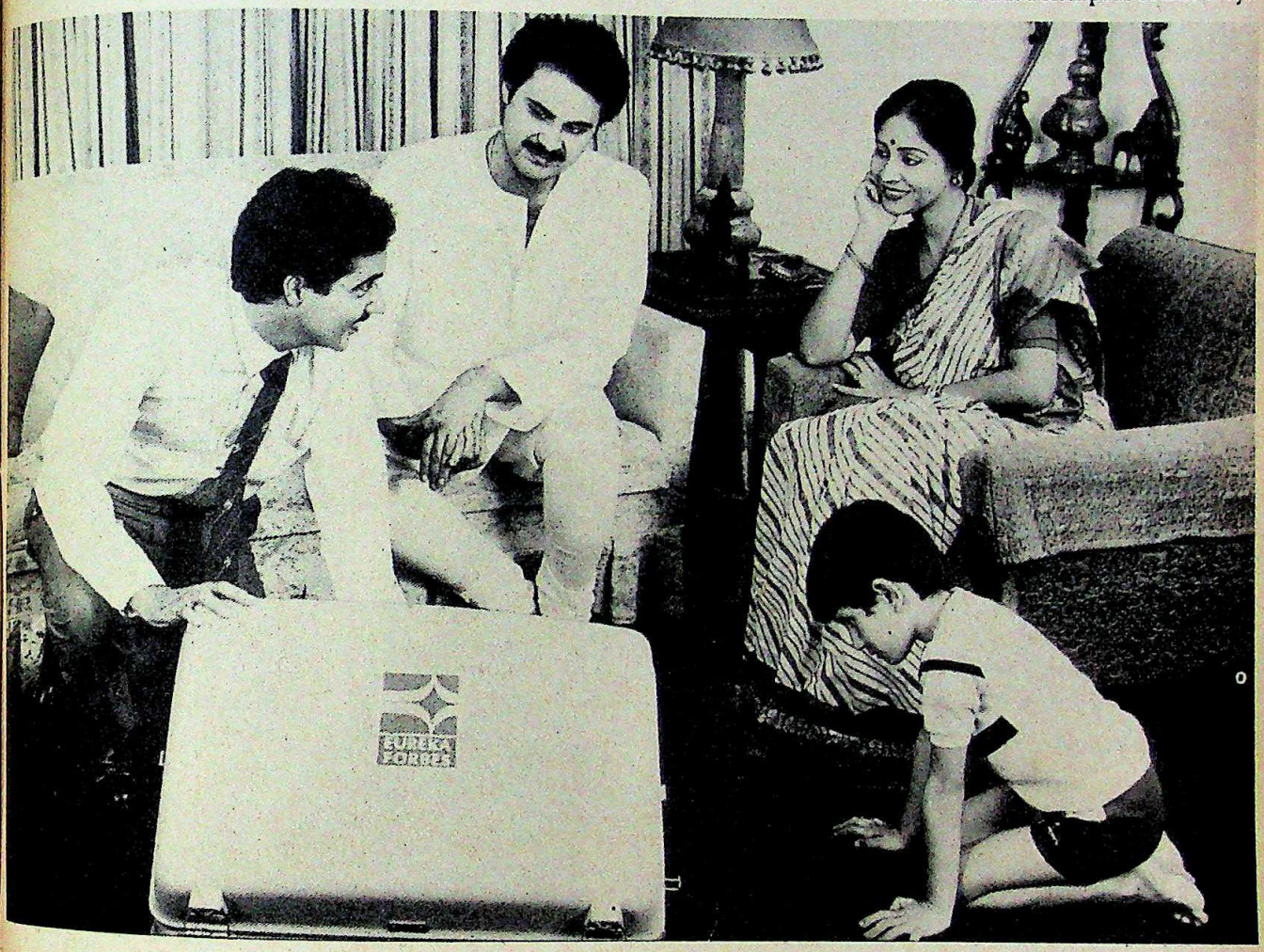
Branches:
Ahmedabad: Tels: 409336, 409112 & 407583 **Bangalore:** Tels: 576638 & 567589 **Bhopal:** Tel: 61733 **Bombay:** Tels: 4930163 & 4930164 **Bhubaneswar:** Tel: 56785 **Calcutta:** Tels: 280425, 287382 & 289029 **Cochin:** Tels: 360155 & 362443 **Hyderabad:** Tels 65850 & 65850 **Jaipur:** Tel: 68320 **Madras:** Tels: 566694 & 560095 **Madurai:** 31404 & 37651 **New Delhi:** Tel: 5437593 **Salem:** Tels: 7920 & 77437 **Distributors:** Lucknow: Auto Service Equipment Tels: 47565 (Off), 49646 (Res) **New Delhi:** Auto Service Equipment Tel: 589906 **New Delhi:** Service Equipment Company Tels: 3313011 & 3310473 **Pune:** Garage Equipment Corporation Tels: 28243 (Off), 442856 (Res)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"The Eureka Forbes salesman is so good, he is more a friend who introduced modern cleanliness and hygiene in my home"

– Mrs. Archana Kampani of Bombay.



One of these days the Eureka Forbes salesman will ring your doorbell and introduce himself with his identity card.

This man inspires confidence – which is only natural. Because he is a member of the largest, most successful sales organisation of its kind in India. Backed by dependable after sales service.

He will introduce modern home products to cope with today's problems – dust, pollution, contaminated water and the lack of domestic help.

He has two unique products to demonstrate: EUROCLEAN all-purpose cleaning system, which is much more than a vacuum cleaner and AQUAGUARD on-line, water filter-cum-purifier.

EUROCLEAN removes even minute specks of dirt and dust in your home effortlessly. Even dust you didn't know existed. AQUAGUARD gives you clear, safe drinking water on tap – at the flick of a switch – even if the raw water has high bacterial contamination.

The Eureka Forbes salesman will show you – in your own home – how these products can bring the advantages of modern cleanliness and hygiene to your family. Making it a cleaner, safer world for you.

You need not wait till his rounds bring him to your doorstep. For further information do write to us at Eureka Forbes, P.O. Box 936, G.P.O., Bombay 400 001.

Euroclean

The all-purpose cleaning system which is much more than a vacuum cleaner.

Aquaguard

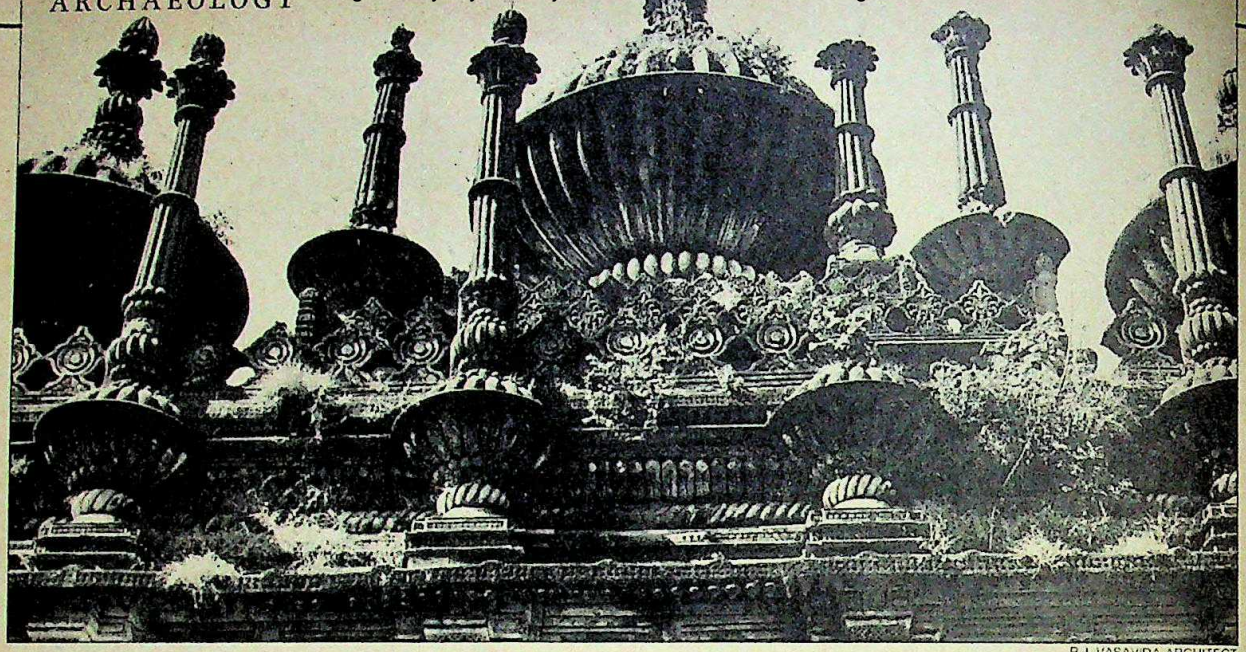
On-line, water filter-cum-purifier.

EUREKA FORBES LIMITED

Pioneers in modern cleanliness and hygiene.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



R.J. VASAVDA ARCHITECT

JUNAGADH

Maqbara of Queen Najubibi

Monuments of Neglect

Authorities fail to heed signs of decay

THE beautiful but crumbling monuments that dot Junagadh town could serve as symbols of the ephemeral nature of temporal power. The Gujarat State Directorate of Archaeology which is in charge of the monuments, too seems to think so. It appears content to let the architectural marvels in Junagadh fall to the ravages of time and man.

Today most of the 103 architectural wonders in Junagadh district—there are 317 listed monuments in the state—which are testimony to the wealth and vision of the nawabs who ruled there from the 18th century, are hardly recognisable. For instance, the complex of 10 maqbaras in the centre of the city has been overgrown by wild bushes and the tomb of Sherkhan may collapse any moment. Some of the *sirans* (lamp posts) near the dargahs have apparently been stolen. So have a few chandeliers and some of the copper plates on the door.

In a different part of the town, another magnificent structure—the maqbara of an 18th century queen Najubibi—is also a symbol of neglect. The style here is similar to that of the other monuments, but the stucco work is so refined it looks like marble. The door frames and threshold are akin to the entrances of the inner sanctum of Hindu temples. Says R.J. Vasavda, an architect single-mindedly devoted to the conservation of Junagadh's monuments: "It's one of the finest maqbaras of Junagadh."

But such sentiments are not enough to convince the directorate which has not touched a brick there. There is no trace of 12 of the 24 minars atop the maqbara and the stucco work is fast peeling off.

The 100-odd years old maqbara where Mahabat Khan II is buried is in relatively fine shape, but here too, as in other places, the beginnings of decay are evident. Unlike other mausoleums it is octagonal and shows both neo-Gothic and Islamic influences. Its foundation—an assemblage of various types of spheres—is a perennial delight to architects. But the wood and iron frames around it have cracked, making it easy for vandals to sneak in. A few years ago, a precious carpet and two chandeliers were stolen. It's surprising that the silver-plated gates and lamps have remained intact.

The maqbaras are not the only monuments facing danger. The majestic gates of Junagadh too are threatened by vegetation. And the clock atop the Reay Gate facing the railway station has been destroyed. The Ayana Mahal (hall of mirrors) in the palace complex is also in a decrepit condition.

The condition of the Pancheswar Buddhist caves, dating back to the 3rd century B.C., is worse. They serve as a lavatory and garbage dumping yard for the slum dwellers nearby. The other cave in the area, the Khappa-Khodia (named after two legendary robbers) which is under the care of the Archaeological Survey of India is, however, better maintained.

Y. Chitalwala, an authority on the Harappan civilisation who heads the western circle of the directorate at Rajkot, pleads helplessness: "Last year, we sent a proposal to the state Government asking for a new circle at Junagadh. We are yet to hear about it. Our request for more funds for repairs has also remained unheeded."

Yet, the situation—there are only four watchmen to guard all the monuments—may improve. K.S. Verma, collector of Junagadh and Vasavda took the matter up with the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), which responded by opening a branch in Junagadh. Now it is preparing a conservation plan for Junagadh and trying to stir the state Government into action. Verma is even more excited by the prospect of more excavations.

But even without any more discoveries, Junagadh is already a national monument. Early this year, Sir Bernard Fielden, internationally acclaimed conservationist and an INTACH consultant, said after a visit: "Junagadh should be recommended for inclusion as a world heritage site." But unless something is done fast to arrest the decay, Junagadh's monuments may vanish, leaving behind only memories of a distant past.

—UDAY MAHURKAR in Junagadh and Rajkot

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and e

Your executives can now fly to work. At ground level.

Also available with airconditioning

Presenting the luxury of the new Tempo-Traveller

Tempo-Traveller is the new executive perk

It offers senior personnel the comfort and status that ordinary company buses can never match – and a car-pool could never give.

A spacious interior offers the luxury of upto 15 ergonomically designed seats and large, airy windows.

There's ample room for baggage. And a high curved roof allows for greater freedom of movement.

And it has been specially built for Indian roads by Bajaj Tempo – in collaboration with Daimler-Benz, the creators of the classic Mercedes range.

As cost-conscious as it is status-conscious

The new Tempo-Traveller is equipped with the advanced 72 BHP Mercedes OM 616 diesel engine, which functions like a built-in accountant. It stretches your company's every rupee – delivering the highest level of fuel economy with the lowest level of noise.

The Tempo-Traveller even minimises other maintenance costs. Spares are cheaper and more readily available. And regular service is close at hand. Because you are backed by the 150 experienced dealers established by Bajaj Tempo over a period of 25 years.

So before you stake business capital on company buses or corporate cars, give the new Tempo-Traveller serious thought.

And let your executives 'arrive in better shape'.

BAJAJ Tempo LTD.

The new Tempo-Traveller.
Anywhere else, they'd call it a Mercedes Transporter.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, H

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SYMBOL OF QUALITY & STYLE

JIYAJEE

SUITING-SHIRTING

Available at Mill's SUMANGALI showrooms and other leading stores.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

60TH ANNIVERSARY

AKAI

For Sixty years, Akai has been creative at heart.
Following a culture of mental and emotional commitment to creativity. A commitment that has helped Akai to carve a niche of technological superiority. Helped to enhance the electronic marvels of our time – audio, video and T.V.

1989. And Akai's constant search continues. For ways to enrich the lives of people who put their trust in Akai.

THE WORLD'S LARGEST SELLING VCP

AKAI VS-P8, Mark III Slow Motion

Sleek and compact. Unique Quick Start function. Slow Motion. Auto operation.

Special Carry On Board the Aircraft Pack

THE NEW GENERATION VIDEO

AKAI VS-27

With features no other VCR offers.
Quick Start, Quick Index Search, Quick Intro Scan, Super Clear Slow Motion, Double Speed Playback, Electronic Child Lock System, 62 TV preset stations, Quick timer, Full function wireless remote with tracking control, 8-Programme 1 month Timer, Unique Tape View system, HQ System, Memory Back-up, Full Auto operation with built-in voltage stabilizer.

AKAI VS-R8, Mark III recording

Also has Recording function

If it's Real Hi Fi It's got to be Akai

AKAI System M 552

A classic component unit. Tuner, amplifier, 5-band graphic equalizer and cassette deck. 680 Watts (PMPO). With the latest motorised Volume Control. Surround speakers feature the newly developed 'back load horn' designed for rich, powerful sound with well-defined bass.

P.M.P.O. 680 W

AKAI VS-53

Extra features include:
a DX-4 Head System, 2-Speed 8-Hour recording, Auto Digital Tracking Control and 100 TV preset stations.

New Space Age Portable Sound

AKAI AJ-W238

Double Cassette Deck. Sequential and continuous play. High speed dubbing. Wrap around 2-way speaker system. 24 Watts (PMPO). 3-band Graphic Equalizer. 3-band Radio.

P.M.P.O. 24W

AKAI AJ-R218

European styling. Auto Reverse. 18 Watts (PMPO). 3-band Radio.

P.M.P.O. 18W

New AKAI DIGITAL TV

28"

Picture in Picture

DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY

For pure picture and sound quality. The new generation Flat and Square 28" screen. Stereo Sound. Three systems PAL-SECAM-NTSC. Picture-in-picture (Optional) Built-in Teletext decoder with 8-page memory.

Built-in Teletext decoder with 8-page memory

Available in the UAE only

FREE INTERNATIONAL WARRANTY

All Akai equipment carries a FREE Warranty for efficient service and replacement of spare parts at these Akai service centres in India :

BOMBAY - Paras Electronics Lamington Chambers, 364, Lamington Road, Opera House, Bombay 400 004. Tel: 386 978

MADRAS - Paras Akai Service Centre 11/1A Leonard Street, Royapettah, Madras 600 014. Tel: 812 495

PUNE - Paras Akai Service Centre 890, Ravivar Peth, opp. R.C.M. Gujarati School, Pune 411 002 Tel: 439 084

AKAI

Why settle for the National Favourite when you can get the International Leader

Distributors:
DUBAI:
General Enterprises Co., P.O. Box 363, Dubai. Tel: 224131, 236575
KUWAIT:
Morad Yousuf Behbehani, P.O. Box 140, Safat-13002, Kuwait. Tel: 4844000
PAKISTAN:
Universal Enterprises Co., 31 Hotel Metropole Bldg., Merewether Road, Karachi-17. Tel: 511611
QATAR:
Ahmad Al-Uthman & Bros., P.O. Box 218, Doha. Tel: 23507, 23508
SAUDI ARABIA:
Peninsular Distribution Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 7997, Jeddah 21472. Tel: 671-4488
STATE OF BAHRAIN:
Ambassador Store, P.O. Box 237, Manama. Tel: 253513
SULTANATE OF OMAN:
Suhail & Saud Bahwan, P.O. Box 169, Muscat. Tel: 793741, 793760

INCA/AK/267E

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

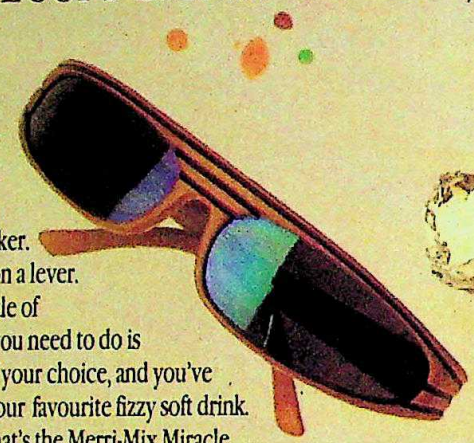
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

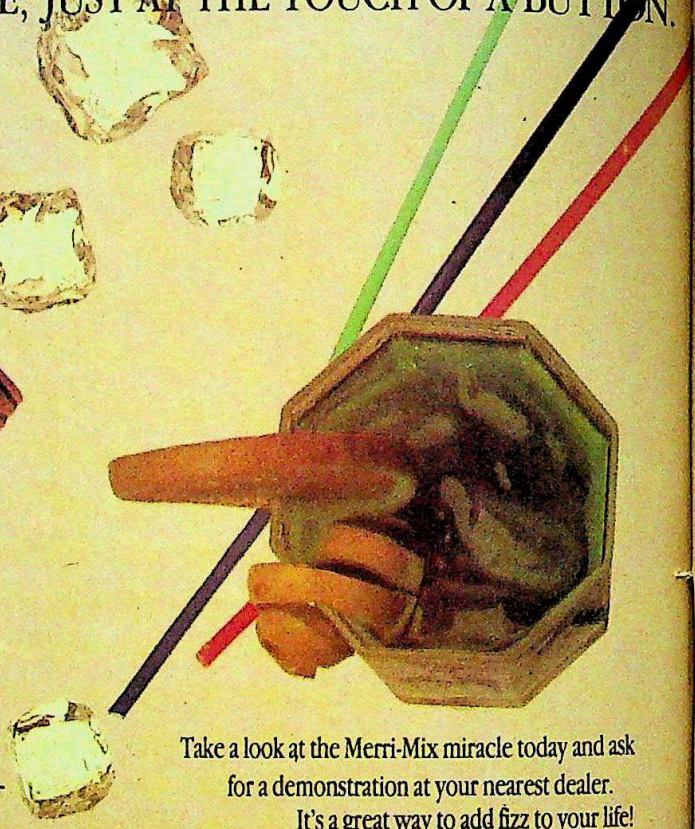
The Merri-Mix Miracle

MAKE ALL THE SOFT DRINKS YOU LOVE, JUST AT THE TOUCH OF A BUTTON.

FIZZ WITHOUT FUSS

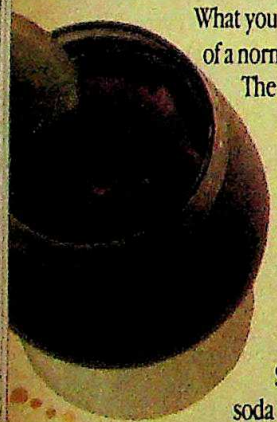
Put a bottle of chilled water in the Merri-Mix fizzy drink maker. Close the lid and press down on a lever. And presto! You've got a bottle of chilled, sparkling soda. All you need to do is add a soft drink concentrate of your choice, and you've made yourself a bottle of your favourite fizzy soft drink. Just in a couple of minutes. That's the Merri-Mix Miracle.





THE MERRI MIX PACKAGE

What you get is a compact soda making machine, the size of a normal water jug, and six bottles for making soda in. The machine houses a gas cylinder which can be replaced periodically at a nominal cost.



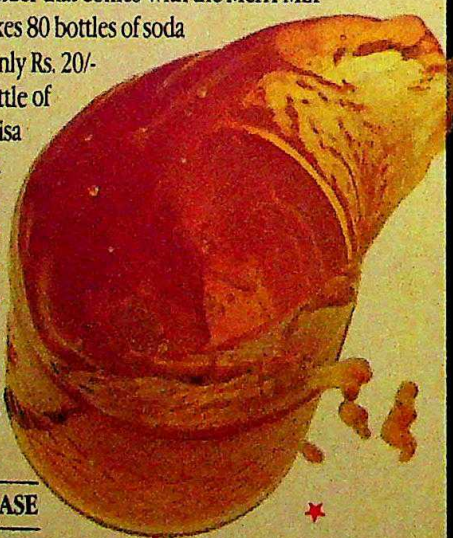
Take a look at the Merri-Mix miracle today and ask for a demonstration at your nearest dealer. It's a great way to add fizz to your life!

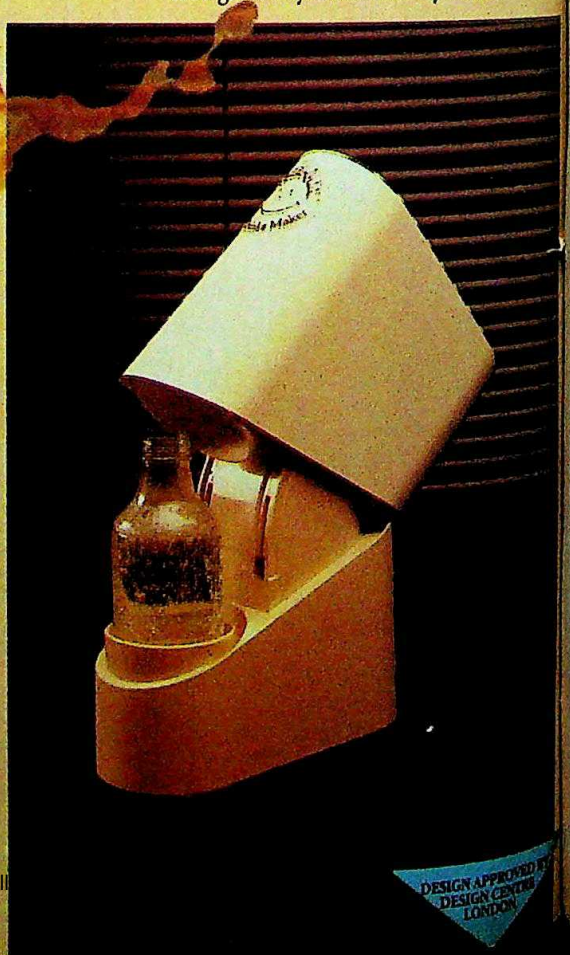
MORE FIZZ. LESS COST

Each gas cylinder that comes with the Merri-Mix machine makes 80 bottles of soda and costs only Rs. 20/-

So you get a bottle of soda for about 25 paisa as compared to Re. 1/- in the market.

The ready-to-mix soft drink concentrates of various makes come in 1 litre food grade reusable bottles. Each bottle makes 50 drinks at only 60 paisa per soft drink. So with the Merri Mix Machine, each fizzy soft drink costs you less than a rupee, which is about a third of what is would cost you in the market.





DELICIOUS FIZZ, ANYWHERE YOU PLEASE

The Merri-Mix miracle can work for you anywhere giving you delicious soft drinks at home, in the office, at parties, or even at picnics. And it's so simple to use, even a kid can operate it.

Merri-Mix®

THE SPARKLING SODA & SOFT DRINK MAKER

FOR DEMONSTRATION CONTACT:
★ Ahmedabad · Ph.: 415458 ★ Agra · Ph.: 74466 ★ Calcutta · Ph.: 299637 ★ Chandigarh · Ph.: 43450,
★ Coimbatore · Ph.: 24579, 25566 ★ Delhi · Ph.: 6839323 ★ Indore · Ph.: 38857 ★ Jodhpur · Ph.: 27766

DESIGN APPROVED BY DESIGN CENTRE LONDON

CC-0. In... Gurukul Kangri Coll...

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KARNATAKA

Magic Seed Scandal

Unscrupulous dealers take farmers for a ride

IT'S like Jack's magic bean. The seed is popularly known as DCH-32, short for Dharwad Cotton Hybrid No 32. It is an astonishing new hybrid seed that produces a high-yielding, superior, long-staple variety of cotton.

Developed by the University of Agricultural Sciences in Dharwad in Karnataka, DCH-32 yields perhaps the best cotton yarn in the country. Says farmer Ramachandraiah of Bellary: "That seed is Lakshmi (Goddess of Fortune)—it changed our lives."

But it has also changed other things—with disastrous results. Karnataka's cotton boom has attracted numerous shady seed merchants who have been taking farmers for a ride by marketing dummy neuter seeds and seeds of low-yielding varieties packaged as high-yielding varieties like DCH-32. This year, the scam has reached unprecedented proportions, crippling production and affecting farmers all over the state.

The Government is yet to estimate the total crop loss. But it is obviously of major proportions. The state administration has ordered a probe by the Corps of Detectives—the first time an inquiry into an agricultural catastrophe has been handed over to the police.

The market for cotton seeds has grown phenomenally over the last few years and supply has fallen far short of demand. Karnataka is the largest grower of high-grade, long-staple cotton. And the acreage under cotton has shot up rapidly—from less than half a million hectares early in the decade it had gone up to 833,000 hectares by 1984-85.

But while the demand for DCH-32 grew rapidly, the Government could not satisfy it. The shortage was compounded by the Karnataka Cotton Control Act of 1961, under which only the state Agriculture Department can license seed production and only seeds notified by the state Government can be sold.

Moreover, the Government has sole monopoly on the sale of DCH-32, which accounts for more than 80 per cent of the state's cotton crop. Says C.S. Mamani, an independent MLA and a cotton trader: "The Government has no business to exercise such control when it cannot meet the growing demand."

This year, against a demand for nearly 5,000 quintals of DCH-32 seeds, the state seeds corporation had readied just 1,000 quintals. The high demand could easily have been anticipated. The procurement price of cotton with 80 and above count (the length of the cotton staple) climbed from Rs 670 a bale in 1985-86 to Rs 1,400 in 1987-88, encouraging a switch to cotton cultivation.

The seed shortage encouraged unscrupulous dealers. During the planting season dealers from neighbouring Andhra Pradesh arrived in droves in Bellary town, in the principal cotton-growing area of east Karnataka, and sold dummy seeds packed in the kind of bags in which DCH-32 is sold.

The farmers added to their own misery by selling empty DCH-32 bags to dealers for as much as Rs 35 each. These bags were then used to pack the spurious seeds and sold back to them.

Still, that does not absolve the state administration of blame for its lapses. Or the active involvement of its officials.

MAHESH BHAT M.

Cotton farmer; and (top) DCH-32 bag with dummy seeds

The administration cannot be absolved of blame in the cotton seed scam. Lapses apart, its officials have colluded with dealers.

The collusion of some Agriculture Department officials with seed dealers has already been established and the state Government has suspended at least two officials. The scandal also has a political angle. Several panchayat members in Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh are suspected of involvement. Last month, the Kurnool Zilla Parishad Chairman, Masala Eranna, threatened to launch a hunger strike if the Karnataka Government failed to take note of his complaints. Eranna claims that some mandal panchayat members in his region have duped farmers in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh to the extent of Rs 3 crore. Says he: "I know who the people involved are and I have the proof, yet the Karnataka Government is not taking this up for consideration because some officials are involved."

Certainly, the Government needs to pay more attention to the issue than it has. Last month, when the state Assembly met for a brief six-day session the cotton seed scam was the only major issue to be discussed along with the infamous NRI land scandal. But while there was a fierce debate over the land issue because of its explosive political implications, the cotton seed scam was glossed over. Perhaps the legislators are waiting for it to grow into a full-fledged disaster.

—CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection

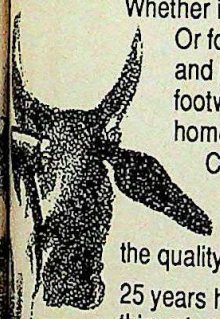
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

25 YEARS PIL *The years turn silver. . . and our commitment grows*

Despite his arthritic bones, Bhaskar Rao travels 45 miles to the mandi, each week, in a bullock cart.

Bhaskar Rao suffers from chronic arthritis. And the torturous bullock cart rides over kutcha country roads were a recurring nightmare. Until he decided to fix rubber tyres to his bullock cart.

Today, rubber tyres fixed to animal-drawn vehicles are making rural conveyance a fast, efficient and comfortable experience. Thanks in no small measure to Rubber Chemicals made by PIL.



Whether it is rubber tyres for animal-drawn vehicles. Or for two-wheelers, three-wheelers or fighter and passenger aircraft. Whether it is rubber footwear or rubber articles for industrial, office, home or agricultural use. The range of Rubber Chemicals made by PIL is helping better the quality and performance parameters of rubber products. And is helping enrich the quality of life for the country's millions.

25 years have gone by, and PIL continues to make things happen – on the industrial, agricultural and social fronts.

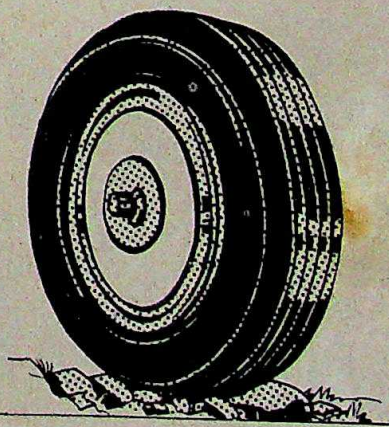
Pioneering leadership: PIL's role in the Indian petrochemical industry began in 1963, in collaboration with Hoechst AG of Germany, the largest chemical company in the world. In 1968 PIL commenced manufacture of Hostalen® HDPE. Since then, PIL has entered into collaboration with Monsanto Company of the USA and has access to other world renowned companies for the technological know-how to manufacture high-tech products to improve the quality of life.

R&D – Byword at PIL: But it is not PIL's way to be content with the ways of others. Its R&D Centre is constantly innovating to find simple solutions to complex problems. Like the import-substitution of expensive materials, the manufacture of products with in-house know-how, and the utilisation of wastes. These are just a few of PIL's R&D activities, resulting in major savings in foreign exchange and better utilisation of available resources.

The PIL range: Thermoplastics, Rubber Chemicals, Plastic Processed Products – the PIL product range today, contributes in so many diverse ways to the betterment of human life. Helping translate the Company philosophy 'technology for a better life' into concrete reality.

PIL-Technology for a better life!

IT HAPPENED WITH PIL



POLYOLEFINS INDUSTRIES LIMITED, Mafatlal Centre, Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021

PIL

CHAITRA-B PIL 814c

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reliving the Times

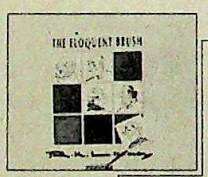
The Times of India publishes three handsome volumes

THE ELOQUENT BRUSH:
R.K. LAXMAN
The Times of India Sesquicentennial
Price: Rs 250

FOREFRONT: Front Pages from The Times of India
The Times of India Sesquicentennial
Price: Rs 200

FEED BACK: Letters to the Editor of The Times of India
The Times of India Sesquicentennial
Price: Rs 200

A newspaper tracing its lineage to 150 years can be forgiven for preening itself on its anniversary. In the bargain, the reading public has been showered with gifts—at a price—in the shape of three handsome volumes.



We are told that "for *The Times of India* the material it has carried has always been seen as being of significance not only for the day, but even for posterity". That the paper remains what its image is: "a reliable, sober, if a little pompous 'newspaper of record' ". That in spite of its British ownership and editorship, *The Times of India* enjoyed "a high degree of credibility, an invaluable asset it has attempted to augment". That it has been "zealously preserving journalistic ethics".

The role of the *Times* during the Emergency is explained thus: "This (imposition of pre-censorship during Emergency) explains its inability to take a politically strident stance against the Government during this period." Today the paper lays claims to being "a mass circulation newspaper", with a circulation of around half a million in a country peopled by 800 million!

Against the backdrop of the euphoria of the 150th year anniversary, the reader of these volumes is likely to feel short-changed. Only *Feed Back* takes us over the whole expanse. The cartoons—by Laxman—span a period of less than 40 years. The front pages are confined to about 50 years because they began to carry news only from January 1, 1940. We are, however, given samples of the early front pages, completely taken up with advertisements.

It is to the credit of Sham Lal, a former editor, that he has remained above the self-congratulatory tone the three volumes are peppered with, to warn readers that the selection of front pages is "more in the nature of an aid to nostalgia than an aid to understanding the chequered course of recent history". On a rather resigned note, presumably because of his experiences during the Emergency, he adds: "In any case newspapers cannot always have the better of forces that are shaping their society."

Laxman's cartoons—going back to December 4, 1949—are scintillating. His is a remarkable career, which has been used by the paper as the central arch of its anniversary celebrations.

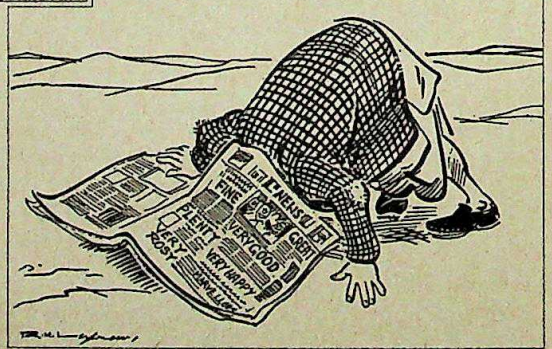
Sometimes, it seems, time stands still. "English to be replaced by Hindi in 15 years," a heading proclaims. In 1961 a writer offers the view that the launching of five-year plans on April Fool's Day is not a good augury. In July, 1977, Maneka Gandhi complains about her telephone being tapped. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is recorded almost apologetically in the heading on the front page of December 29, 1979: "Soviet troops move in to bolster new regime."

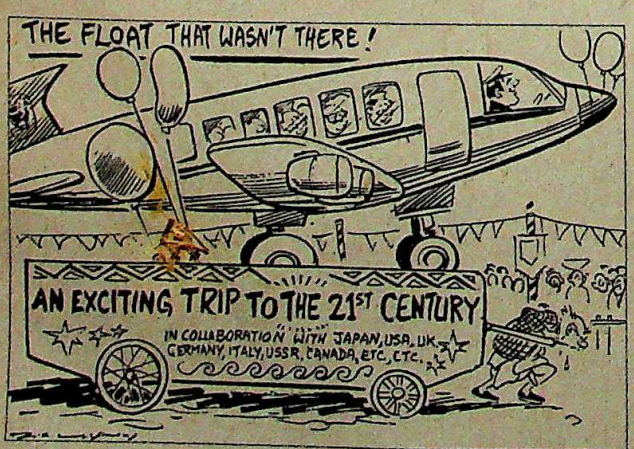
Of the three volumes, *Feed Back* is decidedly the most interesting and informative. It gives a flavour of the changing times, the concerns of our colonial rulers, the gathering winds of change, the good use Mahatma Gandhi, among others, made of the letters column to promote his cause and the country's freedom, the growing Hindu-Muslim divide and the dawn of Independence.

In the 1800s, the relationship that existed between the editor and his readers was almost that of a trusted family general practitioner and his patients. My sympathies are with "A Pretty Woman" who sought the editor's, and other readers', advice in August, 1880, on a problem of great importance. She wrote: "(Husband) Charles, who is rather stupid sometimes, ...little knows by what means I could become as popular as ever...I daresay I should find it as easy as any of them (the popular women) to keep my husband in the dark and forget all about my children and virtue and all that sort of thing."

There are other gems.

During the Emergency, censorship muzzled media, which in their anxiety to avoid official wrath, presented a picture of peace, progress and plenty. The Common Man wondered where all the good things lay buried!





Laxman's cartoons are scintillating. And his truly remarkable career has been used by the paper as the central arch of its anniversary celebrations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What did the Skypak Man say to the Chinese Buddha?

"Yes I know! It's always a great feeling to have delivered the message one has come to deliver!"

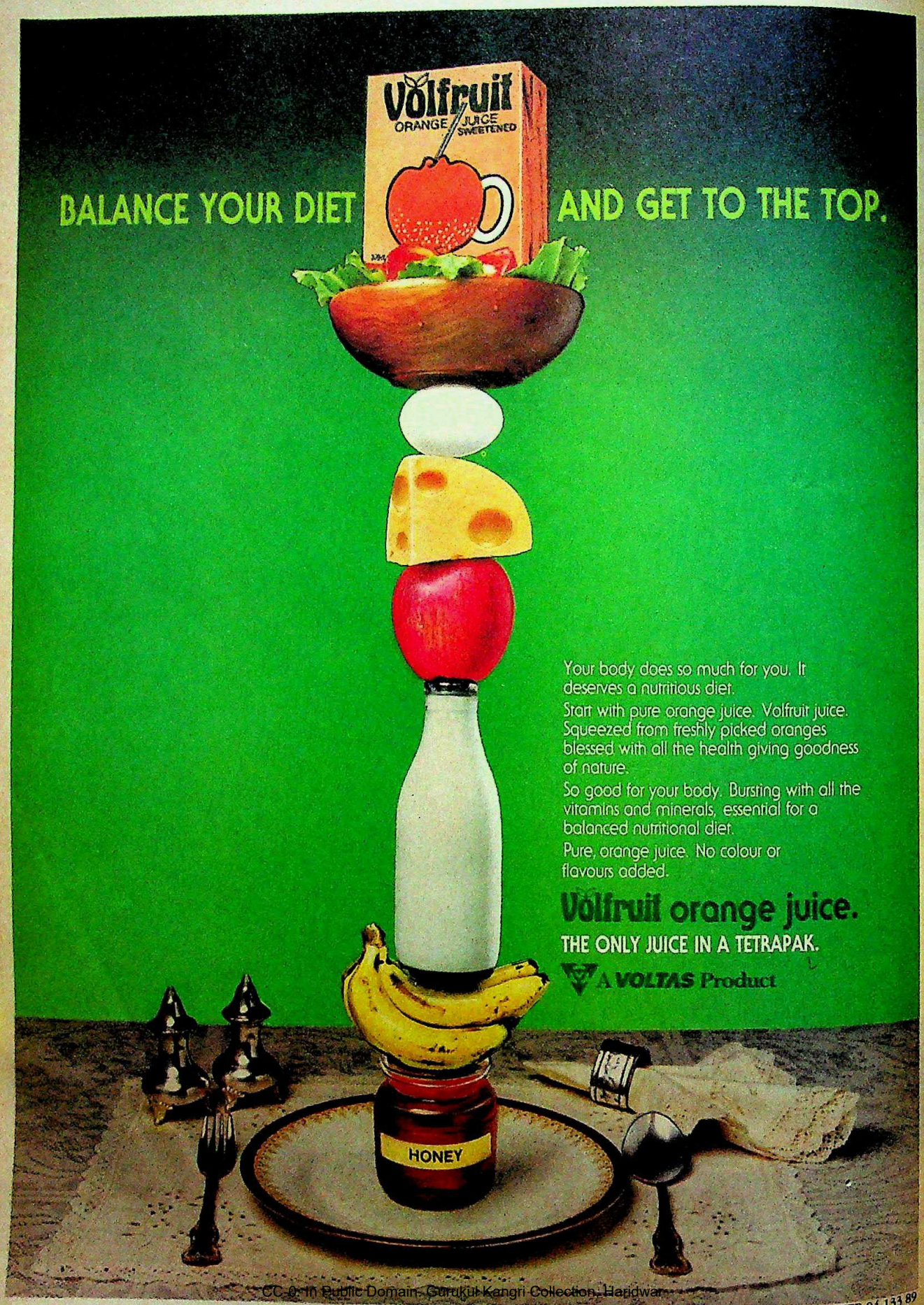
We'll deliver. Wherever on earth. SKYPAK The worldwide couriers.

Skypak House, Off M. Vassanji Road, Marol, Andheri (E), Bombay 400 059.

Avenues:SC:497:89

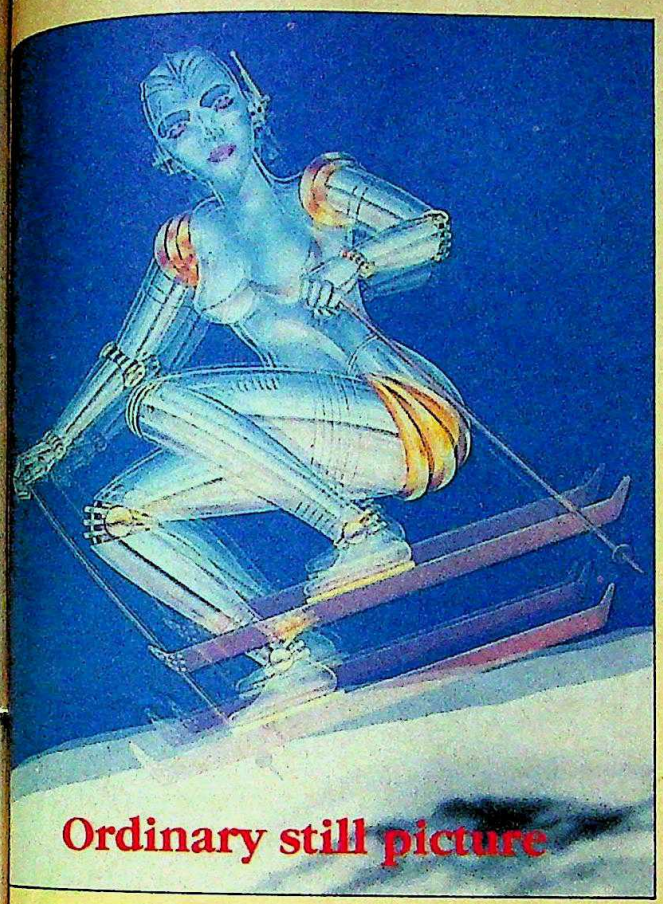
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

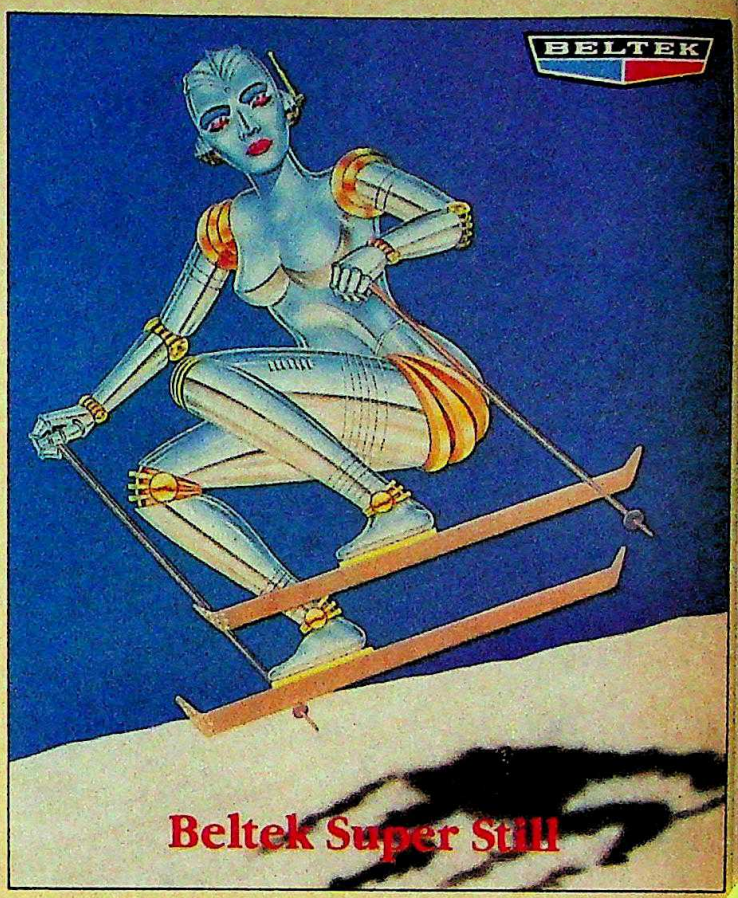
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

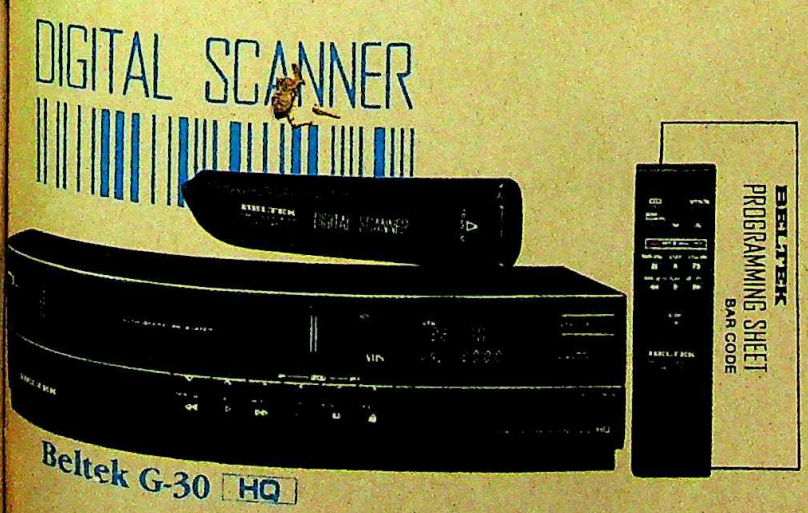
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





THE REAL EXCITEMENT BEGINS NOW.

The new Beltek VCR. First with Digital Scanner and Super Still Picture.



Here comes the new Beltek VCR ! With more advanced features that leave the competition to jitter.

Watch a great picture in greater clarity. Stop even the fastest action or watch it in slow motion. And enjoy the excitement of distortion-free viewing ... a feat that was never possible before.

Watch the other great feature. The Digital Scanner makes programme time-setting a child's play. Simply slide the scanner over the appropriate bars on the Programming Sheet, then set with a single key press. Your VCR is all set to record your favourite programmes. So simple !

So, why settle for just an ordinary VCR when you can experience the Beltek super VCR.

BELTEK

The Sharp Focus VCR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Corcom/BE/0189

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

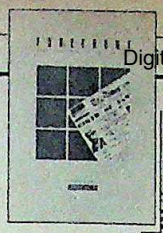
ORIENT FANS
A lifetime of refreshing air.

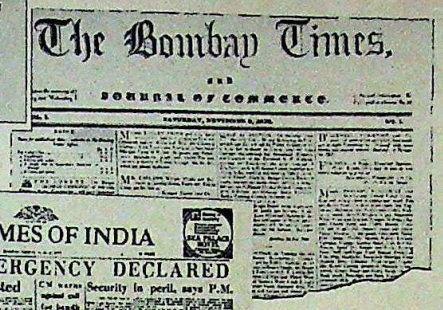
It takes three wings to carry the outdoors to the indoors.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

ORIENT FANS
A lifetime of refreshing air.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





Only in 1940 did the newspaper's front pages begin to carry news.

Robertus wrote in July, 1840: "Among all the customs and practices of the Hindoos, we will not find two of a more revolting nature than *Suttee* and Infanticide—the abolition of both these are never lost sight of by Government." "A Badly-served Master" wrote a letter in April, 1846 "...in the hope that you will be successful in bringing about the reform (of servants) which the abuses I have pointed out so urgently call for."

A Bombay reader wrote in May, 1860: "It is surprising that, with all the talked-of energy, spirit and enlightenment of the Parsees, they are unable to understand and appreciate the blessings of female education...." Some problems never seem to change. A Bombay reader laments in May, 1860: "I have been searching for a house these two months and cannot find one for love or money."

The advent of the 20th century brings us more familiar problems. An Ahmednagar reader pleads: "Let me, sir, finally once again appeal to the British public through your columns not to forget poor loyal Mahomedans and not to hand them over to the tender mercies of the unsympathetic Hindoos."

It is *Feed Back*, the selection of readers' letters to the editor down the years, that best succeeds in conveying the flavour of the changing times.

In November, 1909, Gandhiji wrote from South Africa: "If the doctrine of the Transvaal Government be true, the people of India cease to be partners in the Empire and it is in order to resist this dangerous, immoral and pestilent doctrine that we are fighting."

On his return to India, the Mahatma takes up other battles as well. "Violence," he declares, "is the law of the beast in us. Self-suffering, i.e., civil resistance, is the law of the man in us." Ensconced in Wardha, he wrote in August 1941: "With me no doubt non-violence is an end in itself, though it is also a means for the attainment of the freedom of the country. With the vast majority of Congressmen it is and must remain a means."

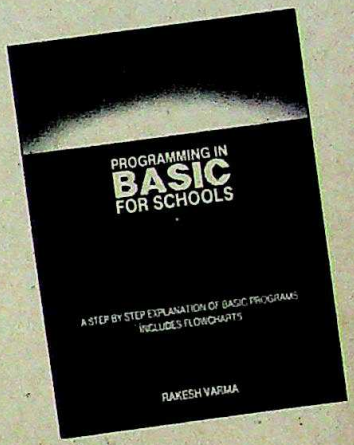
The Mahatma's detractors too got a chance to have their say. Tukaram wrote in February, 1920: "I ask you, Gandhi, whether people who reflect on your doings...can be blamed for considering them, the conduct of a sanctimonious hypocrite." M.N. Roy expressed his anger in 1941: "The Mahatma may talk with an angel's tongue; but anti-Fascists cannot possibly forget the sinister implication of his divine doctrine, about which he himself makes no secret." And Sir Homi Modi asks in May, 1942: "Has Mr Gandhi lost all sense of proportion?"

The flavour of M.A. Jinnah's personality comes through well in how he ends a letter in June, 1915. "...I for one, sir, whatever may have been my ambition in life never aspired to get your increased respect for myself."

The last word belongs to Nirad Chaudhuri (misspelt Chowdhury) on the filming of the Mahatma's life. He wrote in February, 1981: "...I am surprised by the servility shown to foreign, especially British and American, producers even by our otherwise chauvinistic government."

—S. NIHAL SINGH

GIFT COMPUTER LITERACY TO A YOUNGSTER.



Rakesh Varma's 'Programming in BASIC for Schools' is a book that has emerged from years of experience in imparting practical, hands-on BASIC programming skills to children.

Why not gift it to a young friend. And see him or her start the next session, ahead of peers in the all-important discipline of computers.

Please mail a copy of 'Programming in BASIC for Schools' to :
Name _____
Address _____
_____
My name _____
☐ My cheque/D.D for Rs. 35/- in favour of Living Media India Ltd. is enclosed.
☐ I'll pay the postman Rs. 35/- on delivery.
Mail coupon to :

LM BOOKS
Living Media India Ltd.
316, Competent House,
F-14, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001.

INTERFACE 6440

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Getting Even

A study of sexist biases

MIRROR IMAGE
By VIMAL BALASUBRAHMANYAN
CED Publication
Pages: 157; Price: Rs 65

OH no, not more of that feminist stuff. That, predictably, is how most people would react to *Mirror Images*, an impressionistic study of sexist biases in the media by Vimal Balasubrahmanyan. Feminists are man-hating, bra-burning, fire-spewing viragos who insist on changing words like boycott to girlcott. And what bugs feminists most is when the media, instead of correcting the impression, simply goes along with it.

Well, if you can't get mad, get even. *Mirror Images* is an attempt to get even. For years, Balasubrahmanyan has been perched over magazines and newspapers—she has an admirable instinct to spot the female-basher lurking between the lines—fly-swatter in hand, waiting for anything sexist to appear and then pouncing on it with an "a ha, caught you" flourish. This book is the result.

Certainly, there is increased coverage—in fact, women's issues are now "in"—but she finds that they are either fitted into the cooking-knitting-happy home formula or dismissed in sensational stories about rape and dowry, with more than a pinch of male voyeuristic delight. Take this editorial from *The Daily* (November 11, 1986) which talks about the dangers of bottle-feeding, eulogises the qualities of breast-milk, and then adds, almost compulsively, that it also "comes in cute containers".

Or the article in *The Economic Times* (October 1, 1987) which discusses a research study on "Husband-wife involvement in buying decisions" and then goes on to illustrate it with a cartoon of a fat, domineering woman striding along shops, followed by her meek husband, his arms full of parcels and his mouth sealed with tape.

Other villains: *The Hindu* goes on and on with its homilies on the sacred duties of the ideal wife—ranging from "Being away from family isn't good" to "They prefer to be housewives." *Sunday* did an MCP piece in its 1981 annual issue which preached that a woman wins her battles not by fighting for her rights but by "winning you over". And INDIA TODAY, in its Indianotes column (July 15, 1984)) rudely dismissed a Manipur women group's initiative to curb drunkenness as "Nobody, but nobody, lets them boozers booze in peace."

Even more irritating are the "instant" headings in newspapers. Any serious article on women is automatically headlined "The feminine mystique". A demonstration becomes "Women on the warpath". And an all-purpose heading for any seminar on women is: "Women of the world unite". "The headline writer isn't bothered what the text is about," says Balasubrahmanyan bitterly. "Except that it is some kind of feminist stuff."

Women's issues are now "in"—but they are either fitted into the happy home formula or dismissed in sensational stories.

It certainly isn't easy being a woman in India. And a feminist—a woman with a cause—has a tough battle ahead. Almost anything that feminists in India have achieved has been through long, trying protests against porn films, female foeticide, rape laws, pregnancy drugs, sexist advertising—half naked women draped over steroes—and so on.

None of these battles has been easily won. But the gains are adding up. For instance, bank advertisements that earlier said "Save for your daughter's marriage, son's education," now simply say "Save for your children's education." The author's advice: "Keep on making a noise. Noise helps."

The trouble with feminists is that they often do the right thing in the wrong way. Halfway through *Mirror Images*, Balasubrahmanyan removes her armour for some genuine stock-taking. She confesses that a lot of feminist writing is "dry, uninteresting reportage written in a colourless style". "I did a look-through my own writings on women's issues," she says. "And was mortified to find some of them excruciatingly boring. I wish I had taken the trouble to say what I wanted to say more entertainingly." The message: kill them softly with your song.

Feminists are speaking to an audience whose support cannot be taken for granted. And there is such a thing as feminist fatigue. Several women who sympathise with the women's movement are still scared of being labelled "feminists". They are scared it may mean that no man will open the door for them, or offer them a chair or that they can no longer like raindrops on roses. Balasubrahmanyan doesn't stop to explain what feminism really means—no, most people don't know—but by the end, she concedes that it is important to write in women's magazines after all to reach the vast mass of women, even if it means sugar-coating your stuff.

Mirror Images is an interesting study that flies all over the place. It offers a mixed diet of feminist viewpoints, provocative quotes, original thought—but you leave without a clear idea of the meal you have really eaten.

—SIMRAN BHARGAVA

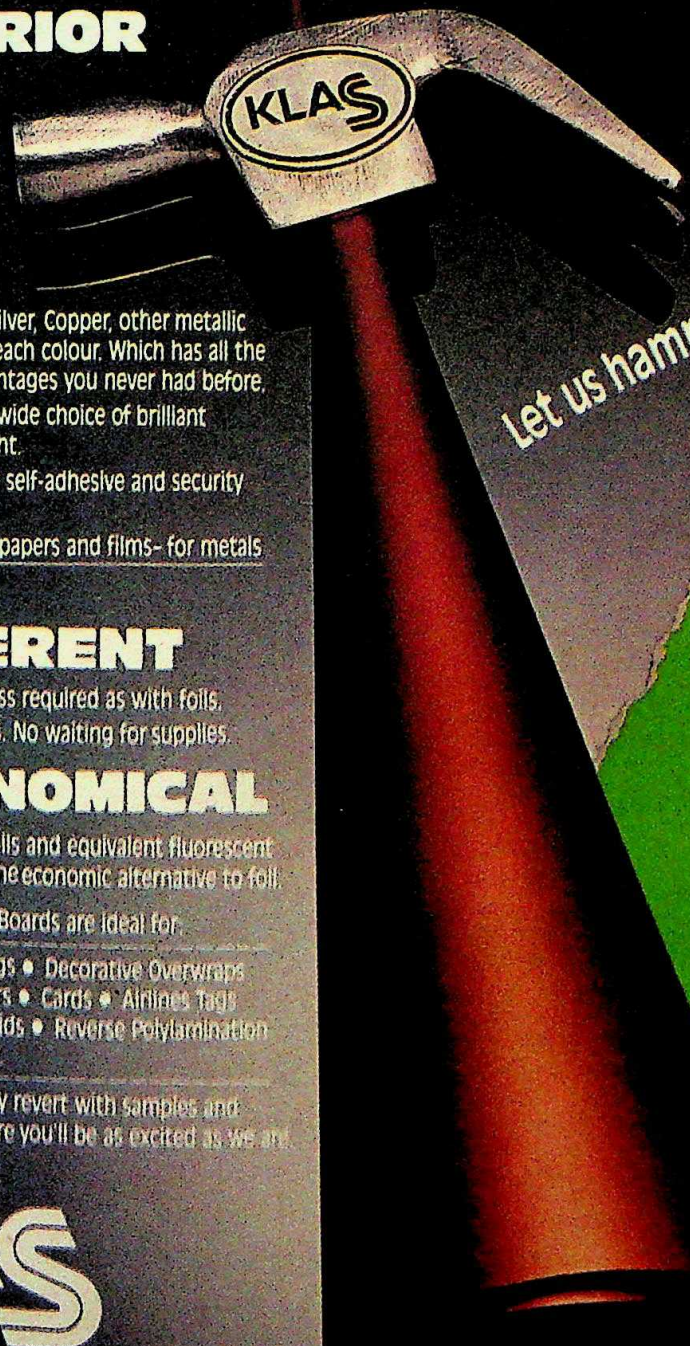
The Visual Ploy: Subverting the Women's Question

But a different kind of subversion is also emerging, where the text presents a positive image and the illustration a negative

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NOW POLAR GIVES YOU THE PAPER AND BOARD WITH CLOUT.



Let us hammer home some facts.

ngly SUPERIOR

peciality Coated Papers
rds. A great new
on from the house of Polar,
echnical collaboration
V GmbH of West Germany.
ill make your products
t. Even in a crowd

ra Metal Range—in Gold, Silver, Copper, other metallic
s—with various shades of each colour. Which has all the
feel of foil. Plus some advantages you never had before.
ra Fluorescent Range in a wide choice of brilliant
that are refreshingly bright.
peciality Polygum Range for self-adhesive and security
g applications.
a range of anti-corrosive papers and films- for metals
protection.

fully DIFFERENT

rintable—no special process required as with foils.
vailable—in sheets or reels. No waiting for supplies.

singly ECONOMICAL

more cost effective than foils and equivalent fluorescent
nd boards. And as such is the economic alternative to foil.

peciality Coated Papers and Boards are ideal for.

gs • Labels • Stickers • Tags • Decorative Overwraps
marks • File and Book Covers • Cards • Airlines Tags
Stationery • Educational Aids • Reverse Polylamination
r Packing... and much more.

ite to us. We will immediately revert with samples and
ed catalogue. And we are sure you'll be as excited as we are.

KLAS
SPECIALITY COATED PAPERS AND BOARDS
technical collaboration with MDV GmbH of West Germany

THE COST EFFECTIVE AID TO YOUR PACKAGING NEEDS

THERM COATS LTD.
Site IV, Industrial Area, Sahibabad - 201 010. Ph: 863547/863317. Sales office: A-11, East of Kailash New Delhi. Ph: 6857427/6851147/6845300

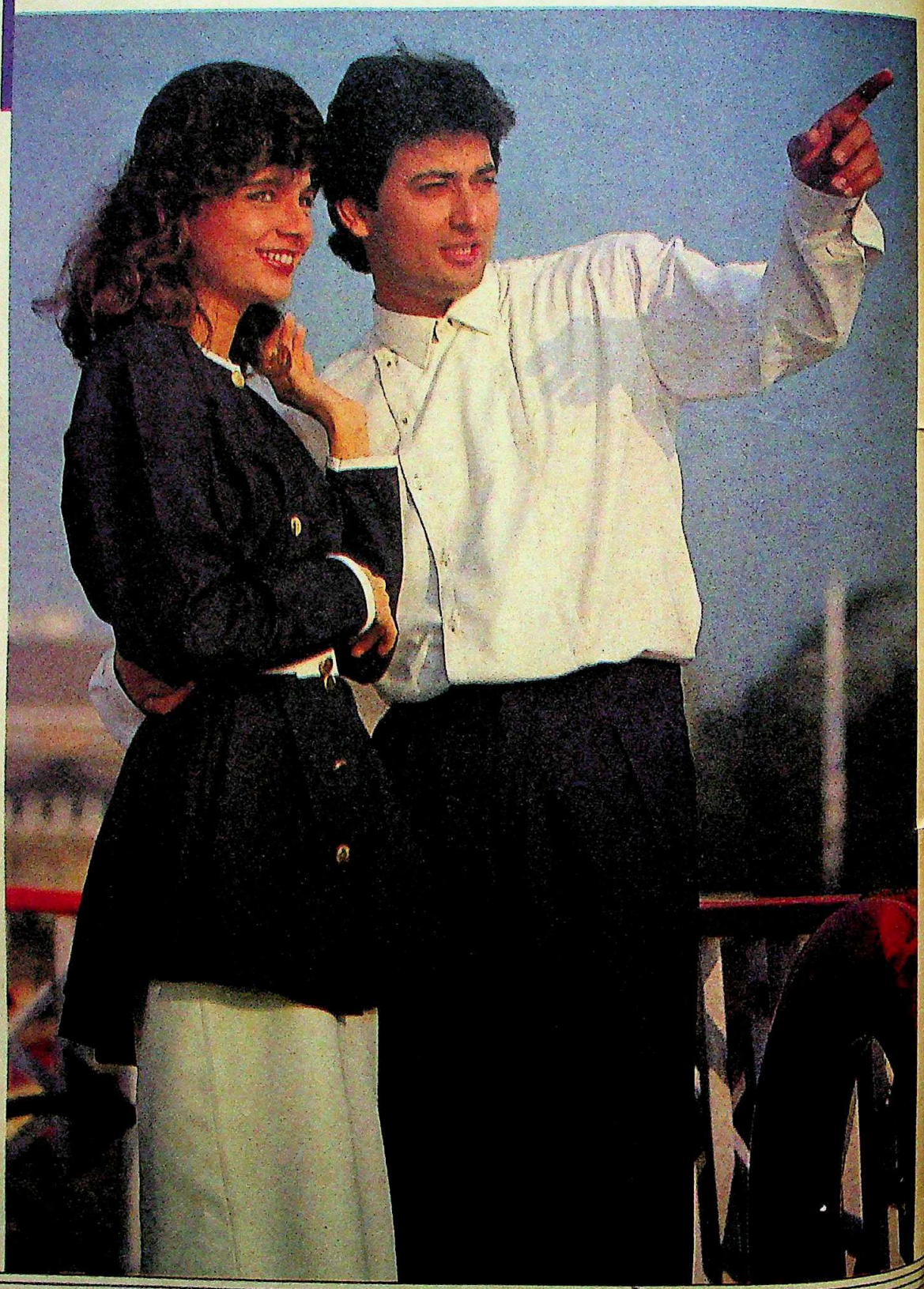
DISTINGUISHED MEMBER
POLAR GROUP

FSA-DPPC/87-88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Haridwar

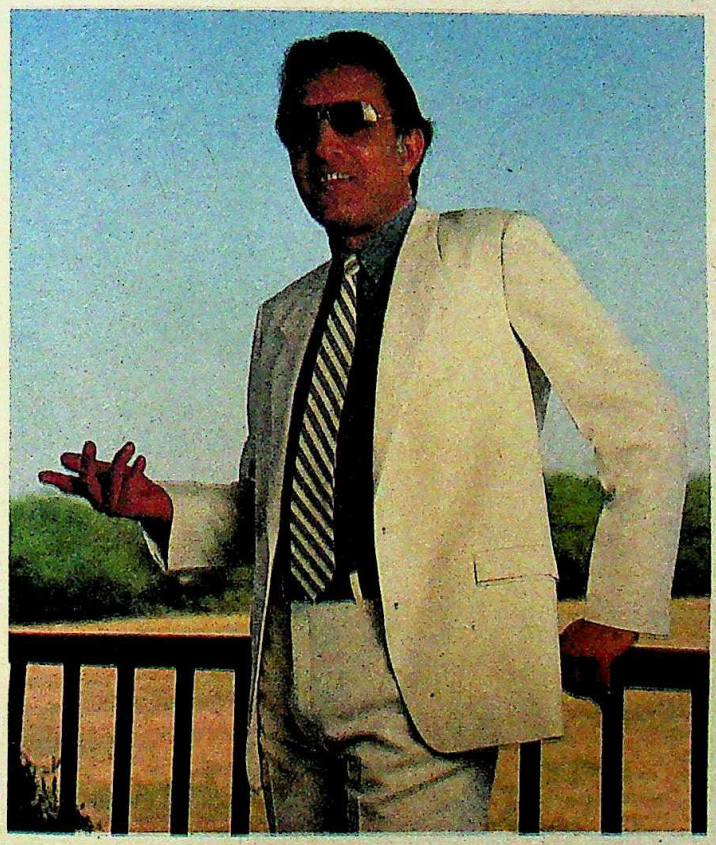
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GRASIM GWALIOR SUITING PRESENTS



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"A touch of feminine mystique ..."

"My wife's thrilled. I'm delighted. Though it's not really very surprising, especially if you have seen how a little feminine taste can transform a few metres of bright fabric into a magnificent ensemble. And now that they are working with the classic weave and faultless fall of Gwalior Suiting, it's skirts, slacks, trouser suits ..."

— M.A.K. PATAUDI

GRASIM
GWALIOR SUITING
IN A CLASS OF ITS OWN

A PRODUCT OF GRASIM INDUSTRIES LTD.

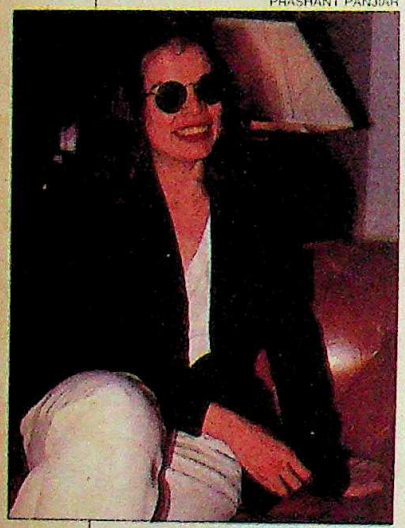
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

UNI

• She was once Nicaragua's hottest export—the high-flying, high-living actress, **Bianca Jagger**, wife of *Rolling Stones* star Mick Jagger. After her divorce from the pouting, gyrating pop star, she dropped out of sight and last week surfaced in India with a new man in her life—the septuagenarian Marxist Chief Minister, Jyoti Basu. Bianca, a student of political science, says she was curious about the working of a Marxist government in a democracy. And Basu was only too willing to oblige. The unsmiling West Bengal chief minister seems to have charmed the lady. "He's

PRASHANT PANJIAR



Bianca Jagger: not all red

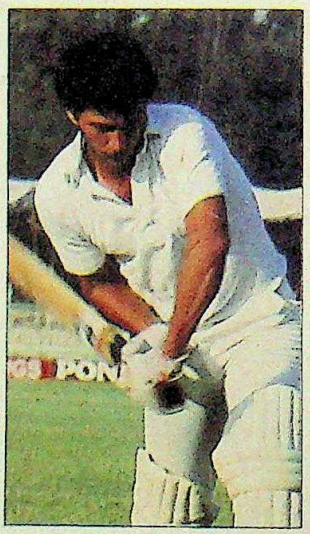
done a great job," she cooed. But back in Delhi, she hastened to shrug off her red links. "I'm not a Marxist," she announced, enthusiastically joining in the Holi festivities. Her only complaint: "It's sad Holi lasts just one day."

• Nothing sells like excess. Not satisfied with just *ek, do, teen*, dancing duo **Madhuri Dixit** and **Anil Kapoor** have done one more catchy song-and-dance sequence for their mega-hit, *Tezaab*. The idea was director N. Chandra's. Says he: "I wanted to create film history." That he may have succeeded in doing. Chandra is cannily hoping to

Kapoor and Dixit: a new tune

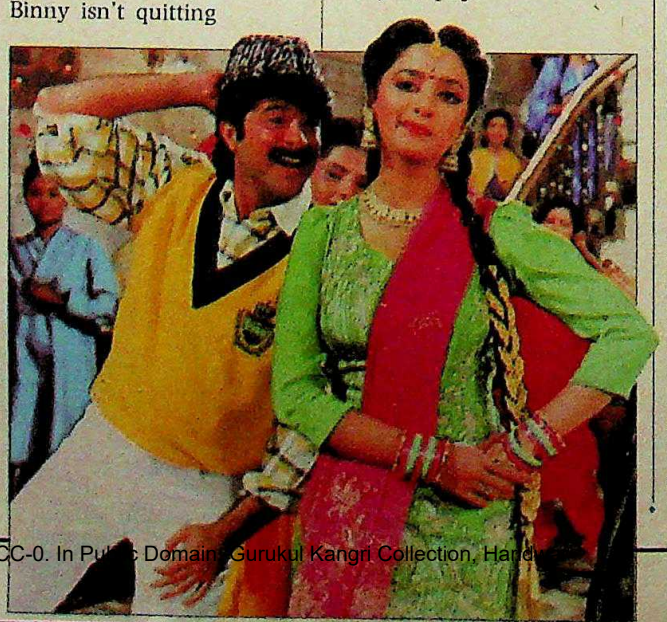
get repeat audiences with the new Laxmikant-Pyarelal duet added in the 17th smash week. And, in the bargain, get a tongue-in-cheek dig at the original dance queen Sridevi. Challenges the new number: "*Sridevi ko nachao to jaane....*"

• He thinks he's been rogered by the selectors. But rather than follow Mohinder Amarnath's example, Karnataka all-rounder **Roger Binny** has decided to fade away with the minimum of fuss. After playing 27 Tests and 72 one-dayers for India, last week Binny announced he was hanging up his cricket boots. Said he: "I've had enough. It's time I sat home and relaxed." Despite his yo-yo career, Binny isn't quitting



Roger Binny: bidding adieu

without leaving his mark—he shares the record for the highest opening partnership in the Ranji Trophy.



Abdullah and Molly: je

• Guess who's pe tourism for his state in pore? Who else but K flamboyant Chief **Farooq Abdullah**. A display of admirabl seems to be literally it. The ever-impet minister hopped o shaw and, with wif nervous passeng down the streets of quest of tourists to visiting his state. S idents are used Farooq whizzing Japanese motorcyc tractive women fr world riding pillion. time, in keeping with his de cate mission, he opted for a more sedate mode of transport. Maybe Farooq is finally slowing down.

• Whoever said, what's in a name? Rather a lot, it would seem considering the lengths some people go to. Bombay's Dr Manoj Narayandas Sony has changed his name to the unpronounceable **Humanojasvamatashstargalaxy-universapienaryushy N. Bhrahmatma**, meaning—the evolutionary sun of the next universe. His intention: to dethrone the current American

NAMAS BHOJANI

Sony: name game

record holder for the l name in the Guinness re The student of neurolo he has a higher claim title. Not only is his longer, he insists he c ally pronounce it. B says: "My name s the coming togethe ophy and science, world unity."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Portrait of a Tragedy

As the superpowers drag on their proxy war in Afghanistan, the toll is already one million dead, half-a-million maimed and six million refugees. But the even greater human tragedy is the Afghan people learning to live with an unending war in their land. An on-the-spot report.

COVER STORY 92

On a Short Fuse

The discontent brewing in Kashmir for two years again found expression in violence. What is especially worrying about last fortnight's round of street-fighting between the police and secessionist militants is the use of automatic weapons by the latter and the support they are getting from the young.

SPECIAL REPORTS 26

Widening the Web

Smarting under the embarrassments over the Thakkar report leakage, the Government hit back last fortnight by filing a new charge-sheet in the Indira Gandhi assassination case. Rajiv Gandhi led the counter-offensive with an emotionally charged speech in Parliament that sets the tone for the next election.

SPECIAL REPORTS 40

Dialectical Wars

Even a quarter of a century after the Communist Party of India split, fear and suspicion continue to cloud unity efforts between the CPI(M) and the CPI. Recently, the CPI made moves towards unity, but received a resounding snub from the Marxists, who continue to waver on the issue.

SPECIAL REPORTS 51

Youth Power

With the lowering of the voting age to 18, youth power means political power. In a sizeable number of constituencies, the new voters can prove a clincher for any party. Realising this, every political party is going all out to woo the youth and involve them in their agenda.

SPECIAL FEATURE 86

Breaking the Sound Barrier

The days of Hindi pop have arrived. Rickshaw pullers, maidservants and teenagers now simultaneously swing to Alisha Chinai, Sharon Prabhakar, Preeti Sagar and Ila Arun. While Malkit Singh heralds the resurgence of Punjabi pop-folk music both in India and abroad.

MUSIC 162

CONTENTS

COMMENT 11
CAPITALOOK 14
VOICES 19
INDIANOTES 20
SPECIAL REPORTS
Kashmir: On a Short Fuse 26
The Government:
Mounting Inertia 30
Indira Assassination Conspiracy:
Widening the Web 40
The Left Parties: Dialectical Wars 51
Bodoland Agitation:
Turn for the Worse 56
CURRENT EVENTS
Gujarat: Deep-Rooted Scandal 63
Tamil Nadu:
Marriage of Convenience 69
Kerala: Striking Out 72
West Bengal: Powerful Problem 77
Bottomline: Tracing the Leak 78
STATENOTES 83
SPECIAL FEATURE
New Voters: Youth Power 86
COVER STORY
Afghanistan: Portrait of a Tragedy 92
TRADE WINDS 109
BUSINESS
ITC: Talking Marriage 110
Ashwani Khurana: A Taxing Honour 113
Newspaper Industry: Heavy Burden 119
Southern Agrifurane: Taken Over 120
India Cement: Building Anew 125
Pharmaceuticals: Export Surge 128
Dinesh Singh: Export Boost Needed 133
BUSINESSNOTES 139
The Markets: Striking Trend 140
THE ECONOMY MONITOR 142
NEIGHBOURS
Nepal: Towards Estrangement 144
LIFESTYLE
Auctions: The Foreign Frenzy 152
Calcutta: Moving to a New Rhythm 156
CRIME
Gujarat: Slide into Lawlessness 158
CINEMA
Kannada Films: Breaking Taboos 160
MUSIC
Hindi Pop:
Breaking the Sound Barrier 162
SPORTS
Athletics: Running Aground 167
THEATRE
Joseph Ka Muquddma:
Despair of the Times 168
TELEVISION
Bharat ki Chhap: Science on Screen 173
MEDIAWATCH 178
SCIENCENOTES 183
THE ARTS
Tamil Theatre:
Breaking Fresh Ground 186
BOOKS
Action Replay 191
Stray Thoughts 192
EYE-CATCHERS 196

Cover Photograph by PRASHANT PANJIAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"When I want a mango drink I want only Rasna Mango Ripe!"

"Because you see no mango drink tastes as good as Rasna Mango Ripe. And no mango drink pack gives you as much as Rasna Mango Ripe... 32 glasses! And Mummy says no mango drink is as economical as Rasna Mango Ripe. And she can do so much with it. Like ice creams and milk shakes."

Orange ☐ Pineapple ☐ Lime ☐ Shahi Gulab ☐ Kala Khatta ☐ Kool Khus ☐ Kesar Elaichi

Refreshing

11 lovable flavours

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Mudra:A:EAMR:4566

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Elaichi Masala Soda (Jal Jeera) ☐ Tooti Fruiti ☐ Mango Ripe ☐ Grape Glory

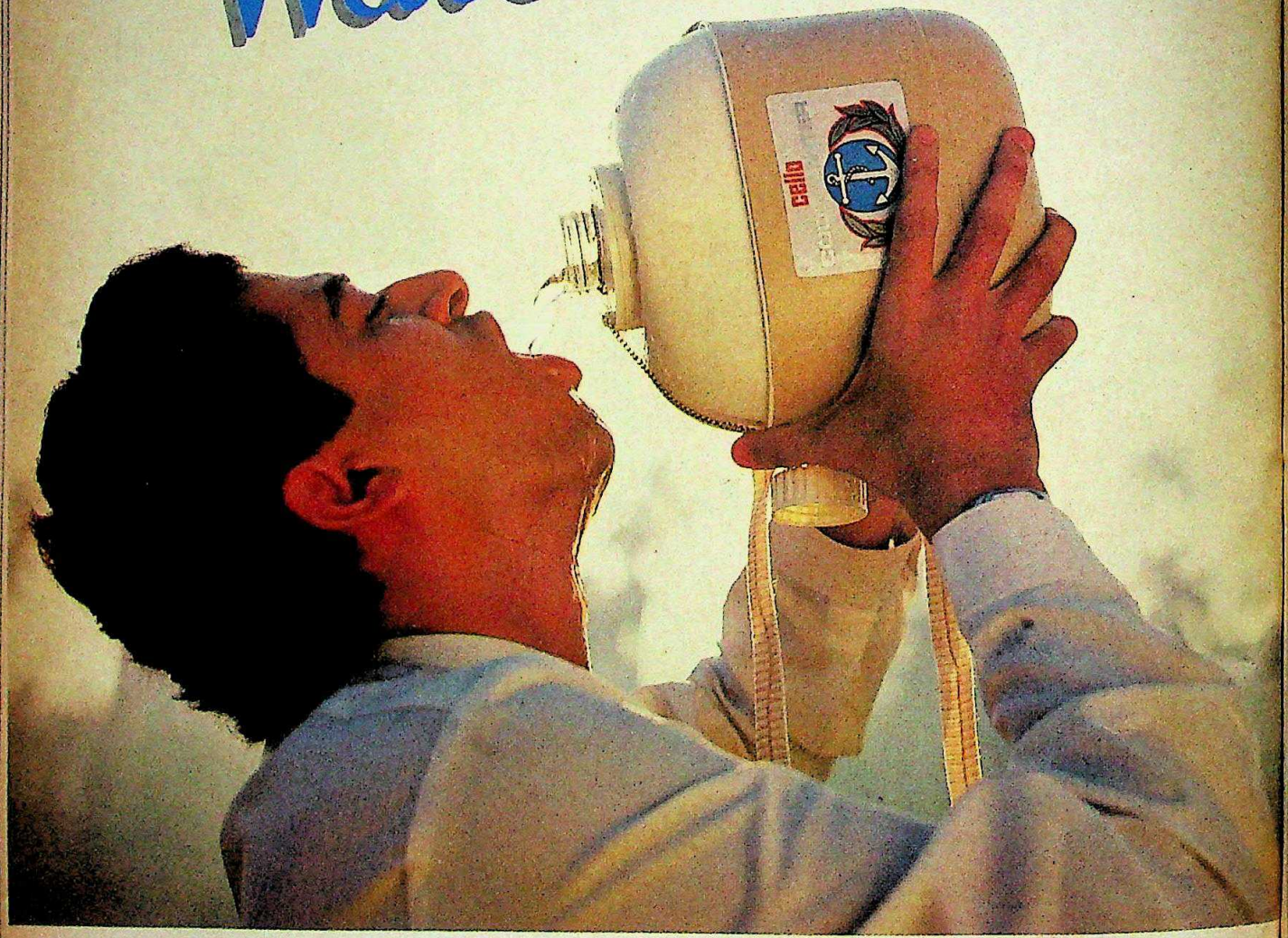
Rasna

at a lovable price.

Copyright © 1981 Marvel Comics Group.
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Waterrelief!



Keep CelloCool this summer.

Cool, cool water whenever you need it. At the twist of a lid. That's the promise of CelloCool water bottles. Insulated with polyurethane supplied by Elastogran Polyurethane Group belonging to BASF Germany, to keep out the summer. To keep water cold for hours, no matter how hot the weather gets. CelloCool comes in a range of sizes, styles and colours for the whole family. At work, at school, when travelling, whenever thirst could strike... why be caught without a CelloCool water bottle?

CELLO-COOL

Insulated Water Bottles

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Manufactured by **Wimco Pen Co.** (Thermoware Division) 11, Mehta Industrial Estate, 18, Patel Road, Goregaon (East), Bombay 400 063. Tel: 6732694-6735369 Telex: 011-78253 CELO-IN

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA TODAY
THE COMPLETE NEWSMAGAZINE

VOLUME XIV NUMBER 8
FOR THE FORTNIGHT APRIL 16-30, 1989

EDITOR
AROON PURIE

EXECUTIVE EDITOR — INDERJIT BADHWAR
DEPUTY EDITOR — DILIP BOBB
SENIOR EDITOR — PRABHU CHAWLA
PICTURE EDITOR — RAGHU RAI
FEATURES EDITOR — SHEKHAR GUPTA
ASSOCIATE EDITOR — RAMINDAR SINGH
ASSISTANT EDITOR — P.G. MATHAI

CORRESPONDENTS
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT — RAJ CHENGAPPA
NEW DELHI — MADHU JAIN, PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA, SIMRAN BHARGAVA, DAVID DEVADAS, PANKAJ PACHAURI, SURAJEET DAS GUPTA
AHMEDABAD — UDAY MAHURKAR
BANGALORE — CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA
BHOPAL — N.K. SINGH
BOMBAY — M. RAHMAN, SALIL TRIPATHI, S.N. VASUKI
CALCUTTA — FARZAND AHMED, KAMALJEET RATTAN
HYDERABAD — AMARNATH K. MENON
LUCKNOW — DILIP AWASTHI
MADRAS — C.S.G PRASAD
PATNA — UTTAM SENGUPTA
TRIVANDRUM — RAMESH MENON
NEWS COORDINATOR — SANDHYA MULCHANDANI

ART EDITOR — SHIRLEY JOSHUA

CARTOONIST — AJIT NINAN MATHEW
CARTOGRAPHER — B.K. SHARMA
PRODUCTION IN-CHARGE — ANURADHA KAPOOR
LAYOUT ARTISTS — ANUP GUPTA, PEALI DUTTA GUPTA, PRABAL MANDAL, KAMINI SINGH

ASSISTANT PICTURE EDITOR — BHAWAN SINGH
PHOTOGRAPHERS — PRAMOD PUSHKARNA, PRASHANT PANJIAR, NAMAS BHOJANI, SHYAM TEKWANI

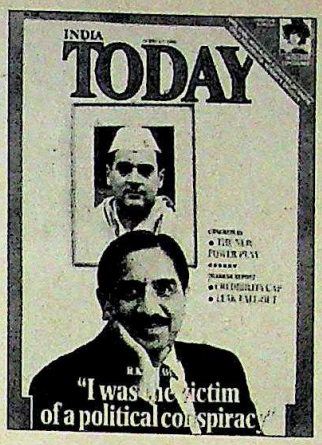
COPY DESK — SABA NAQVI BHAUMIK, NANDITA SARDANA, VIDHU KHANNA

MARKETING DIRECTOR — MOHINI BHULLAR

REGIONAL MANAGERS ADVERTISING
BOMBAY — NEENA MONGIA
NEW DELHI — NAGINDER RISHI
CALCUTTA — MEERA PAUL

ADVERTISING MANAGERS
MADRAS — R. ANAND
BANGALORE — S.J. NAIDU

• EDITORIAL OFFICE LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. F-14/15, CONNAUGHT PLACE NEW DELHI 110001. PHONE: 3315801-4, TELEX: 31-4345 INTO IN CABLE: LIVMEDIA, NEW DELHI • SUBSCRIPTIONS: INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT, POST BOX 69, FARIDABAD HARYANA • TRADE CIRCULATION: INDIA TODAY CIRCULATION MANAGER, F-14 CONNAUGHT PLACE, MIDDLE CIRCLE, NEW DELHI. PHONE: 3313076-8. TELEX: 31-62634 INTO IN • ADVERTISING OFFICES: 28 A&B JOLLY MAKER CHAMBER II, NARIMAN POINT, BOMBAY-400021. PHONE: 2026152, 2029326, 2025678. TELEX: 11-5373 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BOMBAY • 14 CONNAUGHT CIRCUS, NEW DELHI-110001. PHONES: 3325478, 3321123 AND 321273, TELEX: 31-62124 THOM IN. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, NEW DELHI • FAGUN CHAMBERS, 26 COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF ROAD, MADRAS-600105. PHONE: 477188, 479163. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, MADRAS • 74/1 ST. MARKS ROAD, BANGALORE-560001. PHONE: 568448, 579037, 579089. CABLE: LIVMEDIA, BANGALORE • 12C EVEREST 46C CHOWRINGHEE ROAD, CALCUTTA-700016. PHONE: 445878, 447726. CABLE: LIVINMEDIA, CALCUTTA • COPYRIGHT 1987 LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. REPRODUCTION IN ANY MANNER IS PROHIBITED. PUBLISHED BY AROON PURIE FOR LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD. NEW DELHI AND PRINTED AT THOMSON PRESS (INDIA) LTD, FARIDABAD HARYANA • INDIA TODAY DOES NOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR RETURNING UNSOLICITED PUBLICATION MATERIAL •



ABSENCE OF MOTIVE

With reference to your cover story on the Thakkar Commission report ("Eye of the Storm", April 15), it must be pointed out that behind every murder there is a motive. What would R.K. Dhawan have gained from the death of Mrs Gandhi when in her lifetime he was riding high? As for his mixing up the events of October 31, 1984, he was asked to recall them after six months. Can Justice Thakkar recollect, minute by minute, every one of his actions on October 31, 1988?

New Delhi — ANIL SATWICK

■ The way the Government has found itself going around in circles ever since the leak of the Thakkar Commission report, it wouldn't be wrong to refer to it as the 'Chakkar' commission report.

Amritsar — KAMALJIT SINGH AHLUWALIA

THE REAL PAM

Your special feature ("Indecent Exposures", April 15) brought out the quintessential Pamella Singh Bordes. She has achieved the goal she craved—name, fame and money—even though it has come from notoriety. But she is obviously no security threat.

Patna — DEEPALI SINHA

■ The press in India and elsewhere is peeling poor Pamella like an orange. There are so many such big and small Pamellas all over the world. Being an Indian girl she is pinned down in the papers abroad and we are simply following. Journalists should investigate the 'master' behind her who pushed her into this life-style.

Delhi — RAKESH BHAN DASS

AT THE CROSSROADS

Your cover story on the Indian male ("Mid-Life Blues", March 31) was an excellent assessment of the psychology of the Indian male at the crossroads of his life. The mid-40s form a transition period when he undertakes an introspection of his past achievements and failures.

Lucknow — NARENDRA MOHAN PANT

■ The crisis is mainly on account of the fragmentation of Indian values, which has resulted in the priorities of urban males changing. Our society is becoming more and more material. The first priority is to earn money, the second is to earn even more money. Accordingly, the emotional demands on him to achieve the maximum by the time he is 40 are intense, leaving little time or room for cultivating a creative hobby, or for building a meaningful relationship. The result: a feeling of emptiness.

Bombay — AJAY ZAVERI

■ Your article was essentially one-sided. For our rural populace, this syndrome would be totally foreign. And a majority of the Indian males live in villages. That you should have restricted your survey to only urban areas leaves much to be desired.

Kanpur — RAJIV GOGTE

■ It is not just the middle-aged who experience the blues. In today's hectic life, even teenagers have bouts of feeling left out, weak or sad. Learning to cope with these is what makes life worth living, from teenage to middle age.

Baroda — AMIT LOIWAL

SINGULAR ACHIEVEMENT

Congratulations for winning the Best Asian Magazine of the Year award. It gives me still greater pleasure to learn that three of the seven awards instituted by the Asian World Publishing Congress were bagged by INDIA TODAY. May the magazine surge ahead with redoubled speed in the years to come!

Bilaspur — W.G. ATHAVALE

■ Our hearty congratulations for the prestigious awards won by your magazine. We hope it will receive more honours in the media world by exposing and propagating the developmental activities initiated in our land.

Hyderabad — B. NAIN DAS

MIRACLE AT VAISHNODEVI

It gives me great satisfaction, a sense of pride and a strong desire to witness the unbelievable miracle at Vaishnodevi ("Pilgrimage's Progress", March 31). It is surprising that such a task could have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been achieved in today's India—with its corruption, red-tapism and degradation of human values becoming an accepted way of life.

Thane — DR AJIT S. GAITONDE

■ The yatra to Vaishnodevi will be a memorable and pleasant experience for those pilgrims who on their earlier visits were looted in the name of the Devi. I happened to visit the shrine in August '88 and found that the entire scenario had changed. Drinking water, sanitation and medical facilities exceeded expectations. I wish more religious centres could be given a similar face-lift. Your feature will definitely encourage more devotees to make another trip to this shrine.

Dehradun — JITENDRA DANDONA

■ One is delighted to note that the Jammu & Kashmir Governor Jagmohan has achieved a miracle other religious places could do with. If one were to look into the affairs of the Jagannath Temple in Puri, one would notice a vast difference in the administration.

We must stop regarding temples as being just repositories of idols. We must take care of them as temples of faith—and hand them over to boards like that of Mata Vaishnodevi.

Balangir, Orissa — CHAMAN LAL AGGARWAL

BETTER PERSPECTIVE

Your article on the ophthalmic industry ("A Change in Vision", March 31) makes interesting reading. Pakistan and the US are far ahead of India, the people there change glasses more frequently and the products available there are superior. We Indians can certainly afford to pay for eyewear (as we do for footwear). Optometry was introduced in India some 30 years ago but it was allowed to be watered down to produce cheap labour for hospitals. We do not lack the talent or capability needed to make use of high technology. Only our planners have lacked perspective. A simple case of wrongly-placed priorities.

Chandigarh — DR H.O. RASTOGI

SHORT-SIGHTED POLICY

The one-year-old Bodo agitation in Assam ("Striking a Separatist Stance", March 31) has gained strength instead of petering out, thanks to the short-sighted policy followed by the Asom Gana Parishad Government in Assam and the Centre's apathy. The state Government has been less than prompt in soothing the injured feelings of the Bodos. Nothing is gained by its belated move to point an accusing finger at the Centre for its own inept handling of the situation. It must take recourse to peaceful means to bring the Bodos back into the mainstream, instead of treating this merely as a law and order problem.

It is also somewhat strange that the National Front has not addressed itself to the problem, though it affects one of its constituents. The Centre too must eschew any political compulsions in coming to the aid of Assam.

Pune — D.B.N. MURTHY

■ The tribals of Assam, including the Bodos, do have some problems which need immediate solution. But, while they have every right to show their grievances in a peaceful way, they have no right to harass the non-tribals living in tribal areas. There is no question of any further fragmentation of Assam.

It is also clear that the Congress(I) is adding fuel to the Bodo movement—since it is the only alternative available to the party—in order to try and come to power in the state.

Hyderabad — UTPAL BORA

JUST A GAME

With reference to your story on motor racing ("Formula for Success", March 15), I confess I find Sholavaram racing rather amusing. International motor racing is a means for product development—many of the advanced western and Japanese technologies such as fuel injection and computerised engine management systems have been tested and perfected through it. What has the Indian automobile industry learnt from Sholavaram? Even our so-called "advanced" Japanese-designed vehicles are technologically little ahead of the antiquated British and Italian designs we continue to use when others have consigned them to museums.

Madras — MEHUL KAMDAR

ANNOUNCEMENT

Owing to a general escalation in production costs and particularly the cost of newsprint, we are compelled to increase the cover price of INDIA TODAY from Rs 8 to Rs 10 with effect from the next issue, that is May 1-15, 1989. The new annual subscription rate will be Rs 192 and will apply to all renewals or new subscriptions received after May 1, 1989.

SORRY STATE

I don't quite agree with your views ("Condemned to Fratricide", March 15) on Afghanistan. The present sorry state of that country has been brought about solely by the overt and covert violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan and the US. Also, the Government of President Najibullah will not fall unless Pakistan invades Afghanistan. It is difficult to believe that a disunited gaggle of semi-trained guerrillas, one that lacks popular support, armour or air force, will be able to defeat a well-trained army that outnumbers them anyway.

I also resent your calling the Soviet Union's entry into Afghanistan an 'invasion'. Such assistance was only rendered under the friendship accord between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

Shillong — BISWASPRIYA PURKAYASTHA

■ Our news media always calls Afghan freedom fighters 'rebels'. This is saddening and shows our mental and political slavery to the Soviet Union. It should be noted that even the brother of Najibullah (who is little more than a Russian puppet) does not recognise his government and has taken political asylum abroad.

Mhow — ABDUL MUBIR KHAN

EXPORT SERVICES

In your feature on foreign exchange reserves ("Conflicting Perceptions", March 15), you have rightly asked whether India is heading for a Latin American-type resource crunch. The problem is that when we consider the foreign exchange situation, we immediately think of remedies such as commodity exports, but overlook the possibility of exporting services. To take one example, the UK is a major exporter of services—its earnings from insurance alone are higher than those from North Sea oil. In India too, nearly 40 per cent of the trade deficit in the sixth plan was covered by invisible earnings. But these largely dried up in the seventh plan.

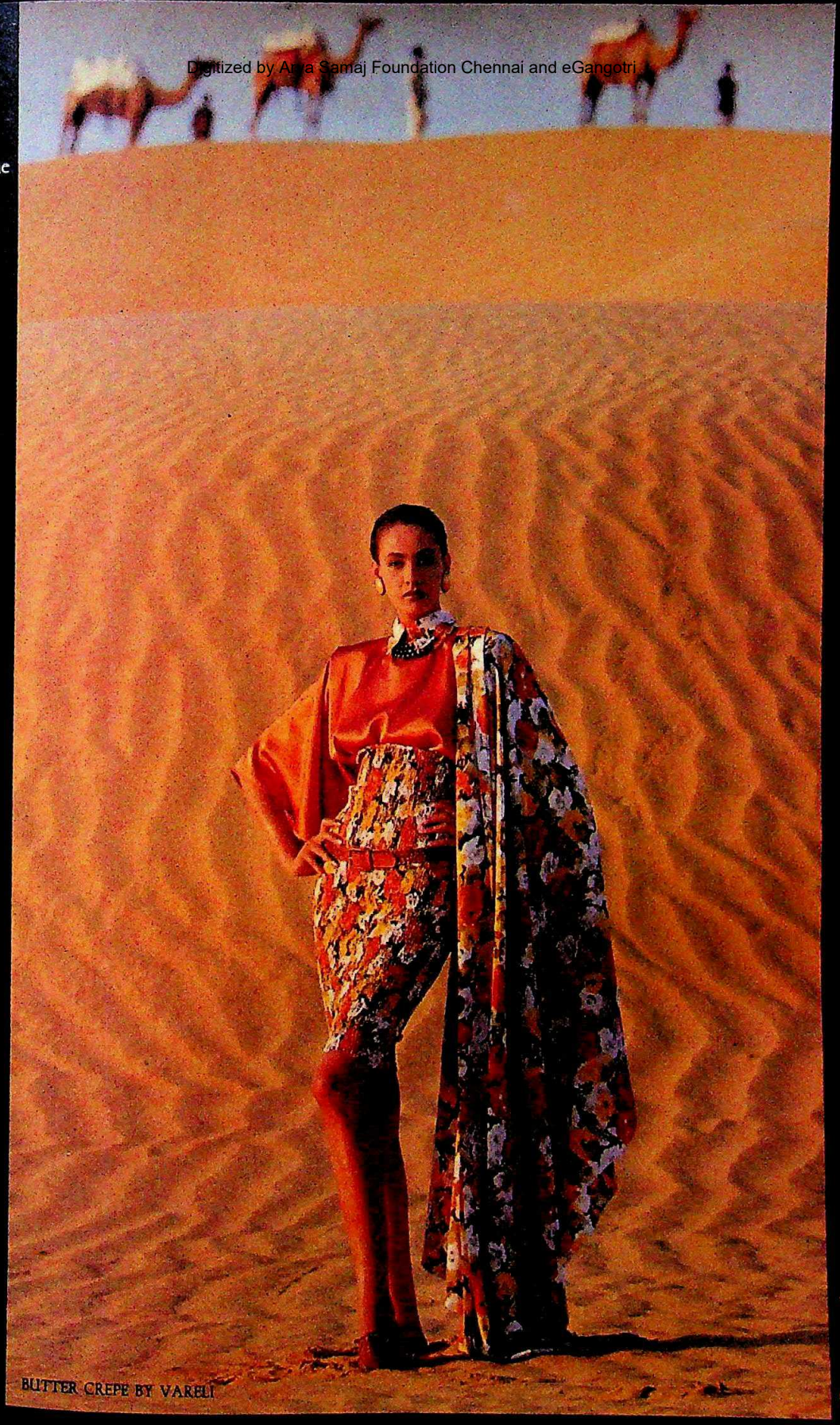
To boost the export of consultancy services, 100 per cent tax relief was given some years ago but this was subsequently reduced to 50 per cent. But the procedural formalities are such that it is difficult to achieve any relief. To give a boost to the service sector, exemption must be allowed on inward foreign exchange remittances based on bank certificates, without their being hampered by red tape.

New Delhi — LAXMI NARAIN MODI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

You are my passion
My fascination
You cast a spell on me
You fascinate me.



BUTTER CREPE BY VARELI

Garden*

VARELI

Fashion Fabrics

Collection, Haridwar

THE PSYCHO-ANALYSIS O

(Shouldn't you know what your Skyb

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

SIS OF A SKYBAGS OWNER...

your Skybag's been saying about you?)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Ha

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Would you believe that Swissair too is an everyday sight in the Far East?

That's right. Swissair flies between Bombay and the Far East every day of the week. To Hong Kong and Seoul on Mondays. Singapore and Jakarta on Tuesdays. Bangkok on Wednesdays. Bangkok and Manila on Thursdays. Hong Kong and Seoul on Fridays. Hong Kong on Saturdays. And, come Sunday, to Singapore. As always, you have the choice of flying our luxurious First, comfortable Business or attractively priced Economy Class. And, our renowned hospitality is a familiar presence on board in all classes, every day.

swissair

For details call your IATA travel agent or the nearest Swissair office.
AHMEDABAD 449149 • BANGALORE 571983 • BOMBAY 2872210 • CALCUTTA 444643 • COCHIN 360380 • DELHI 3325511 • HYDERABAD 224244 • KATHMANDU 222452 • MADRAS 861583

everest/89/SW/13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Practising to Deceive

IT has been said before. It cannot be repeated often enough. An open government is the most potent preventive medicine against the perversion of institutions, which form the corner-stones of a democracy. The less open a government, the less vibrant the democracy of which it purports to be a part. And nowhere is this more evident than in the way the ruling party has handled the Thakkar Commission report. In fact, the report has come to symbolise the whimsy and caprice that have become the hallmarks of the nation's governance over the last several years.

Openness was a credo in which Rajiv Gandhi had once professed a deep faith. During the first flush of his days in office he had gone out of his way to take the Opposition into confidence on vital matters of state and had shared with select opposition leaders the reason behind major policy decisions. There was then a sense of political *noblesse oblige*. And the faith, philosophical though its underpinnings may have been, paid an added dividend of being, simply, a sound and practical way of running things. Differences were not marked by suspicion, rancour, and distrust of motivations. And overall, the Government benefited by the credibility that so naturally informs an open, accessible style of functioning.

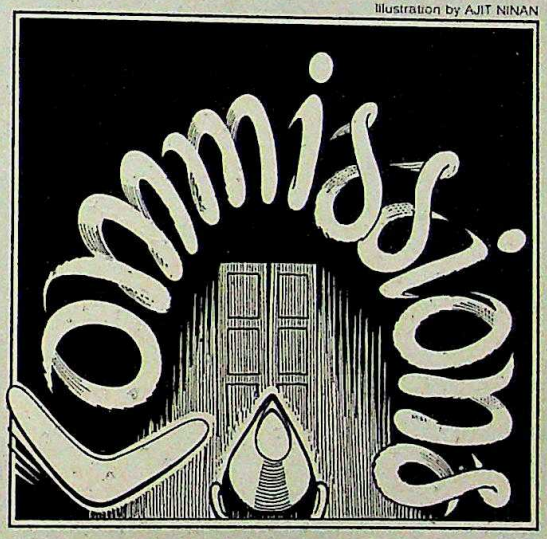


Illustration by AJIT NINAN

A government that shares liberally is always more attractive than a government that hides compulsively. And the true test of whether a government is faithfully committed to principled republicanism always comes during a crunch when the reputations and political livelihoods of the powerful are threatened. Then, does it abide unswervingly by the tenets of constitutional propriety in the interest of safeguarding its institutions or does it duck under the rug of secrecy in the interest of protecting itself from embarrassment?

In this regard, the Rajiv Gandhi Government's actions, whenever confronted with domestic crises, will be judged as displaying a disdain for principle and a penchant for behaviour that is crassly opportunistic. Had the prime minister obeyed his now dearly departed instinct for openness much earlier his government would probably have been saved the enormous embarrassment it is now having to countenance over the Thakkar report. Had he been wisely counselled in November 1986, he would have released the report then, or perhaps shared its contents with members of Parliament. The next wise and logical—and constitutionally proper—move would have been to then allow the law to take its natural course. This would have ensured that no matter how explosive the report, the debate would be confined within the legal system and in the courts rather than become a political bombshell for the prime minister.

The bombshell, doubtless, is of the prime minister's own making. In suppressing the report for what were perhaps the flimsiest of reasons, then passing a highly dubious law denying the access of Parliament—the body representing the real sovereign, the people of India—to reports of commissions of inquiry, then pledging self-righteously in Parliament that the report would never be released on grounds of national security, and finally releasing it minus the annexures—oh! what a tangled web the Government has woven.

So now it finds itself running around witch-hunting within the bureaucracy to plug leaks; defending a man the Government's own inquiry commission called a prime suspect in Mrs Gandhi's assassination; attacking a judge for his having dared to implicate a man who considered Mrs Gandhi 'to be his mother'; telling the world that India was the victim of an international conspiracy; and condemning that very opposition for which Rajiv Gandhi had displayed such solicitude during his first year in office, as traitorous and treacherous.

But, of course, it was the Government that first practised to deceive. And for this sin it is caught up in ugly contradictions. Even as ruling party choirmen in Parliament openly savage Thakkar for daring to indict Dhawan in his report, they also trumpet the report's findings of an international plot to destabilise India. One part of the same man's report is plausible while the other is not! You cannot have your report and eat it too.

It is all a game of political convenience. The same team of special investigators on the basis of whose findings the judge indicts Dhawan, later exonerate Dhawan. And the team is given full access to the entire proceedings that took place behind closed doors before Thakkar. Earlier, there was the Ranganatha Mishra Commission that inquired into the November 1984 riots in Delhi. It exonerated some powerful politicians and then appointed two special committees to investigate the murders and police negligence. But these committees were denied access to the commission's closed-door proceedings because the Government felt the committees could not sit in judgement on a commission's findings.

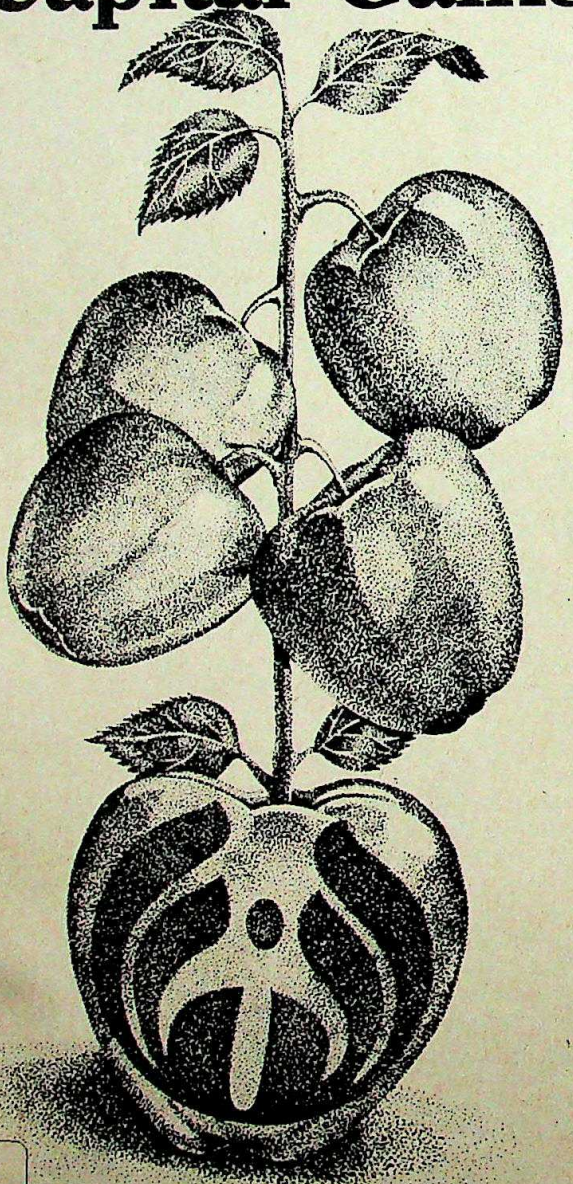
These are games of convenience in which the Opposition, too, now participates. When Thakkar investigated the Fairfax affair—a report released post-haste by the Government because it damned V.P. Singh—the ruling party loved the judge and the Opposition hated him. Today the tables are turned. Also, while the Government condemns the Thakkar leak, it merrily leaks parts of the Kudal Commission report on allegations of foreign payments to opposition politicians.

Games, all games. But the ultimate joke is on Parliament, the bureaucracy, the judiciary and the police. These institutions have become the victims of manipulation and selective secrecy. They are being torn asunder.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

IDBI Capital Bonds An attractive instrument for exemption from Capital Gains Tax.



- Available at par throughout the year.
- Exemption from Capital Gains tax under Section 54E of the Income Tax Act, 1961.
- Exemption from Wealth tax under Section 5(1) (xvie) of the Wealth Tax Act, 1957
- Income tax benefit under Section 80L.
- Interest at 9% p.a. payable half yearly.
- At the investor's option, interest for the full period of 3 years can be paid in advance on discounted basis.
- No deduction of tax at source.
- Outstation cheques accepted and cost of collection will be borne by IDBI.

25TH YEAR OF SERVICE TO INDUSTRY

For further details contact the nearest IDBI office or write to Manager.

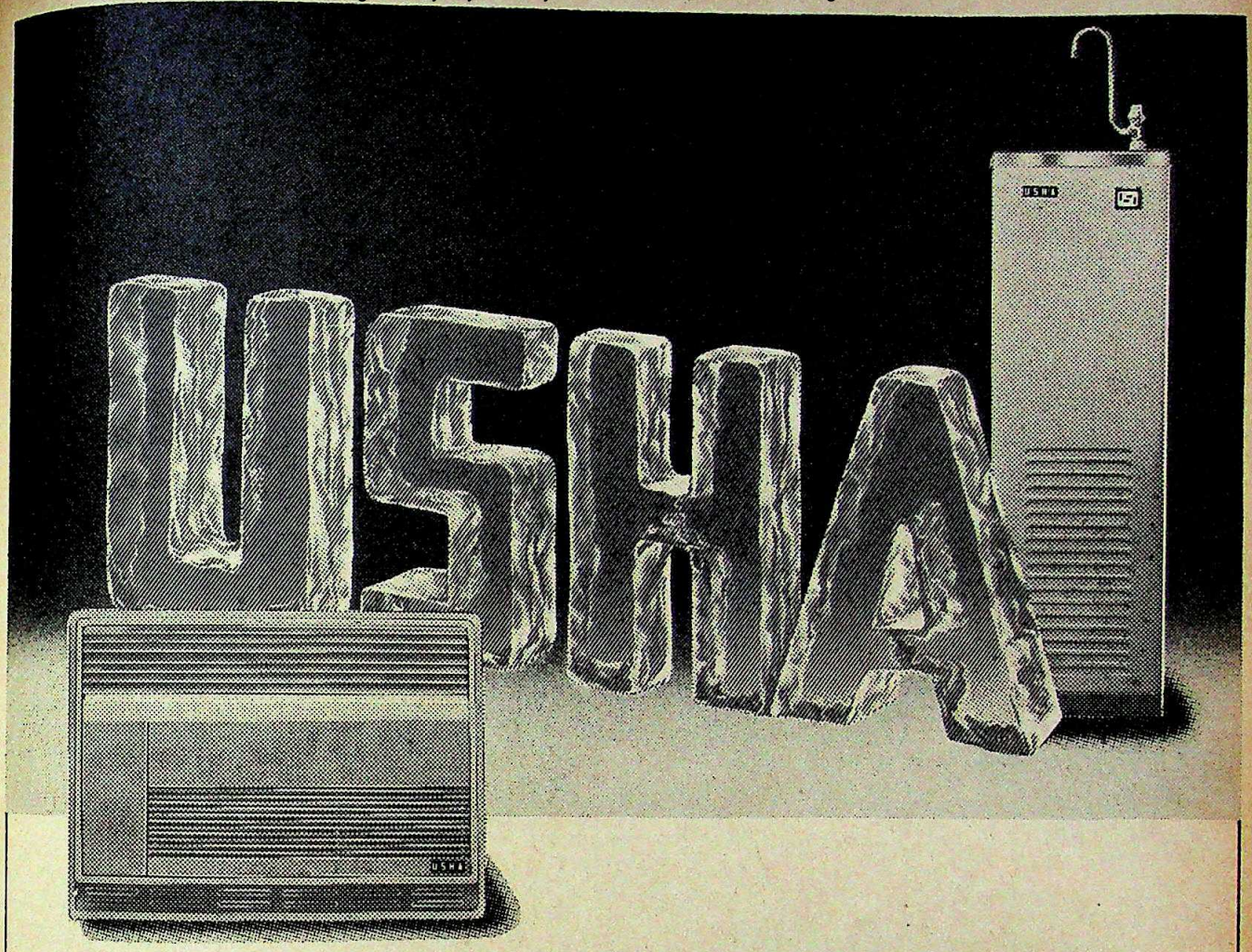
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT BANK OF INDIA

Jolly Maker Chambers No. 2, 225, Vinay K. Shah Marg, Nariman Point, Bombay 400 021.

Sobhagya-B-188

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A ONE-WORD DEFINITION FOR LASTING QUALITY.

USHA AIR CONDITIONERS AND WATER COOLERS

USHA. A name that has spelt quality for over 25 years. Quality that is proven in each of its refrigeration appliances.

USHA. The largest selling name in Water Coolers, with the widest range — over 12 models. With capacities from 50 to 1200 glasses of cold refreshing water per hour. To suit every budget, every need.

USHA. The name that has come to stay in Air Conditioners. With outstanding product features, incorporating the latest in airconditioning technology. Offering the options of hand crafted, wood-finish grills to suit any decor.

USHA. Backed by a country-wide network of over 300 service outlets for efficient and dependable service.

USHA

PERFORMANCE THAT SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

Shriram Refrigeration Industries Ltd.

ALSO AVAILABLE ON DGS & D RATE CONTRACT

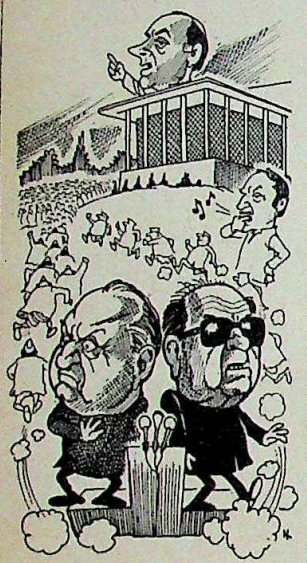
MARKETING HEADQUARTERS ● Balanagar Township, **HYDERABAD:** Tel: 260103, 264405
SALES OFFICES: ●**DELHI:** Tel: 5416753, 5415371, 5438111, 5431995. ● **LUCKNOW:** Tel: 79004. ●**BOMBAY:** Tel: 4370982, 4370983
●**AHMEDABAD:** Tel: 399370, 396534 ●**MADRAS:** Tel: 619383, 619360.●**BANGALORE:** Tel: 646421. ●**SECUNDERABAD:** Tel: 847468
●**CALCUTTA:** Tel: 299529, 297800, 297633, 294953. ●**PATNA** ●**BHUBANESWAR** ●**GUWAHATI** ●**JAIPUR**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Missing MPs

● The ruling party, it seems, is finding it increasingly difficult to find MPs to rally in large numbers at confabs billed as VVIP functions. One such recent occasion was a seminar—to be addressed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi—for a visiting delegation



of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The prime minister was to appear just before noon but at the last minute he was informed that his appearance had been postponed until the evening. What Rajiv did not know was that the organisers had taken this decision in panic because not even a handful of MPs had shown up to attend. It was then left to the AICC(I) general secretaries, V.N. Gadgil and Ghulam Nabi Azad, to drum up an audience of MPs, who were rushed to the Parliament Annexe for the evening seminar.

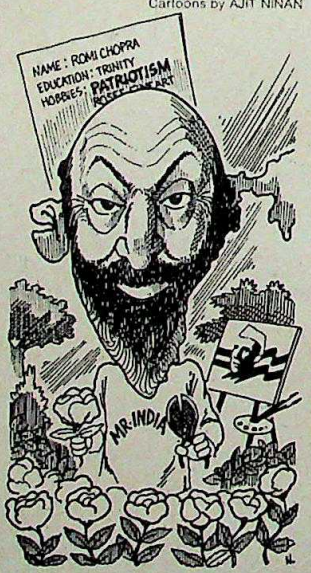
This particular hustle was successful, but elsewhere, audiences continued to be a problem. Hardly a dozen of the 100-odd invitees turned up at the dinner hosted for the visiting delegation by Union Information Minister H.K.L. Bhagat and Delhi Lt-Governor Romesh Bhandari. Both were left red-faced, and spent the evening trying to make long-winded conversations with their guests. Shows that even the usually taciturn Bhagat can turn garrulous when diplomacy demands it.

Mr India

● Some collect stamps, others coins. A few prefer to potter around a garden while others may like yachting, playing golf, listening to Beethoven or Bappi Lahiri. These are the rather commonplace hobbies people have. But there is one high-flying advertising consultant in the capital with a rather unusual pastime. Not that he swallows swords or snakes or things like that. It's simply that when this particular gent was asked to specify his favourite hobby, he declared: "Patriotism."

The patriot is none other than Romesh ('Romi') Chopra, a member of the prime minister's entourage and until recently a key official of the Nehru Centenary Committee from which he was dropped after his name was associated with some of the more contro-

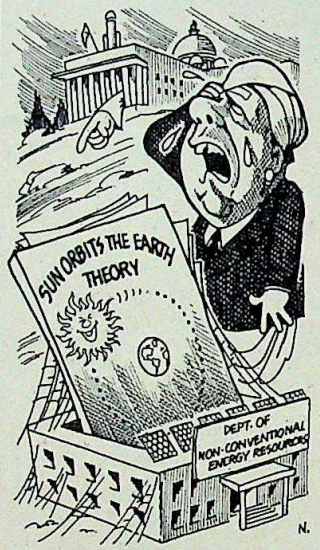
Cartoons by AJIT NINAN



versial tamashas organised by that body. It is the latest addendum to the members' directory of the Oxford and Cambridge Society of India that lists under Trinity-educated Chopra's name, 'patriotism' as his first hobby. 'Gardening' follows with 'fine arts' coming a poor third. Chopra certainly seems to know how to run for his country.

Earthshaker

● Copernicus ought to be on guard: the world according to Subramaniam is here. C.S. Subramaniam is a Madurai-based astronomer who has spent a great chunk of his life trying to prove that theories about the solar system, as well as the entire body of astro-



physical knowledge derived from the West, are erroneous. He has presented papers, drawings and documents purporting to prove that the earth is a non-moving body.

Unable to persuade his colleagues to take him seriously, Subramaniam finally took his plea to the country's court of last resort—the Prime Minister's Office (PMO). His registered letter was entitled: "Appeal for settlement of a dispute between the scientists and me regarding movements of the earth."

And here Subramaniam —at long last—received prompt attention. His untiring campaign against the way the solar system is supposed to work may yet yield unseen dividends. For the PMO has indeed taken action. It has informed Subramaniam in writing that his appeal "is being forwarded for appropriate action to the Department of Non-Conventional Energy Resources". Well, perhaps the powerful PMO can attempt to move the earth, though it doesn't seem capable of moving the bureaucracy.

Express Eye

● The capital's intelligence community is still going around in circles in the aftermath of the Thakkar Commission report leaks. Its political bosses have been blaming it for not sleuthing hard enough—otherwise, how else could the R.K. Dhawan bomb that exploded in the *Indian Express* have escaped prior detection?

It is now an open secret that *Express'* teleprinter and telex lines are tapped in order to allow the Government to keep track of exposes and take pre-emptive action where possible. But Arun Shourie, the newspaper's crusading editor who delights in checkmating the Government, has been keeping a step ahead.

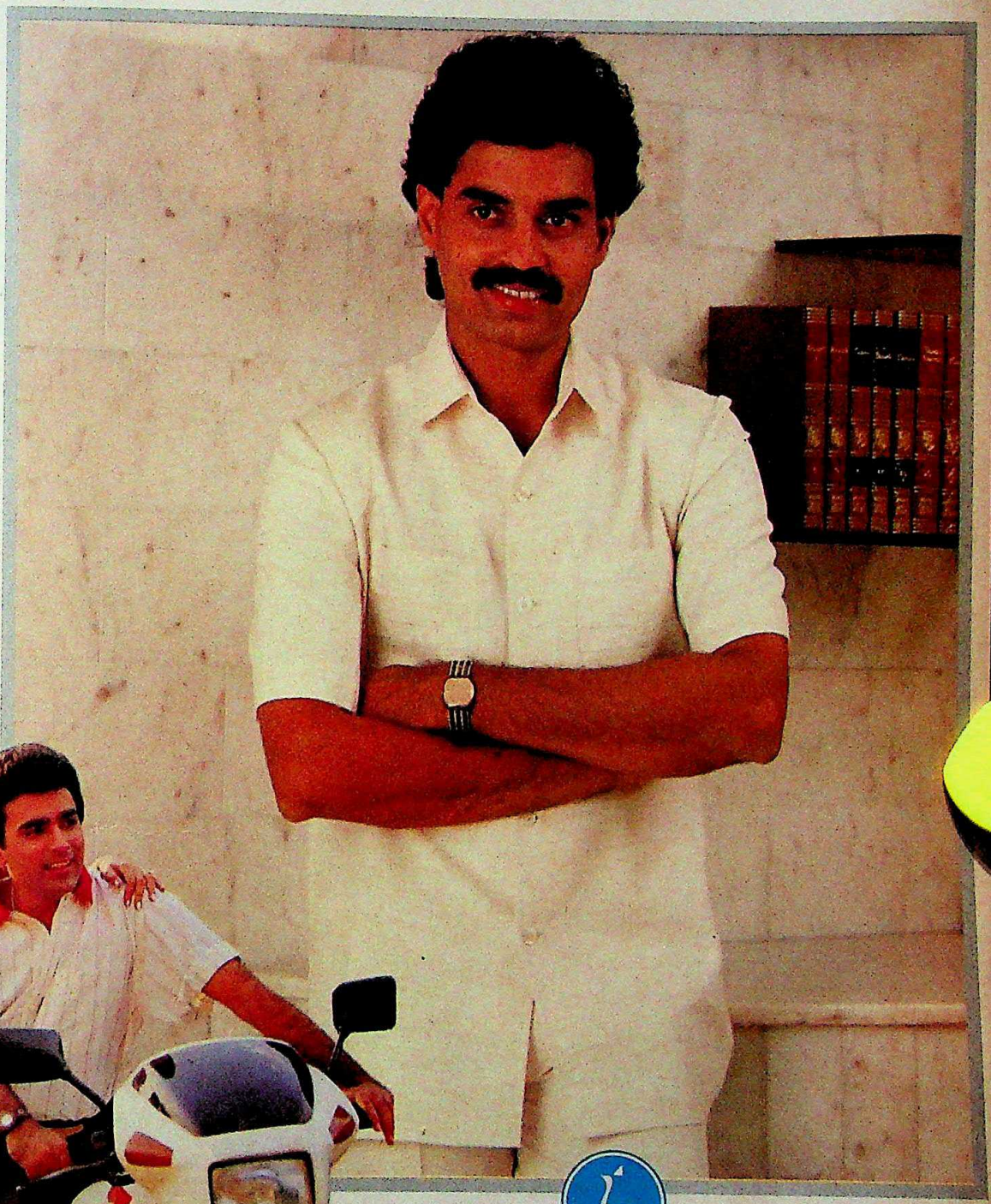
Instead of sending the Dhawan story on the teleprinter lines to the 11 centres across the country from

where the newspaper's various editions are published, he sent them through special couriers. And now, post facto, the vanquished sleuths have begun a search for which courier services were used and when, in order to keep a closer tab on them. Infiltrating them is one method being discussed. Shourie, of course, isn't saying a thing.

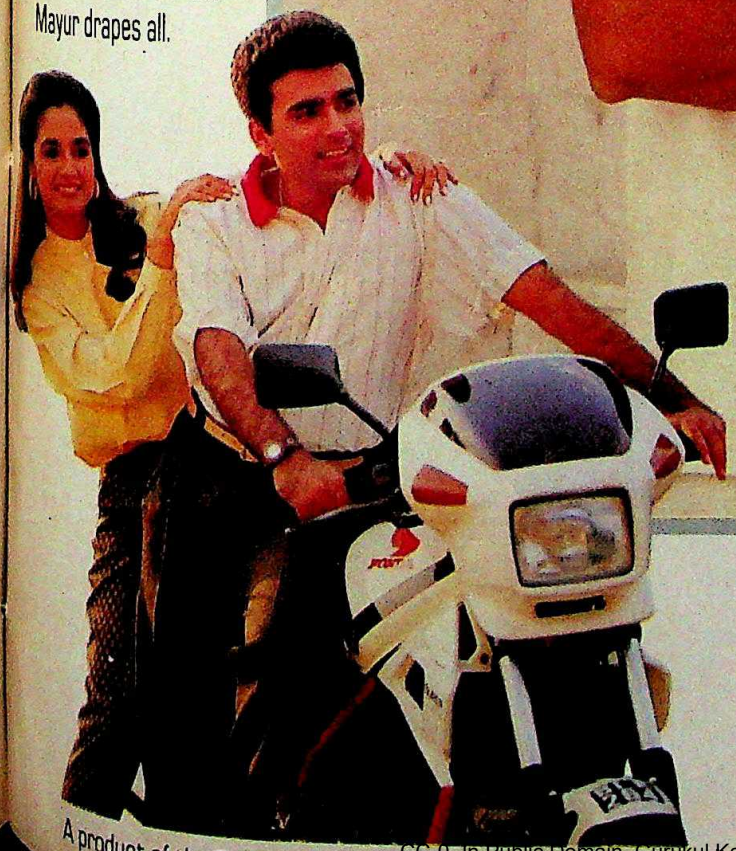
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Casuals or Formals, That's Great Style!



An all occasion fabric that is crafted to finery. From awe inspiring range of formals to fun filled fabrics of casual wear. Mayur drapes all.



MAYUR®

Suitings • Shirtings

THAT'S GREAT STYLE!

A product of the Rajasthan Spinning & Weaving Mills Ltd.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Mudra:A:RSW:4626

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In 1839, Louis Daguerre invented the first practical photographic process. Later photographers specialized in different forms of photography, including fashion. Since 1977, leading photographers like Pablo Bartholomew, Wilas Bhende,

The Superlatives

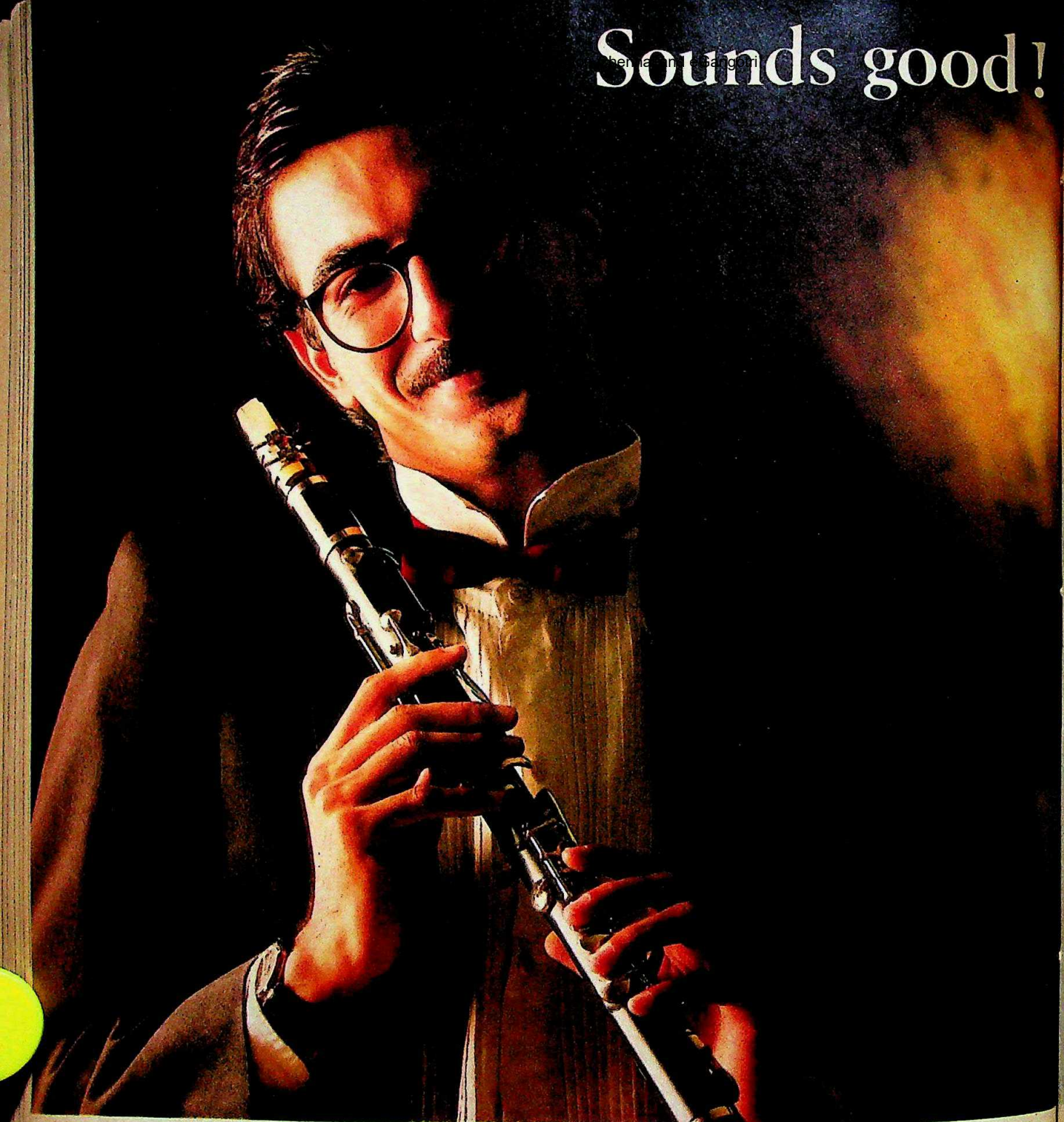
VIMAL
A RELIANCE PRODUCT

Dress Material

ifferent
nende.

Suresh Cordo, Ritu Nanda, D. L. Oberoi, Denzil Sequeira, Suresh Sheth and Shantanu Sheorey have shot beautiful image
for Vimal. Which helped create the Vimal image. ■ Vimal celebrates 150 eventful years of photography.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



I had read all about how the top grade limestone from Rajasthan and the latest technology from Denmark go into the making of New JK Cement.

So when my contractor asked me why JK, I said because it sounds good.

Of course it's not 'sounds' as in music, I said.

VIJAY STAMBH

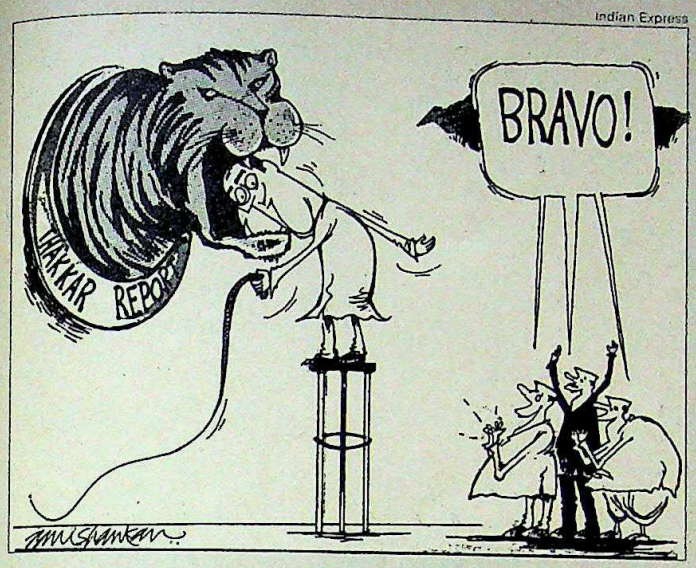
Give your house the best there is!

NEW JK CEMENT

Works: Nimbahera, Rajasthan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



• *I believe that we may get more benefits if we stay as a part of China.*

■ DALAI LAMA in *The Sunday Observer*

• *When my wife and daughters were manhandled by the police during the MGR rule, you didn't raise such a hue and cry then because I am an ordinary chap, a Sudra.*

■ M. KARUNANIDHI to Congressmen in the Tamil Nadu Assembly

• *I did not call Karunanidhi a criminal. I only said he had committed a criminal act.*

■ JAYALALITHA at a press conference

• *My ears turn red even now at the abuses showered on her (Jayalalitha) by the minister. I never knew there were such terms in the Tamil language.*

■ KUMARI ANANDAN, Tamil Nadu Congress(I) leader, in *The Telegraph*

• *The British are obsessed with sex, the kinkier the better...Indians are obsessed with clerks. First it was M.O. Mathai...Now it's a man called R.K. Dhawan.*

■ JAY DUBASHI in *Organiser*

• *This is a leaking government. It will fall.*

■ L.K. ADVANI in the Rajya Sabha

• *Rajiv's Government is determined to saw off its leg. But it believes in doing so an inch a day.*

■ ARUN SHOURIE in *Indian Express*

• *You can ask the surgeon at my last heart operation. As he cut me, each drop of my blood was saying, I'm innocent, I'm innocent.*

■ A.R. ANTULAY, former chief minister of Maharashtra, in *Bombay*

• *I am very spiritual. I will come through this stronger. I have great karma. I will have an inner cleanliness.*

■ PAMELLA BORDES in *The Daily Express*, London

• *Golf is a sport in which a small white ball is chased by men who are too old to chase anything else.*

■ JAG PARVESH CHANDRA, chief executive councillor of Delhi, quoted in *Indian Express*

• *It's great fun having five husbands, only I'm a little scared of Bheema. He's so huge.*

■ RUPA GANGULY, on playing Draupadi in *Mahabharat*, quoted in *Filmfare*

• *All I can see on Anil (Kapoor) is hair, hair and more hair. He is a barber's delight, not a woman's.*

■ DIMPLE KAPADIA in *Movie*

FILL UP

this coupon and listen to your favourite sound: a child's laugh.

Fun and laughs are as vital to a child as the air he or she breathes. And good clean fun is what the Disney Today comic magazine is all about.

So why not fill up this coupon and make everybody happy.

Save upto 20% on cover price

Mail to:
Living Media India Ltd.
Subscription Department
Thomson Press Building
P.B. No. 706, Delhi-Mathura Road
Faridabad-121 007 (HARYANA)

I want a subscription for my child. Here is my ☐ Annual: Rs. 96/- ☐ 6 monthly Rs. 50/-subscription for the English edition.
I am paying by :
Cheque/M.O./D.D. No. _____
Please mail my copy to:
Name _____
Age _____ Sex _____
Address _____
_____
_____
School _____
Parent/Guardian's signature _____
Please draw remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd.

114

WALT DISNEY'S
DISNEY TODAY
Available every fortnight in English and Hindi.

© 1987 THE WALT DISNEY CO., USA.

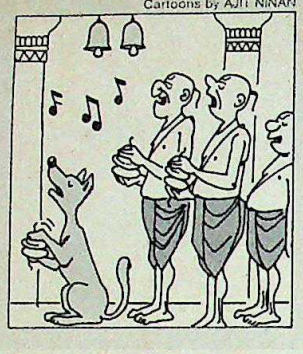
MILESTONES/DT/114 a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Cartoons by AJIT NINAN

PRAYING PARIAH



■ Meet Moti the devout dog. He is to Delhi's templegoers what Malaysia's famous praying cat is to the devout of Kuala Lumpur: an object of curiosity, even affection. The praying pariah lives near the Parmarth mandir in south Delhi's affluent Safdarjung Enclave and sways to the chant of hymns and the tolling of mandir bells. No religious ceremony is complete without the front-row presence of the devout dog. Often, Moti lends his canine voice to the chanting: praying perhaps that others of his tribe find deliverance from mundane chores such as scrummaging for bones in dust bins and doing menial jobs for tough masters. Moti himself will not touch a bone; he is, remarkably, a strict vegetarian who relishes rice, but abhors garlic and onion. He has another human weakness. Come Sunday morning and he cannot be budged from yet another of his favourite positions: in front of the TV set when the serial *Mahabharat* is on. Wow.

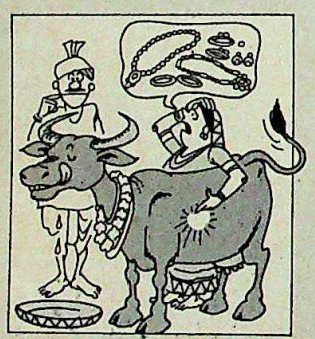
MAYOR'S MANTLE

■ When he was elected Mayor, C. Mohsin of Calicut naturally gave some thought to the paraphernalia of his distinguished office. But he was dismayed to find that the mantle literally did not fit. The corporation's budget session was due and the mayor wanted to make an imposing appearance, in full regalia. So he took the ill-fitting mayoral gown to a reputed tailor's shop.

As luck would have it, the tailor's shop was closed for a few days prior to the meeting. When the mayor finally sent his peon to reclaim the gown on the day of the session, he did not return for a long time. So the corporation

meeting began with the deputy mayor presiding and Mohsin confined to his chamber, fuming and fretting. The mayor blamed it on the peon, but even he would not agree to the suspension of the rather slow-moving employee. Ultimately the mayor got his official gown, and the peon escaped with a dressing down.

GOLDEN MEAL



■ It was a costly mishap when it happened, 11 years ago. A farmer of Diwal village in Hissar, Haryana, brought home a new buffalo to a ceremonial welcome by his wife: a sumptuous mix of jaggery and flour which was offered in a brass *thaali*. But the wife forgot she had placed her jewellery too in the *thaali*. By the time she remembered and rushed back from the well, where she had gone to collect water, the buffalo had made a meal of the eight tolas of jewellery which went in smoothly with the jaggery and flour. They were advised to kill the buffalo, but the farmer was not one to spill blood for the sake of his wife's ornaments. So they waited and watched as the state's most precious buffalo provided them much milk and anxiety. Recently the animal died and a veterinary surgeon was called in to conduct a treasure hunt in the buffalo's stomach. The gold was intact. Its glitter may have dimmed, but its value had more than doubled.

THE HOUSE HELMET

■ After the latest melee in the Tamil Nadu Assembly, Janata member Y. Venkatesa Dikshitar, who feared injury to both mind and body, ventured into the press room and borrowed a helmet from one of the reporters. Strapping it on, he strode towards the assembly chamber, certain that he had discovered an original way to keep head and honour intact. But the ever watchful watch and ward staff, the quaint parliamentary terminology used to describe civilian guards, politely intervened and took charge of his helmet. After all, one man's protection can be

another man's weapon. After question hour, the legislator wanted to know what had happened to the helmet. "It is safe in my chamber," the speaker replied. Maybe the wary Dikshitar will now acquire an MLA-proof jacket and ear-plugs to ward off those with unparliamentary intentions.

MONKEY MUSIC

■ It was a classic case of apeing. The watchman of the Kendriya Vidyalaya in Tezpur, Assam, was attracted by the sound of hard-metal music coming from the closed room where the musical instruments of the school band were stored. Had the students

sneaked back in to produce more exotic sounds? No, but some others had. Inside was a band of monkeys playing simian rock. Not only that. Thrilled by the cacophony some appreciative monkeys had settled down on the benches as the audience. The monkeys inhabiting the village had obviously been watching and hearing the school band and had decided to prove that musical talent existed even one octave lower down on the evolutionary scale. But the watchman disagreed. Afraid that the saxophoney musicians would damage the instruments, he chased the monkeys right around the block.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

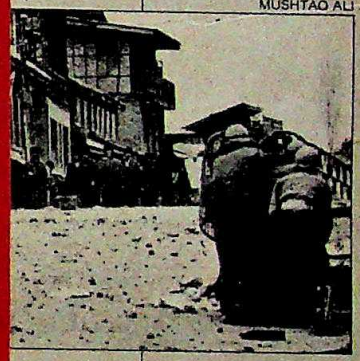
SEE BETWEEN THE LINES

INDIA TODAY
Presents
NEWSTRACK
The newsmagazine to watch

ts

ged on the stage for a nt. The vio- ts of Assam of political strangers to rous differ- s of old have senal. d alarming spark but it the land of mote part of se an entire history of vi- c weapons. expediency

MUSHTAQ ALI



Farooq Abdullah's failures and the Centre's indifference have provided ammunition for militants in Kashmir.

cal vacuum ver before. ailures and nt that pro-

a country embarrass- report the sh attack on it has filed. irators will overnment ve that two against the ament and

For Tamil Nadu, the Congress(I)-Jayalalitha alliance may mean a return to instability.

assassinate a prime minister were allowed to roam free on bail all this time. More so, since for four years, no cases were filed against the Jodhpur detenus.

The problem is that a government fast running out of credibility has no political option left but to display increasing aggressiveness. The alliance between the Congress(I) and Jayalalitha—who were on opposite sides of the electoral fence as recently as three months ago—may be a marriage of convenience but the dowry will be an escalation in the effort to undermine Karunanidhi and a return to instability in Tamil Nadu.

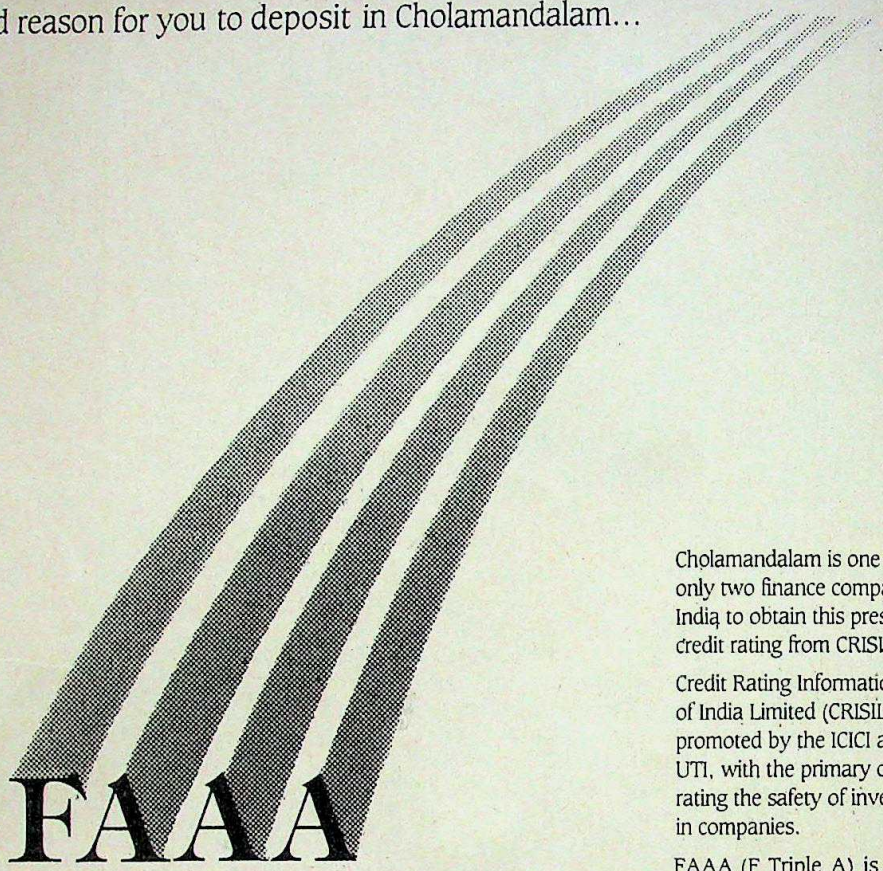
Similarly, the attack by NSUI troopers on Ram Jethmalani is an indication that it is open season on persistent opponents of the Gandhi dynasty. However unpalatable it might be, the current conflict of interests can only result in an increasing interest in conflict.

—DILIP BOBB

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Yet another valid reason for you to deposit in Cholamandalam...



Cholamandalam is one of the only two finance companies in India to obtain this prestigious credit rating from CRISIL.

Credit Rating Information Services of India Limited (CRISIL) is promoted by the ICICI and the UTI, with the primary objective of rating the safety of investments in companies.

FAAA (F Triple A) is the highest rating given by CRISIL for the safety of deposits.

The credit ratings of CRISIL are:

FAAA
HIGHEST SAFETY

FAA - High Safety
FA - Adequate Safety
FB - Inadequate Safety
FC - High Risk
FD - Default

With Cholamandalam, you are sure of

100% care

Cholamandalam gets FAAA rating from CRISIL for the highest safety of your deposits!

CHOLAMANDALAM
Investment and Finance Co.Ltd.,
'TIAM HOUSE'
28, Rajaji Road,
Madras 600 001

Promoted by
MURUGAPPAS

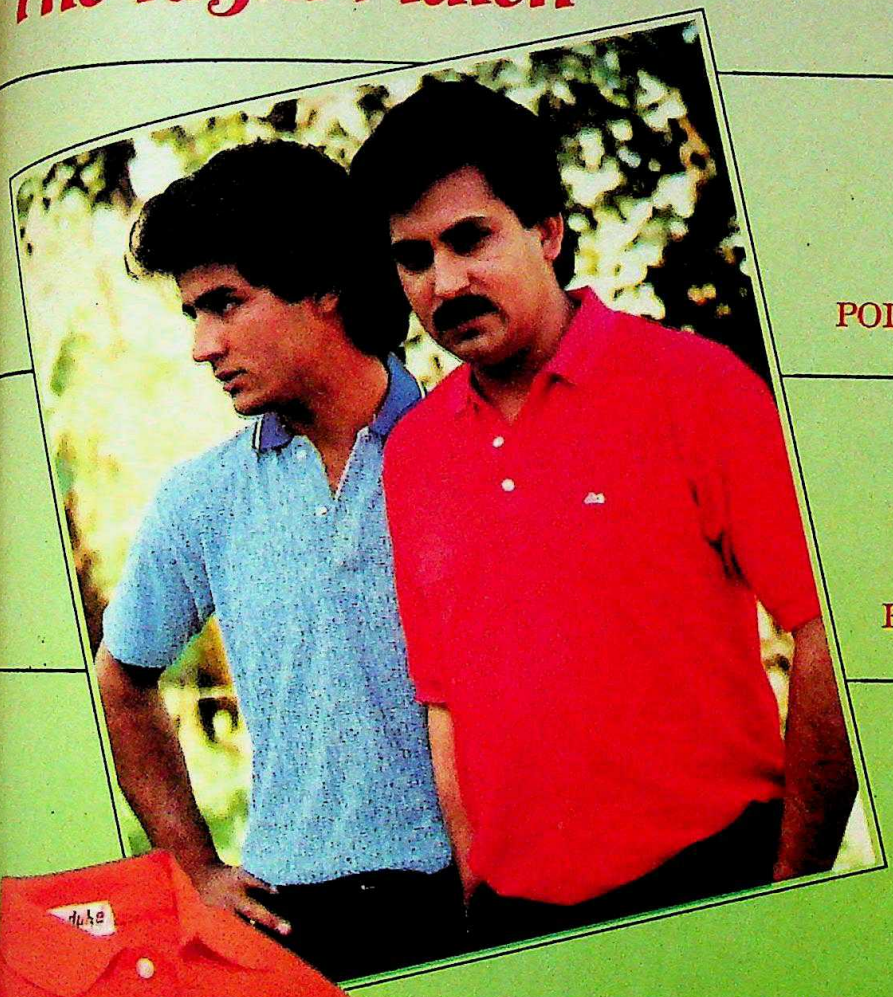
Associate of
Standard Chartered Bank

admas-M-CIFCO-306.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

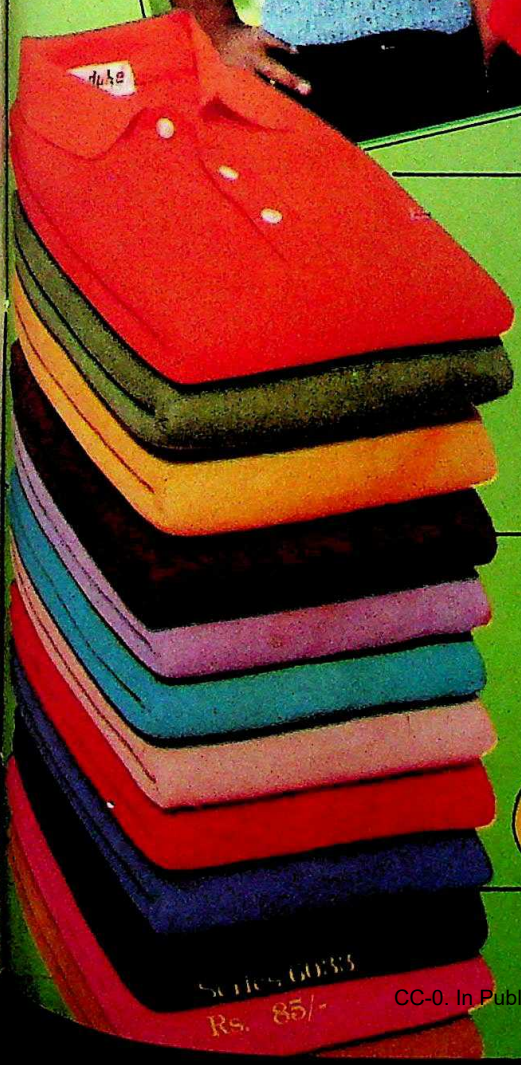
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

For A Summer Catch The Right Match



Dazzling,
Colour-fast,
POLY-COT blends.

Right Value
for
Perfect Quality.



duke®

All Time Relaxwear

Duke House, Purana Bazar, Ludhiana ☎ 51824
6/26, W.E.A. Karol Bagh, New Delhi ☎ 5720498

Rs. 105/-

Rs. 85/-

Rs. 90/-

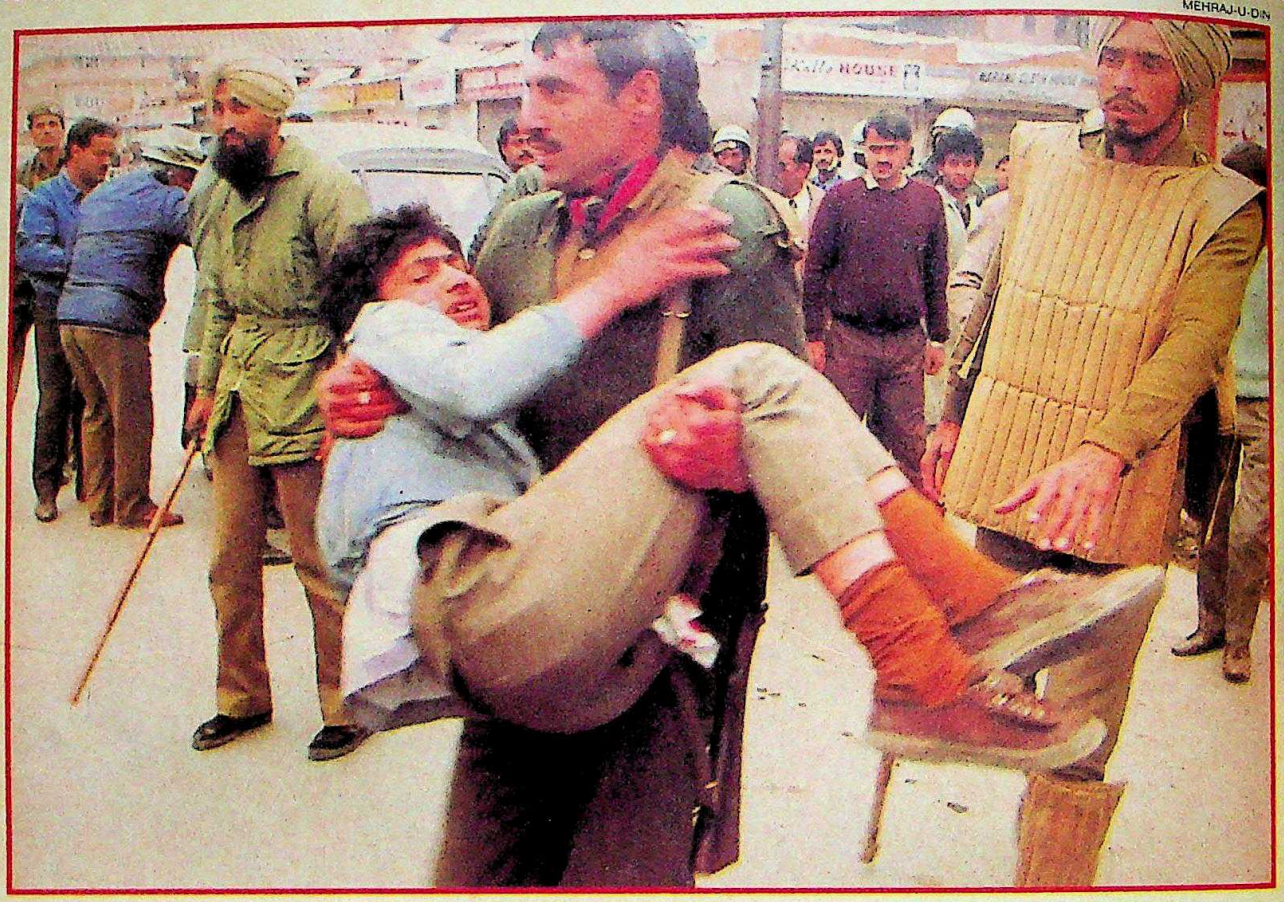
Local Taxes Extra

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

admas-M-CIF:CO-306.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MEHRAJ-U-DIN



KASHMIR

On a Short Fuse

The recent violence in Kashmir has added another dimension to the discontent brewing in the state for two years. Especially troubling is the use of automatic weapons by secessionists, and the support they are getting from the young.

THE paradise on earth, as Kashmir was once called, is fast turning into a hell where bomb blasts, shoot-outs and violent clashes involving angry mobs and the police have become as common as *shikaras* on the Dal Lake. And last fortnight the violence took an ominous turn which Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah described as a "war-like situation". The Kalashnikov culture seemed to have made an arrival in the valley. For the first time, bands of militants—which the Central and state governments claim have been trained in Pakistan—confronted police with AK-47 automatic weapons. Their arsenal of crudely made petrol bombs and brickbats has now been augmented with deadly firepower.

Militants used automatic assault weapons while the police, carrying old fashioned and rusted .303 rifles, watched helplessly at times. Life in Srinagar remained paralysed for more than a week with militants gaining an upper hand and no apparent sign of the Government's presence. Now, during the period of Ramzan, the fundamentalist campaign to ensure no liquor is served and restaurants remain closed until evening, has achieved its goals.

The eight-month-old hit and hide tactics of the militants have escalated. Even in broad daylight, they open fire with their automatic weapons on police patrols and stations and attack government and private buildings with powerful explosives. In repeated clashes between the police and agitated mobs starting February, five people have been killed and more than 400 injured. Since April 3, more than 80 policemen have sustained injuries, some of them by the militants' bullets.

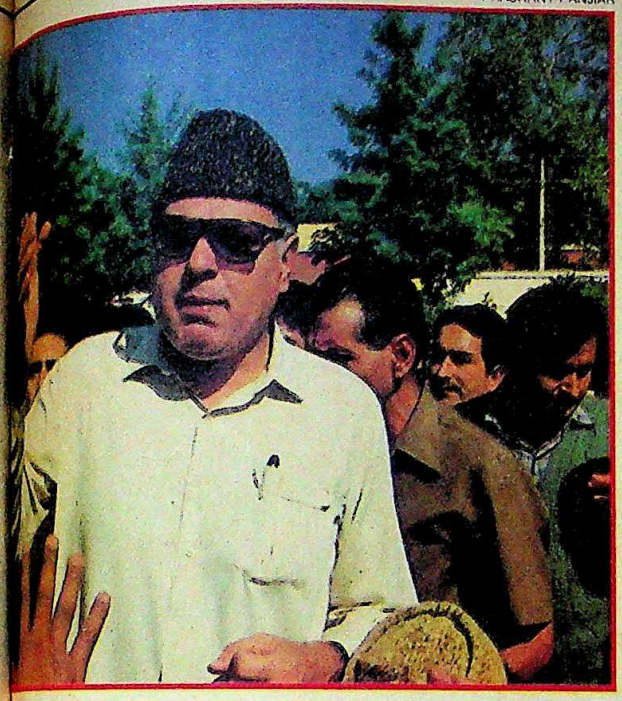
Said former chief minister G.M. Shah: "Farooq has lost the moral right to govern." Independent MLA Mir Mustafa added: "There seem to be compelling reasons for Governor Jagmohan to be brought back." Admitted a senior IAS officer: "There is total paralysis. If the Centre continues to let the state drift it will become another Punjab."

The latest round of violence started with a call from militant groups allied with the underground Kashmir Liberation Front (KLF) to observe three days of protest from April 3 against the "large-scale and indiscriminate arrests of inno-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRASHANT PANJIAR



PRASHANT PANJIAR

(From left) Srinagar riots; Abdullah; and policemen in Anantnag

For the first time militants—trained in Pakistan, according to the Government—confronted police with AK-47 automatics.

cent youth by the police". The response to the hartal was total. And it demonstrated that the people's pent-up frustration for a myriad of reasons has reached such a point that they are constantly seeking any rallying point to take to the streets.

Even after the third day of violence things refused to simmer down. And this was partly because of the unwise handling of the situation in the politically sensitive town of Anantnag (whose residents refer to it as Islamabad) in south Kashmir which gave an opportunity to the militants to exploit the situation to their advantage. While chasing some stone-pelting youth, a police party entered the house of the underground leader of the pro-independent Kashmir People's League, Shabir Shah, and took into custody his 70-year-old father Ghulam Mohammad Shah. Shah fell seriously ill and died in the Anantnag hospital a few hours after his arrest. Though the police claim that Shah was a chronic patient of hypertension and suffered a serious "cerebro-vascular attack", his family alleged that he was hit with lathis.

After Shah's burial, events in Anantnag took an ugly turn. Agitated youth set ablaze the ancestral home of Revenue Minister P.L. Handoo, attempted to loot some houses of Hindus and indulged in large-scale violence and arson. What saved the situation from turning into communal mayhem was not the police but local Muslims who came out in large numbers to protect their Hindu neighbours. As the situation worsened and the administration failed to restore order, the town was handed over to the army and curfew was imposed.

THE sudden spurt in militant activities stems from several factors. The Government claims that Pakistan's Islamic Democratic Alliance (IDA), in league with the Pakistan-based KLF chief Amanullah Khan, has launched a new programme of imparting arms training to Kashmiri youth with the help of that country's Field Intelligence Unit (FIU) and the occupied Kashmir Government.

Following a police crackdown on militants in Kashmir last year, a large number of youth had fled to Pakistan and occupied Kashmir with the aim of settling there. The Government claims that they were trained by the IDA and the KLF and, in the first week of February this year, several batches, armed to the teeth, sneaked into India from the Jammu border. Government estimates place the number of militants at about 250 to 300. Once the militants have succeeded in preparing the ground, Home Ministry sources claim, armed infiltrators would be sent to India to supplement their activities—aimed ultimately at the annexation of Kashmir by Pakistan.

Whatever the truth, there is little doubt that the militants (*see interview*) are a determined lot. And they have been able to gain some ground by appealing to the pent-up hostilities of ordinary Kashmiris—which Pakistan may exploit but certainly cannot create on its own. The fault lies closer to home.

After the National Conference and the Congress(I) joined hands, a political vacuum was created in the state. The alliance between the two parties saw a rapid decline in the popularity of the Farooq Abdullah-led National Conference.

Abdullah's image took a further beating after the 1987 assembly elections which were widely believed to have been rigged by the ruling alliance. The widespread alienation that followed has been palpable, especially among the youth who felt cheated of their democratic rights. They had taken an active part in the assembly polls and lent their full support to the Muslim United Front (MUF), a loose front organisation of fundamentalists and anti-alliance forces who felt that Farooq had jeopardised *Kashmiriyat* (Kashmiri identity) by bowing to the Dilli Durbar. Aligned with the MUF were groups who saw a chance to register their protest against corruption.

As National Conference MP, R. Kabuli—now suspended from the party—says: "When young people are not al-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CALL US

We'll solve all your rock drilling problems

We've been in the business of solving rock drilling problems for more than half a century, all over the world. In mining, construction, water-well drilling and industry.

Customers trust Atlas Copco because we solve their problems quickly and efficiently. In fact, our comprehensive drilling package includes recommending the right product, designing special packages for different rock formations and training customer personnel.

We have recently extended our range to third generation rock drilling tools, to complete our drilling package. Since we manufacture and market the total drilling equipment, you can be sure that our response time in meeting your requirements will be much shorter.

Atlas Copco's complete range offers you reliable and trouble-free equipment under one roof.

Atlas Copco

Atlas Copco (India) Ltd.

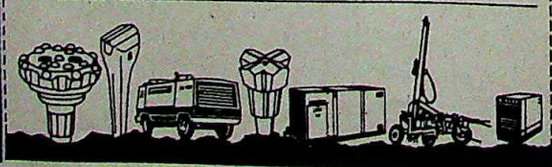
Registered Office:
Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Building,
Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay 400 002.
Phone: 315623 Telex: 2364

I am interested in Atlas Copco products. Please send me more information on:

☐ Rock drilling tools ☐ Drilling equipment ☐ Compressors

Name:_____

Address:_____



Regional offices: **Bombay:** Bonanza Industrial Estate, 'E' Wing Ashok Chakravarty Road, Kandivli (East), Bombay 400 101. Phone: 6863097/47. Tlx: 71697. **New Delhi:** 22 A, Saraswati Marg, New Delhi 110 015. Phone: 530151/52. Tlx: 63351. **Calcutta:** 522/524, Budge Budge Trunk Road, P. O. Maheshtala, 24 Parganas 743 352. Phone: 776080/776284. Tlx: 8147. **Madras:** Race Course Road, Guindy, Madras 600 032. Phone: 431033/4/5. Tlx: 26002. **Secunderabad:** 8/9, Rasoolpura, Secunderabad 500 003. Phone: 845367/8. Tlx: 6294

In Public Domain. Sarabhai Research Centre. Ref No. 97

CHAITRA-B AC 54C

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SHABIR SHAH

"We want to be left alone"

SHABIR Shah is the leader of the secessionist People's League, and the most likely head of any common front of anti-India groups. It was the death of his father in police custody that sparked off the recent rioting. Shah, who is underground, gave this interview to ZAFAR MERAJ *in Srinagar some weeks back.*

Q. *What are your aims?*

A. We want the people of the state to be left alone to decide about their future.

Q. *That means you give little cognizance to the Simla accord?*

A. We do not recognise it. We do not accept any solution to the Kashmir issue in which the people of Kashmir are not a party. India is committed to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. The people here must decide about their future.

> "We do not accept any solution in which the people of Kashmir are not a party."

Q. *Which groups are working towards this? What is your status?*

A. Among others there are the Kashmir Liberation Front, the People's League and the Islamic Students League. I am to be the leader of the united front of these groups.

Q. *Do you advocate terrorism and violence to achieve your aims?*

A. I don't favour terrorism, but I want to create an atmosphere where the Indian Government will be unable to practise repressive measures in Kashmir.

Q. *What about reports that Kashmiri youth are receiving arms training across the border?*

A. We must defend ourselves, and I am for training youth in the handling of weapons, but it should be ensured these aren't used against innocent people.

Q. *Have the Pakistani authorities been party to these camps?*

A. Yes, they were set up with the permission of General Zia, both in Pakistan and in Pak-occupied Kashmir. General Rahman Khan who also died in the Bahawalpur air crash too took a keen interest in them.

Q. *Are these camps still functioning?*

A. Though the Pakistan President Ghulam Ishaq Khan and the Army chief, General Aslam Beg, are not averse to them, the camps were closed after Benazir Bhutto took over. She has removed the chief of the Field Intelligence Unit, who was the main link between the Kashmiri youth and the Pakistani Army. But Benazir will have to change her approach.

Q. *Why do you say that?*

A. No government in Pakistan can afford to adopt a soft approach towards the Kashmir issue because Pakistanis want Kashmir.

Q. *But how can you be so sure Kashmiris want this?*

A. I have visited different parts of the valley to meet the youth and exhort them to join the movement against the Indian Government. The response has been overwhelming. There has been a change in thinking, and for this the repressive measures of the Central and the state Government are responsible.

Q. *What are these?*

A. Basic democratic rights have been denied and a reign of terror let loose. The other reason is the unprecedented rigging in the last elections. It was the first time a large section of youth had taken part actively in elections. The rigging was a turning point in the politics of Kashmir.

Q. *There are reports that while underground you have been visiting Pakistan.*

A. These are all police plants. There are enough people here to provide me shelter and help. I will die here rather than escape to some other place just to evade arrest.

lowed to work from within the system to change the Government in a democratic way, they get frustrated and take to the streets at the slightest pretext. I have been warning Farooq about the anger of the youth. I fear the worst."

The collapse of authority has led Kashmir's revanchist youth to look towards the secessionist leaders who make a communalist-separatist appeal: because you are a Muslim majority state, New Delhi does not want to let you have your rights within India. Your rights and identity are better safeguarded if you fight for independence or a better deal in a union with Pakistan.

Popular frustration is also directed against the failure of the alliance Government on just about every front. The tall promises made by the leaders about ushering in a new era of development in the state and solving problems like unemployment and inflation have fallen flat. "What the people got here," says the Mirwaiz of north Kashmir, Maulana Farooq, "is ineptitude, corruption and police bullets, and the label of 'secessionist' each time they demonstrated for their rights."

Even as the valley burned, Abdullah was giving out signals that were symbolically, just wrong. Even senior government officers say he is more intersted in playing golf these days than attending to matters of state. On March 4, when the city saw unprecedented violence in which the militants struck first by opening fire, Farooq was golfing and attending a cultural programme at Udhampur in Jammu. When he finally helicoptered to Srinagar from Jammu on March 5, a day on which the violence was spreading, he drove straight to his residence, presided over a high level meeting to review the situation and returned to Jammu after less than two hours.

The seven terror-filled days in Srinagar demonstrated also that there is no political leader—not even in the Opposition—capable of persuading people to maintain peace. Most politicians who describe themselves as leaders stayed in the safety of their homes while the militants appeared to be in total control.

Kashmir is on a short fuse with some striking resemblances to what was beginning to happen in Punjab several years ago. There is little doubt that violence must be contained by swift police action. But more important are the administrative and political steps to be taken immediately to ensure that rank and file Kashmiris are given a stake in the system and in India rather than in militancy and secessionism.

—INDERJIT BADHWAR with ZAFAR MERAJ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE GOVERNMENT

Mounting Inertia

Scandals and mounting opposition attacks have bogged down the Rajiv Gandhi Government. Confusion reigns as ministers are being forced to attend to the affairs of the party cramped by the fast changing lines of command.

FROM a government that was supposed to work faster four years ago it has become today, a tortoise-paced monument to inertia. And Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi himself appears to be a spider trapped inside a cobweb of his own making. His government and his party, especially during the last few months, have become so bogged down in limiting the damages of scandals and political embarrassments that have been popping up like wild mushrooms after a rainstorm that they just have not been able to get down to the business of governing and implementing crucial, time-bound decisions.

An added reason for this mounting inertia is the thin line between the party and the Government. When the party ceases to function effectively, so does the Government. And never has this been as evident as during the last several weeks. Party dissidents, harassed chief ministers and Pradesh Congress(I) Committee (PCC-I) chiefs have been deluging the ruling party's headquarters at New Delhi's Akbar Road with calls and visits. But the All India Congress(I) Committee (AICC-I) is in a shambles, its general secretaries lacking any clear-cut or well-defined role because of the obsessive suspicions and the changing lines of command that have begun to characterise the party in the wake of the controversy surrounding the Thakkar report and R.K. Dhawan's return. So no party official is willing to stick his neck out and take any decision, other than the purely routine, about political disputes or appointments to local bodies.

So partymen have now begun to take their cases directly to the 52-odd Central ministers who have suddenly assumed the role of arbiters, earlier assigned to the general secretaries. In fact, the entire council of ministers has begun to function as a super political secretariat. And in this topsy-turvy situation, the ministers find themselves in the unenviable position of being unable to handle either their ministerial chores or their political duties effectively.

Admits a senior party functionary from the north: "We are in a state of suspended animation. Nothing seems to be moving in any direction. Every day all that we seem to be doing is defending ourselves in public or fighting one another." Says Jaipal Reddy, the Janata Dal's acerbic Lok Sabha member: "Is this the Government that is supposed to be working faster than Mrs Gandhi's? It certainly works faster, but only when it comes to organising physical attacks on its political opponents."

Reddy has a point. For South Block now lies littered with examples of the government's indecisions and flip-flops on important policy matters:

▶ The decision to appoint a new telecommunications board was taken in January and Sam Pitroda was to be its

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

chairman. Three months later when the organisation was formally launched on April 6, it was still half-baked.

▶ A cabinet committee on agricultural production was appointed in September 1988 with the specific objective of promoting agricultural exports in order to mop up agricultural surpluses of the bumper crop. A bumper harvest of wheat is about to be reaped, and overflowing cold storages are closing their doors to potatoes that now face the danger of rotting outside. The committee should be meeting right now to plan emergency measures. It met twice before the harvest but has not been able to produce any concrete recommendations or even a plan of action. The Prime Minister's Office (PMO) however claims the committee's job was accomplished to some extent by another official panel in the cabinet secretariat. But this rings a trifle thin for food processing industries are yet to get off the floor.

▶ A committee headed by the prime minister was appointed to prune government expenditure. In October last year, the Cabinet appointed yet another panel headed by the cabinet secretary to recommend measures for drastically cutting down the expenditure of five ministries.

Cartoon by AJIT NINAN

The panel was able to accomplish nothing substantive and its lack of work was reflected in this year's budget which contained just about none of the promised cutbacks in government mis-spending. The cabinet secretariat sources claim that the committee could not complete its work due to the enormous work involved. But the success was reflected in the ministries' supplementary demands which showed an onward trend.

▶ In January 1988, the Union Cabinet decided to formulate a code of conduct for Union ministers. It was to have been finalised last month after 15 months of deliberation. The progress so far? No decision has been taken.

▶ Due to mounting criticism of the expenditure of the technology missions that he was heading, Sam Pitroda announced at the beginning of the year that a new council for social audit would be established for monitoring these missions by the end of winter. So far, the promise has not fructified.

▶ In September 1988, the Cabinet appointed a committee under the prime minister for monitoring the 15-point programme for the welfare of Harijans and minorities. The panel met thrice but there has been no follow-up action.

▶ A high-powered Committee on Tourism under the Chairmanship of Mohammed Yunus was set up in September last year to monitor the implementation of the recommendations of the National Tourism Committee which was set up earlier. Again, after two meetings, the committee's work has fizzled out and the expected recommendations for the January-March peak tourist season did not materialise.

▶ In 1987 the prime minister in his budget speech promised to prepare a white paper on reforming the public sector. Two months ago, the Union minister for industries promised that the document would be finished soon after budget presentation. It has been held up because, official sources admit, election year is no time for the release of a sensitive proposal that may tread on the corns of public sector officials.

▶ In January of this year there were 50 top level public sector appointments lying vacant. They are still lying vacant. This in any case is an increase from earlier years. In 1987 and the better part of 1988 the average number of unfilled top level posts in Public Sector Undertakings was 30. Also, during the last six months, government clearance for public sector appointments has been taking about 90 days—exactly double the time it took a year ago.

▶ The Government promised a new automobile industry policy two years ago but after dozens of meetings in North Block and South Block nothing has emerged. And no important meeting on the subject has taken place in the last couple of months. The Government claims that it has shelved the move due to the foreign exchange crunch.

▶ The S.K. Bhatnagar Committee gave its report on the role and use of defence agents about a year ago. But despite the Government's increasing difficulties in obtaining spares and signing deals quickly—defence suppliers often simply refuse to do business without involving middlemen—the Government has so far not issued the comprehensive guidelines that were due in March.

▶ There are about 60 high court vacancies now in the country as against the average of 45 vacancies a year two years ago.

▶ Important projects have been held up in the Government for clearance for over a year now. Among these are an aromatics plant in Uttar Pradesh, the SPIC project in Madras and the Haldia project in West Bengal. In fact, the prime minister was to inaugurate the SPIC plant in Madras during the assembly elections.

▶ The Power Ministry—after two years of dilly-dallying—was supposed to issue guidelines regarding the involvement of private industry in this sector at budget time. The budget has come and gone but still no guidelines.

It is thus evident that the chances of the Government and the party extricating themselves from the quagmire of inertia are remote. The nation's 61-member Union council of ministers, aided by over 400 secretaries, additional secretaries and joint secretaries, now spends nearly half its time planning strategies to counter opposition onslaughts. Over a dozen important cabinet committees meet only to discuss the counter-offensive against the Congress(I) opponents. And if the recent decision to depute cabinet ministers for political work is any indication, government files will move even more slowly in the future.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GOPAL SUNGER

Bir Bahadur Singh with partymen in Jaipur

Bir Bahadur Singh spent a week in Rajasthan last month sorting out dissidence while over 300 important files cried for attention in the ministry.

For example, Union Communications Minister Bir Bahadur Singh spent over a week in Rajasthan last month trying to sort out political dissidence while over 300 important files cried for attention in the ministry. Commerce Minister Dinesh Singh was shuttling between Madras and Delhi forging an alliance with Jayalalitha's AIADMK while the most important file in his ministry—finalisation of the new import-export policy—simply languished. Appointments to the posts of chairman and managing director of Indian Airlines and the International Airports Authority of India (IAAI) could not be cleared last month because the prime minister was busy wrestling with the fall-out of the Thakkar Commission report.

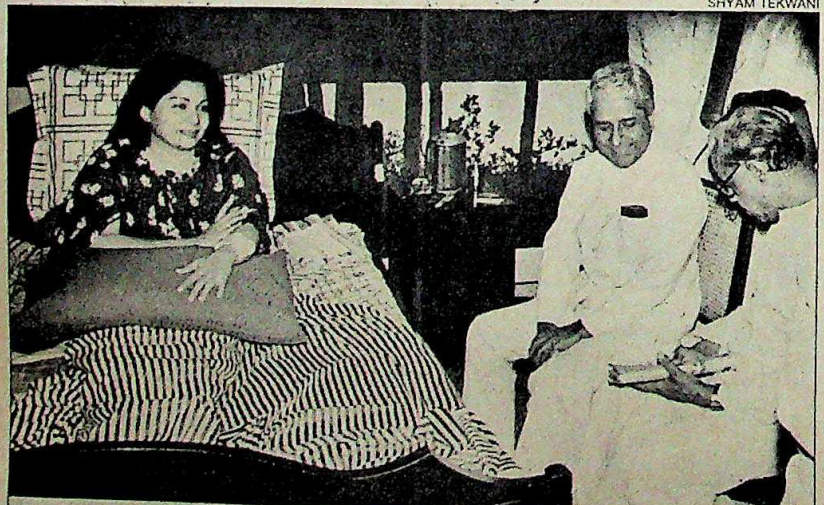
Despite all this, officials in the PMO insist that critics are exaggerating the delays in decision-making. Says one senior official: "It is immaterial whether a particular panel met or not. Actions do get reflected in various policy statements of the Government."

But there is no denying that the creeping paralysis in the party and the Government is directly related to the preoccupation of ministers with dissidence and the succession of scandals. In 1987 when the Bofors controversy hit the fan, Rajiv Gandhi spent almost seven months defending the deal. The entire government machinery—including the ministries of defence, home and finance—spent almost six months in collating information for Parliament and the press. Barely did he climb out of the Bofors trap, when the mounting dissidence in the party caught him another one. During the last four months the prime minister and his senior-most cabinet ministers have spent more time in the states talking to dissident leaders than handling government files.

The case of the telecommunications commission is a telling example of ad hoc-ism and indecision. For a whole year the Government maintained that Sam Pitroda would take over as the commission's chairman in the rank of a minister of state. But last month it changed its mind and announced that only a secretary-level chairman with eight members would be appointed. Pitroda meanwhile announced in Gujarat late last month that he along with others would take over in the first week of April. And word was sent to an official of the Communications Ministry to organise a massive function to welcome Pitroda to the ministry. But when the final notification came on April 6 nothing was clarified about the commission's composition or role. Nor were any members appointed. The crunch is that the Government had kept the Telecommunications Board hanging fire for over a year because its work was to be superseded by the new commission. And now there's neither a proper board nor a functioning commission.

Civil aviation is another victim of government inertia. It was decided in December—four months ago—that Indian Airlines Managing Director Gerry Pais and the IAAI chairman N.K. Singh would retire by March and not receive extensions. Interviews for new chief

SHYAM TEKWANI

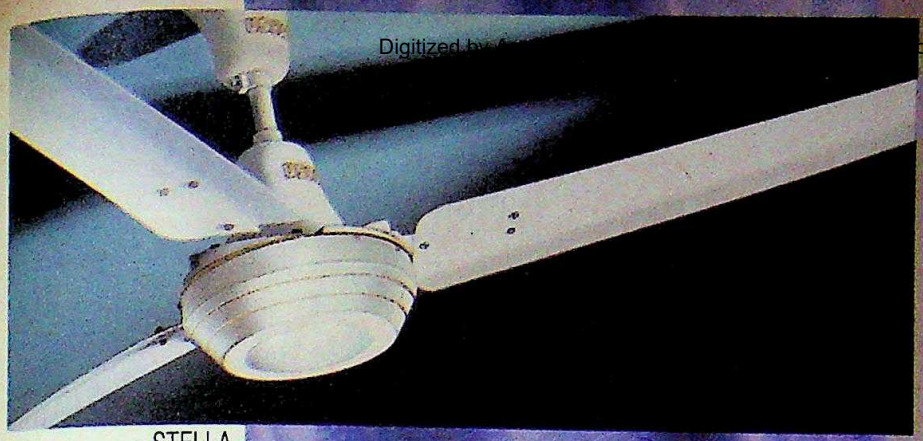


Dinesh Singh (centre) visiting Jayalalitha in a Madras hospital

Dinesh Singh was busy forging an alliance with AIADMK while the file on finalisation of the new import-export policy simply languished.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by



STELLA

USHA

STYLE ALIVE!

Superbly streamlined style.
In pearly white
and rich brown.
With double ball bearings.
Superbly engineered with
Usha's expertise of
over 40 years.

STYLE FOR LIFE!

Over 2.73 crore
Usha fans
have satisfied customers.
In India and over
60 countries abroad.
In a wide range of ceiling,
table, pedestal, wall,
cabin and exhaust fans.
That's why many more
people trust
Usha... India's largest
selling fan

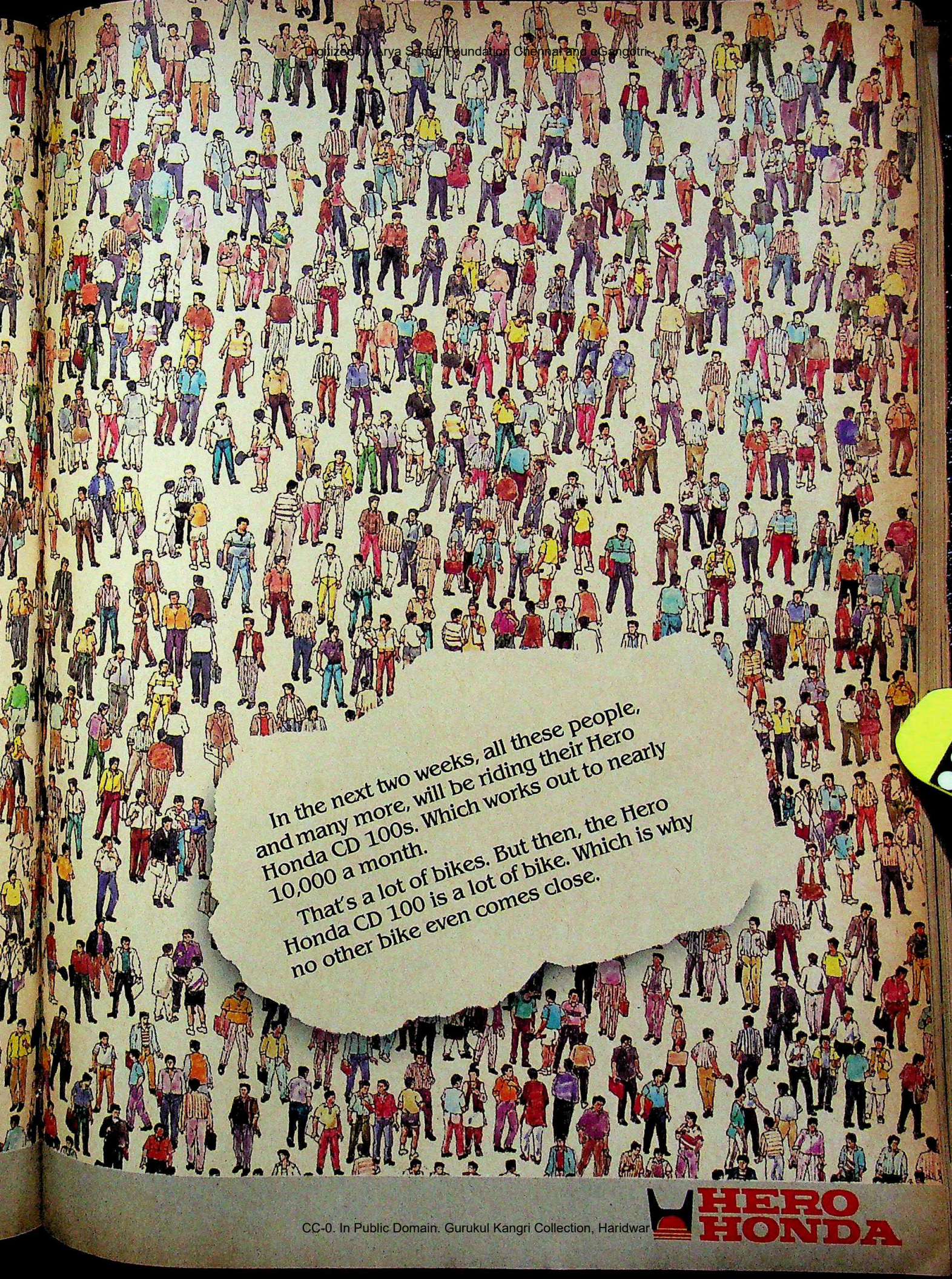
USHA

India's largest selling fan

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

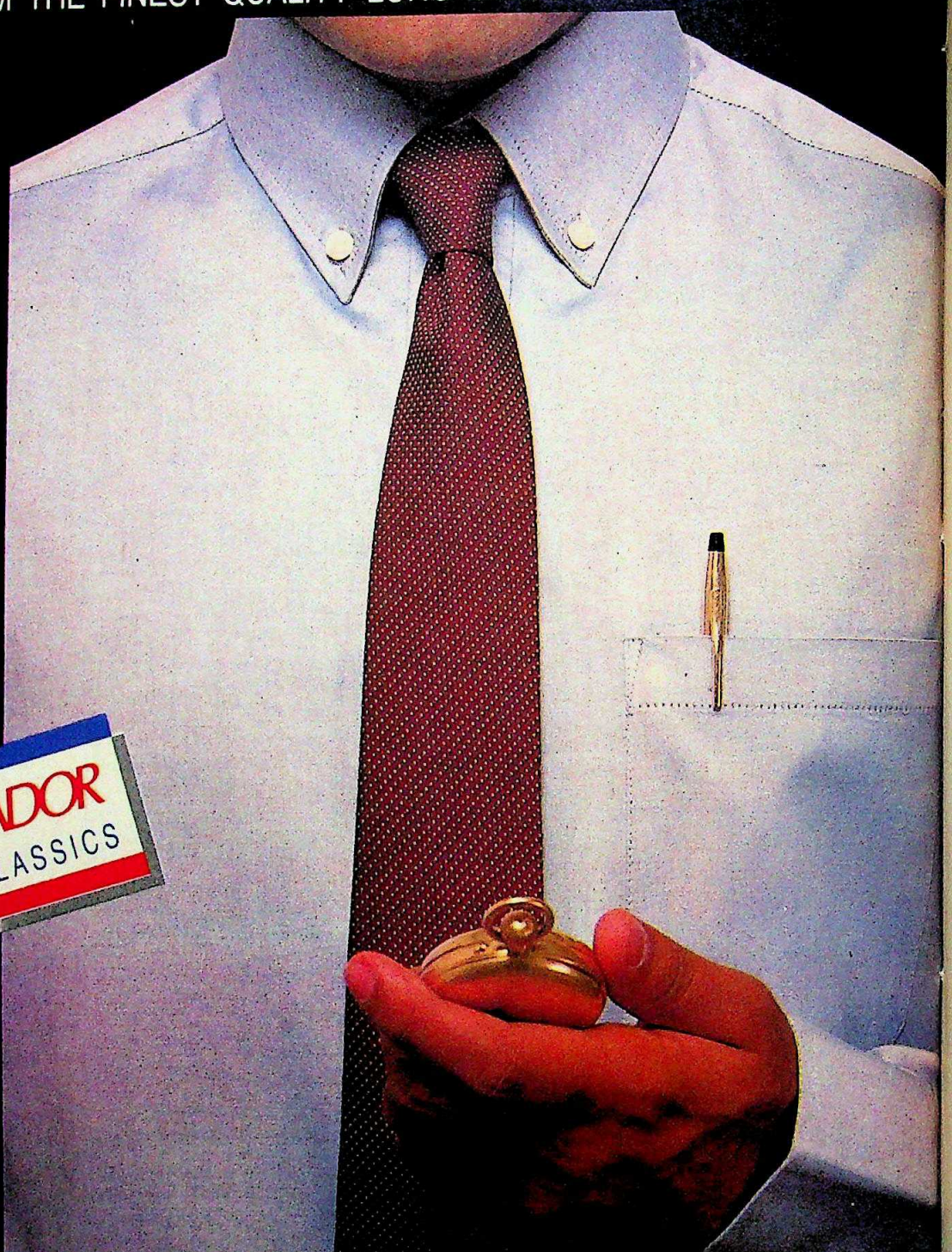
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

SHIRTS FROM THE FINEST QUALITY LONG STAPLE COTTON



Get a feel of some of the best shirts in the world!

Made from the finest, long staple cotton, Ambassador shirts are soft and luxurious. The fine rich fabric with superior crease resistance, wears extraordinarily well. Impeccable stitching, classic styling, Ambassador shirts are perfect wear. To make light of a long day and turn the evening really fine.

Ambassador shirts. Just what you'd expect from us.

AMBASSADOR
COTTON CLASSICS

AVAILABLE AT
SELECT BATA STORES
DELHI: B BLOCK CONNAUGHT PLACE SOUTH EXTN PART I AJMAL KHAN ROAD

CHANDIGARH: SECTOR 17E, SECTOR 22D

BOMBAY: COLABA CAUSEWAY, GREAT WESTERN STORES (FOUNTAIN), CARNAC ROAD, BANDRA

CALCUTTA: GRAND HOTEL ARCADE

MADRAS: ANNASALAI

BANGALORE: BRIGADE ROAD, COMMERCIAL STREET, INDIRANAGAR II

NOW YOU WON'T BUY YOUR SHIRTS ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD

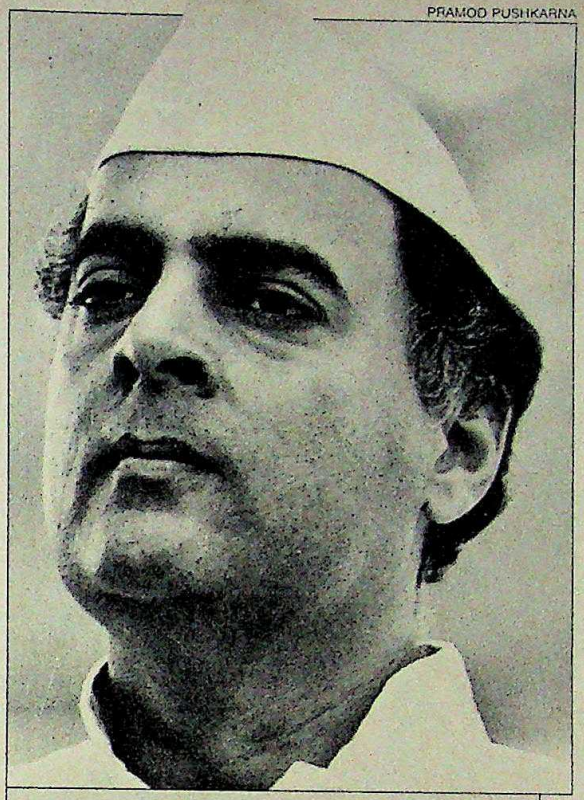
R KANGA/AS 5 89

Bata

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

executives were conducted in February, but the Government has been unable to choose replacements and both organisations which have come in for heavy criticism because of sloppy performance are unable to take important policy decisions.

The forthcoming general elections are in particular extracting a heavy toll. One minister candidly admitted that keeping the elections and the uncertain state of the party in mind, he is spending an average of six hours daily on party activities. The turmoil of the party—reflected in the now familiar flip-flops in Gujarat and Bihar—is also evident in states like Andhra Pradesh. This is an important state in which the ruling party is supposed to be launching a big political offensive against the Rama Rao Government. Last month, Janardhan Reddy, APCC(I) president announced a list of PCC(I) office-bearers claiming that it was approved by the high command. But within hours, Jagannath Pahadia, the then AICC(I) general secretary, made a statement in Delhi that the list hadn't been approved by anyone in Delhi. Typical of the inertia, till today Reddy continues with office-bearers who have yet to be approved by the high command. In neighbouring Tamil Nadu and Karnataka the Congress had been finding it difficult to fight its opponents largely because the Centre had been simply sitting on decisions to reconstitute the state and district level political committees. In Karnataka, the PCC(I) chief, Veerendra Patil is hamstrung because even though he has held that office for six months, only half of those he has recommended for the state body have received the Centre's nod. In West Bengal, the WBCC(I) chief finds himself in a similarly hopeless situation.


PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Rajiv Gandhi's blitzkrieg should also be directed against the inertia of his government and the foot-dragging in his own party than just against the Opposition .

IF the Congress(I) is caught in a bind in the Opposition-run states, it has been made ineffective in the states it rules as well. Though dissidence in the party is as old as the Congress itself, open defiance of chief ministers and the prime minister is a recent phenomenon and is an indication of the prime minister's steadily receding clout.

But once again the crisis is of its own making. Rajiv's revolving door policy is not confined to the chief ministers alone, it has taken into its dubious embrace the AICC(I) and the state committees as well. While changing 16 chief ministers during the last 54 months, he has divested 28 general secretaries of their jobs as well. This makes the average life of an AICC office-bearer about four months. So before an AICC office-bearer can come to grips with the situation in a state, he either loses his job or is shifted from the state resulting in fresh confusion. As for the office-bearer, he starts from square one all over again. It is because of these frequent changes in the AICC and the fact that they have not been formally approved by the high command that over one-fourth of the district committees in the country are ineffective.

Last month, the organisation suffered yet another set-back when the prime minister decided to appoint co-ordinating committees for the states with general secretaries as members of each such committee. There was a further twist. At the same time, cabinet ministers were made the presiding officers, thereby divesting the general secretaries of their pre-eminence and clout. This totally contrasted with Rajiv Gandhi's announcement in 1985 that the Government would be under the organisation's command.

What these dual responsibilities and duties have helped spawn is sheer chaos in the party. At present there are as many as five different centres for solving the political problems: Shiela Dixit-R.K.Dhawan; AICC general secretaries; the state Congress committees; the ministerial committee; and the frontal organisations cell headed by Oscar Fernandes. And each of these trouble-shooting centres works independently of each other. Expectedly a PCC chief laments: "We really don't know whom should we go to, and whom we should tell our problems." Explains Vithal Gadgil, the AICC spokesman: "All these changes have been made by the prime minister and the AICC president keeping in view the best interests of the party." That may be so. But if public response is any indication, the results have belied these intentions.

And in an attempt to somehow diminish the increasing odds stacked against him, the prime minister is trying desperately to project an aggressive and upbeat picture about himself and his government. He has once again mounted an offensive against the Opposition by trying to link its members with efforts to destabilise the country. But that carries with it a heavy sense of deja vu. One of Rajiv Gandhi's hallmarks has been that he goes on the offensive whenever his government and his party find themselves in a mess. But this time, more than ever before, it appears he is charging off in the wrong direction. The positive and politically productive offensive lies in the absolutely opposite direction. The blitzkrieg ought to have come not against the enemy without, but the enemy within. Not against the Opposition, but against the paralysing inertia of his government and the debilitating foot-dragging in his own party.

—PRABHU CHAWLA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MUKAND UNLIMITED

Our new name.
Mukand Limited. Because we found our old name — Mukand Iron and Steel Works Limited — too confining.

Today Mukand is much bigger than its name. We no longer just manufacture iron and steel. Besides manufacturing an extensive range of value-added steel, we're equally active in other areas like machine-building and engineering construction.

There is a spirit of creativity in Mukand that fires innovation. A spirit that touches your daily life in items as mundane as a bicycle spoke or a kitchen utensil. Or as technical as piping for a nuclear plant.

This spirit is reflected in our resolve to let nothing hold us back. Not even our logo — we've changed it for a new one that represents Mukand's dynamism and growth — the very reason we've also changed our name to Mukand Limited.

Though if you read between the lines, you'll see us as we really are — Unlimited.

MUKAND LTD. **MASTERMINDS IN STEEL**

Regd. Office: L.B. Shastri Marg, Kurla, Bombay 400 070

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Now for your 100 cc bike — the Diamond Super Racing Special. **The chain that goes as original equipment on all four Japanese bikes — the Hero Honda, the Yamaha RX100, the TVS Suzuki and the Kawasaki Bajaj.** Because of exclusive features like...

- Special bush positioning that ensures very low elongation
- Surface hardening treatment that helps pulverise grit and grime
- Thicker plates that enhance the strength of the chain
- A Teflon-additive lubricant that spells smooth, silent performance

So next time, replace with a Diamond Super Racing Special. And give your 100 cc bike the 100% advantage.

TI Diamond Chain
Link yourself to the best

HTA 7229

A unit of the TI Group, Madras. In collaboration with Diamond Chain Co., USA.

Available at all leading spare part dealers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIRA ASSASSINATION CONSPIRACY

Widening the Web

Four-and-a-half years after the assassination of Mrs Gandhi, the Government filed charge-sheets against Simranjeet Singh Mann and others. In doing so it has reopened the old controversy.

JOHN Fitzgerald Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Olof Palme, the list is long and illustrious. Each time a prominent public person is assassinated, conspiracy theorists have a field day and often new theories are thrown up even decades later. But India's own continuing controversy, the assassination of former prime minister Mrs Indira Gandhi, took an unprecedented turn last fortnight as, exactly four months after her assassins were hanged, the Government filed yet another charge-sheet, accusing four more persons of participating in the conspiracy.

The 24-page charge-sheet for criminal conspiracy, murder, waging war against the nation and other assorted charges brings to trial controversial former Indian Police Service officer and United Akali Dal faction leader Simranjeet Singh Mann, currently lodged in the Bhagalpur jail in Bihar. Named as a co-conspirator is Atinderpal Singh, a Bhopal-based activist of the All India Sikh Students' Federation. Bringing up the western claw of the "conspiracy", according to the charge-sheet, are two Bombay-based college teachers: Jagmohan Singh alias Toni, 30, professor of commerce at Jai Hind College and Dalip Singh, vice-principal of Khalsa College.

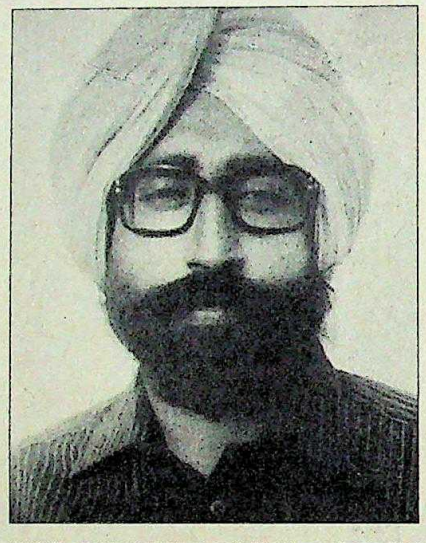
The charge-sheet, drafted by some of the country's best known investigators, deputed to the Special Investigation Team (SIT) headed by retired Andhra Pradesh police chief S. Anandaram and functioning out of New Delhi's Vigyan Bhawan annexe, accuses the four Sikhs of "criminal conspiracy to wage war against the Government...and conspiracy to murder Smt. Indira Gandhi". The investigators claim that more than four years of painstaking investigation has gone into unravelling the conspiracy, the tentacles of which spread not only all over India, but even abroad (*see box*).

Pushed to the wall by a strident opposition demanding release of the remaining portions of the Thakkar Commission report, the charge-sheet was a diversionary manoeuvre by the Government.

In tandem with Home Minister Buta Singh, who broke the story of the filing of the new charge-sheet at a press conference, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi ordered a probe into the leak of the report in an unprecedentedly emotional speech in Parliament. "The enemies of our democracy were out to eliminate her and in eliminating her to eliminate the secular basis of our nationhood," he declared. But the pace with which the Government moved on the charge-sheet—following the ruckus over Thakkar's casting suspicion on R.K. Dhawan—raised several important questions such as:

- Why did the Government take four-and-a-half years to come to the court with the charge-sheet?
- Why were the cases of Satwant Singh and Kehar Singh not withheld for a more comprehensive trial after the entire controversy was unravelled?
- While the Government has routinely detained Sikhs on the slightest suspicion of terrorist links for years under its panoply of preventive detention powers, how were the two Bombay academics moving about freely on bail when the charge-sheet was filed?
- If the Government was so sure of Mann's involvement why were its emissaries making secret trips to Bhagalpur by BSF aircraft till December to strike political deals with him?
- How is it that Thakkar, who expended reams to weave his prickly web of suspicion around Dhawan, has said nothing about these "conspirators"?

The Government's spokesmen assert that there was never any doubt that a new



While the SIT was compiling evidence of Mann's alleged crimes, government emissaries were secretly trying to strike deals with him.

CHARGE-SHEET

Jigsaw Plot

WHATEVER the Indian police may be accused of, it cannot be lack of reading newspapers and magazines. Or at least that is what the charge-sheet in the new Indira Gandhi murder conspiracy case indicates. Most of the evidence has come from news clippings, mainly interviews given by the accused to a wide variety of journalists, ranging from Olga Tellis of *Sunday* (called *Sunday Times* in the charge-sheet) to "Miss" Shobha Kilachand, the then editor of *Celebrity*.

According to the charge-sheet prepared by the Special Investigation Team (SIT), the seeds of the "conspiracy" were sown at a meeting in Bombay's Hotel Natraj on July 8, 1984, about a month after Operation Bluestar. Atinderpal Singh, Jagmohan Singh Toni and Simranjeet Singh Mann held a meeting after which Mann, who had already been dismissed from the IPS, decided to go underground. He went into hiding at the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

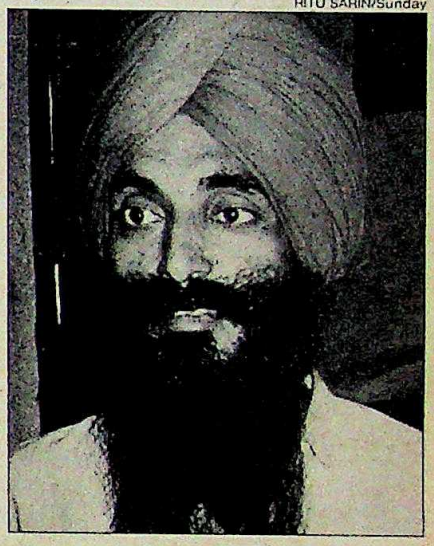
charge-sheet was to be filed. In a relatively unpublicised act, while filing the charge-sheet against Satwant Singh, Kehar Singh and Balbir Singh in the original murder case, the SIT had sought the court's permission to continue investigating the case under Section 174 (8) of the Code of Criminal Procedure. They were already interrogating Mann but it was "impossible" to link him to the conspiracy till the other three were found. Investigators claim the real opening in the case only came in October 1988, when Atinderpal Singh was arrested and, during interrogation, led them to the two "accomplices" in Bombay.

By this time, the Punjab Police were already on the look-out for Toni and Dalip Singh on suspicion of buying and supplying explosives for Punjab terrorists from Bombay. They were arrested in Bombay by a Punjab Police party and kept in the Nabha Jail, from where they were released on bail last month.

So the argument of the Government is: the real breakthrough in the investigation came with the arrest of Atinderpal and after that things have followed the logical course culminating in the filing of the charge-sheet. "The worst you can accuse the Government of is delaying the charge-sheet by a month or two," argued a highly-placed official. But this, he says, was necessitated by the fact that the Government was planning to make major concessions to Punjab extremists (INDIA TODAY, March 31) and the filing of the charge-sheet during that period would surely have been bad timing.

One of the suspects outside a Bombay court

RITU SARIN/Sunday



house of retired Major K.S. "Billy" Dhillon at Bombay's Mount Pleasant Road.

The conspirators planned to "create chaos, confusion, anarchy by breaching canals, disrupting power supply, poisoning drinking water, destroying Parliament House". Besides the murder of Mrs Gandhi, they also allegedly planned to kidnap the children of Rajiv Gandhi and Lt-General K.S. Brar, who had led Operation Bluestar.

Later Atinderpal is said to have gone to Punjab and masterminded the breach in the Bhakra canal and the hijacking of Indian Airlines Flight IC-421 from Chandigarh "under directions of Mann".

Mann "left" Bombay on July 30 to hide in Indore with Gian Singh, a "pro-Bhindranwale" transporter. Then he shifted to Dewas at a farm-house in the name of "Manjit Singh". A fortnight later he left for Durg where he learnt about Mrs Gandhi's plans to address a National Students Union of India (NSUI) rally in Nagpur. Atinderpal and his accomplice Rattan Singh (now dead) "visited" Nagpur's Kastur Chand Park, the venue of the rally, on September 3 for reconnaissance. Later Mann supposedly joined them. The "plan" was given up for want of weapons.

From Nagpur, Mann "moved" to Calcutta and used another Sikh transporter, Kamikkar Singh, for cover. By now, according to the SIT, the "conspirators" had come to the conclusion that the best approach was to use one of Mrs Gandhi's own Sikh guards for the assassination. Accordingly, Atinderpal and Rattan Singh came to Delhi and "identified Beant who could be indoctrinated ..to do the job through his *phoopha* Kehar Singh who was a religious fanatic".

A week before the assassination, Atinderpal "absconded" to Pakistan and Mann was later arrested while allegedly crossing the Indo-Nepal border. But all along according to the SIT's case, Atinderpal and Mann kept on making their "seditious" intentions clear through newspaper interviews which have been cited as evidence.

The next phase in the conspiracy began with Atinderpal's alleged liaison with Pakistani intelligence. On his return to India in 1986, he is believed to have re-established contact with Toni and Dalip Singh to procure explosives.

The Government claims the breakthrough came with Atinderpal's arrest. Even then, the SIT has taken six months to file a charge-sheet.

Now that the Thakkar report has been wrested from its shroud of secrecy, and the SIT charge-sheet has followed close on its heels, the two have got inevitably interlinked. And since the report and the charge-sheet pursue very different quarry, almost in opposite directions, they detract from each other's credibility. So the Thakkar report is likely to form the basis for the defence lawyers' arguments and they will insist on the release of its remaining portions.

"There'll be lots of material there which will break the conspiracy too, apart from bringing apart the first case," says R.S. Sodhi, who had conducted Satwant Singh's defence. The case, he says, is weak

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THAKKAR REPORT

A Prickly Controversy

SOME Congressmen have resurrected the story of the village idiot. Caught stealing onions, the sarpanch gave him the option of eating a hundred onions or suffering a hundred lashes. "Onions," beamed the idiot. But he had barely had 10 when, with tears streaming, he switched to lashes. Ten lashes and he went back to onions, and so on.

Others did not find it funny. "How do I face the man in my constituency?" asked a minister. "Till last month we said the release of the report will jeopardise national interest. Today, it is lying in the trash-can of every newspaper office."

As Parliament and national politics continued to be in turmoil for a fortnight running, Justice M.P. Thakkar's now famous needle of suspicion continued to prick at R.K. Dhawan. And though Dhawan had the SIT's clearance, the team could hardly do the same for all the administrative irregularities Thakkar accuses him of. Among other things, he is supposed to have "snooped" on Mrs Gandhi, pulled up cabinet and chief ministers, and kept notings of what Rajiv and Mrs Gandhi said. In addition he has been accused repeatedly of lying and being inconsistent and wobbly in his statements.

The Opposition quite logically demanded that either he or Thakkar resign. Either Thakkar, presently the Law Commission chairman, was to be believed about Dhawan's dubious bona fides, or else he was incompetent, having turned out a series of suppositions and possibilities.

His victims were clear enough. "It was all a matter of signals for Thakkar," said H.D. Pillai, who as Delhi's additional commissioner of police for security and traffic, was in charge of Mrs Gandhi's security. Pillai, who was suspended after the assassination, says Thakkar "decided he had to fix" those who appeared out of favour, who were suspended or sacked (like Dhawan). To prove his point, Pillai cites the difference in tone between the commission's letters to Dhawan while he was special assistant to the prime minister until December 31, 1984, and after. It switches from obsequious to peremptory.

Not only that, even the first conspiracy is not dealt with. "My father's name is not there," said Kehar Singh's son, Rajinder, who filed a petition in the Supreme Court pleading that his father's name be posthumously cleared. The lawyers gearing up to defend Mann and the other accused were, meanwhile, getting ready to drag Dhawan into the trial on the basis of the report.

That was one reason Dhawan could not afford the luxury of quitting in an acceptance of self-righteous martyrdom. Being in Government service provided him a measure of protection from any prosecution move.

On close examination, however, it is obvious that merely on the strength of Thakkar's suspicions, it would be difficult to convict Dhawan, or anybody else named in the report. The questions Thakkar raises need examination.

■ **The change in the timing of Mrs Gandhi's interview with Ustinov:** Thakkar obviously lays great store by this and there is no doubt that the timing was changed, either by Dhawan or under his instructions. But the crucial question is: what difference would it have made to the assassins' plans if it had not been changed? Satwant and Beant had begun duty at 7.30 a.m. and were going to be present when Mrs Gandhi walked out for her appointment with death anyway. Importance is also attached to the fact that when Mrs Gandhi was shot, Dhawan was walking far behind her and looking downwards. Also, that he did not come to her help. While meandering in his sphere of suspicion, Thakkar has missed out the really juicy bit. The SIT investigations, which cleared Dhawan, actually showed that he fled to hide behind the bushes the moment shots were fired.

■ **Reinstatement of Sikh guards:** Thakkar clearly states that Dhawan was responsible for the reinstatement of Sikh guards in Mrs Gandhi's security. But for his oral instructions, Thakkar says, Beant and Satwant would not have been there in the first place. But he does not really refute Dhawan's defence that he was only carrying out Mrs Gandhi's instructions. In any case, people other than Dhawan were directly responsible for the security arrangements.

But Thakkar has let the Intelligence

THAKKAR'S SUSPICIONS

The **needle of suspicion** significantly points at his (Dhawan's) complicity or involvement.

◆

By the time the late PM was fired upon ... Dhawan had fallen sufficiently behind so that he did not sustain any injury...Was it fortuitous? Had he pre-knowledge? This is yet another circumstance which emits a **signal of suspicion.**

◆

Why was Dhawan so curious about the fate of the assailants...at a time when the PM was hovering between life and death? This...adds a **spoke in the wheel of suspicion.**

◆

He was engaged in eavesdropping and was possibly spying or snooping on the late PM... Was he carrying tales to the President...All these factors thicken the **cloud of suspicion.**

◆

Dhawan was close to someone having clandestine connection with the CIA. ...All this adds to the **heap of suspicion.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bureau virtually off the hook, as he did bureaucrats such as P.C. Alexander, who, as principal secretary to the prime minister, marked repeated reminders from the bureau about security arrangements to Dhawan. That the guards were posted back on Dhawan's verbal instructions is an indication of the total breakdown of command—a special assistant was able to call the shots while top security men stood by. Thakkar does not complain much about this.

■ **Foreign involvement:** After Dhawan, the foreign hand is Thakkar's big bugbear. But he has produced no more than a few shreds of circumstantial evidence. His nugget is the discovery from a spy, operating on behalf of a "western power", of a "confidential document" pertaining to the commission. Says Thakkar: "The document was found from a folder on which the name of one of the counsel for the assassins was inscribed." Thakkar wonders why a foreign spy should be interested in the workings of his commission and how the document fell into his hands. He also goes on at length about the by now well-known paper by US political scientist Robert Hardgrave on the likely political scenario in India in case of Mrs Gandhi's sudden departure from the scene.

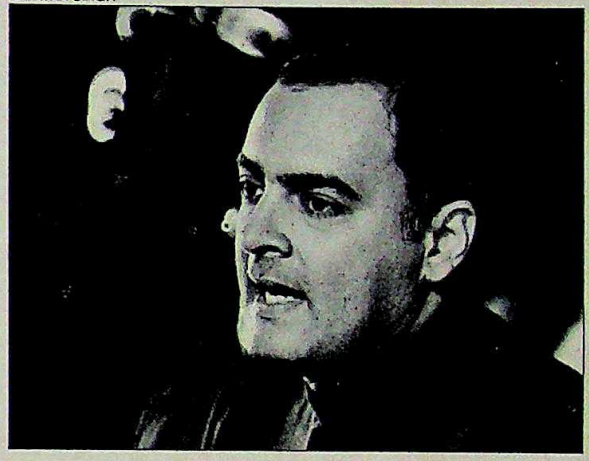
Next to Dhawan, Thakkar has spent most of his time exchanging lengthy correspondence with Hardgrave. He found something fishy about his estimates of the results of a post-Mrs Gandhi election and even summoned psephologist Prannoy Roy to examine them. But his concluding remarks on the foreign hand are not emphatic: "The hypothesis of the involvement of a foreign agency through a 'cut-out' cannot be foreclosed." A footnote carries a definition of an espionage cut-out drawn from Brian Freemantle's book *CIA—The Honourable Company*. Given the frequency with which the reference to the book appears in the report, it would seem to be Thakkar's favourite reading.

From the content as well as the tone of his report, it is obvious that Thakkar was charged with a great deal of concern and affection for Mrs Gandhi. Unwittingly, he has ended up giving the inheritor of her mantle one of his biggest embarrassments. Even though they criticise the report, the defence lawyers are bound to exploit it. "Dhawan has to be tried," says Satwant Singh's lawyer R.S. Sodhi. But he doubts that it will happen, since "Dhawan has this boy under his grip".

and motivated by political exigencies: "There would not have been a charge-sheet after four years if there had not been pressure from the top." Added Ram Jethmalani, who conducted Kehar Singh's and Balbir Singh's appeals in higher courts: "The charge-sheet can never stand before any fair judge in a fair trial. Nobody will believe anything the Government does now. Nobody should."

Defence lawyers have already begun searching for lacunae in the SIT's case. Atinderpal's lawyer R.M. Tiwari is hoping to do a Balbir on the SIT: one of the grounds for Balbir's acquittal by the Supreme Court was that the SIT had detained him for almost a month before they declared he was under arrest. Tiwari maintains Atinderpal was arrested on September 30, not October 4, 1988, as the police claim. He has also alleged that Atinderpal has been "illegally" lodged—since he isn't sentenced to death—in the death cell of Sangrur (Special Security Jail) since March 3 this year.

BHAWAN SINGH



Toni and Dalip Singh were arrested on their way to the Nariman Point office of their lawyers, Mahesh Jethmalani and Satish Maneshinde. The lawyers call the charge-sheet a frame-up. Alleges Maneshinde: "They have been told, constantly, for over four years, by the SIT, to implicate Mann. They were told that if they do that, they'll be released. If not, charge-sheeted." Jethmalani adds: "The SIT has come to stand for 'Sikh Inquisitory Team'."

CIVIL rights activists in Bombay allege the two academics are being victimised for their criticism of the Government's Punjab policy. Asks Maneshinde: "If they were guilty, would not they have jumped bail?"

The evidence against the present accused is stronger in the conspiracy and terrorism cases, than in the assassination itself. To prove involvement in the latter, the prosecution needs to establish a link between them and Kehar. The four were supposed to be engaged in parallel conspiracies to assassinate Mrs Gandhi. One attempt in Nagpur—in August 1984—apparently flopped for lack of a weapon.

Now the legal battle lines are being drawn all over again. The Orphans' Home adjacent to Delhi's Tihar Jail, where Judge Mahesh Chandra heard the first case, is being spruced up again. Some, like Sodhi, believe the case will fizzle out if the Government changes after the next elections, but government spokesmen are smug, arguing the political cost of "withdrawing a case of sedition with Pakistani involvement will be unaffordable".

At least on that count, the Government seems to have made a shrewd calculation. While the Opposition has been clamouring for the release of the remaining parts of the Thakkar report, the Government has used the charge-sheet as political ju-jitsu, the art of using the rival's strengths to defeat him. And

RAJIV'S RETORT

We do not have any definite answers. What we do have is a stackful of needles all quivering on the magnetic field of suspicion that points to the conspirators, to their political peers, to their friends and to their accomplices.

◆

There is a world of difference between observation and indictment. It was Justice Thakkar's job to pinpoint every needle that he could find. The needles are in the report. The proceedings on which the report is based are the haystack. We are not required to table the haystack.

◆

I am also the only surviving son of an assassinated mother. It takes a peculiarly sick mentality to insinuate that I could, in any way, betray the love and affection that she showered on me by restoring into the bureaucracy a suspected accomplice in her assassination.

◆

We are a prudent government. We are also a fair government. Now that he has been exonerated, why should his integrity be doubted?

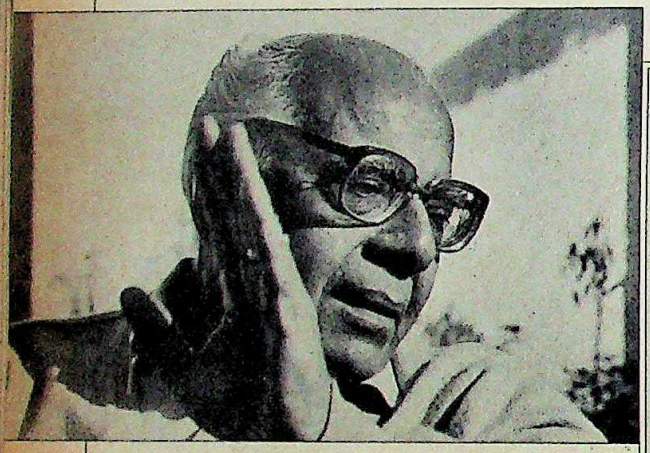
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

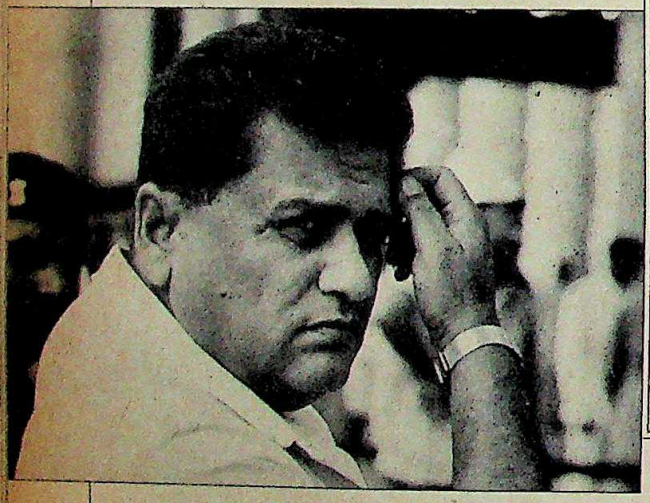
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

given the usual pace at which the legal process moves, the courtroom battle will warm up just as the election build-up reaches a crescendo.

The Congress(I) will get another chance to revive the "nation is in danger" paranoia it articulated so effectively in 1984. The party seems to have rediscovered the fact that its greatest vote-catcher could still be Mrs Gandhi, even half a decade after her death. In his Lok Sabha speech, Rajiv gave ample indication that he was once again building up an emotional, even hysterical campaign with time-tested themes, projecting himself as an earnest leader persecuted by evil manipulators. As he said in Parliament: "I am not going to be deflected in my purpose by the campaign of whisper and malice that has been unleashed against me, my family and my associates...If there was one lesson I learned from my mother, Indiraji, it was to press on regardless, *Ekla chalo re.*" The outburst had the shades of Mrs Gandhi presenting herself as the "progressive" leader hamstrung by a geriatric syndicate in 1969; of her in 1980, persecuted by the Janata and wronged by her voters; and of Rajiv himself after her death in December 1984.

The stage is thus set for another no-holds-barred political battle with the assassination the central issue. "We will see the same old sordid drama on TV every day. He will use his mother's body again to fight an election," warns Ram Jethmalani. Akali leader Amarinder Singh calls the charges motivated "to build an anti-Sikh nexus for the next elections". But Minister of State for Home Santosh Mohan Deb says: "The Opposition raked up the whole issue. Now if we thrash them with their own cane, they can't complain."





> "We will see the same old sordid drama on TV every day. He will use his mother's body again to fight an election."
> RAM JETHMALANI
>
> ◆
>
> "The Opposition raked up the issue. If we thrash them with their own cane they can't complain."
> SANTOSH MOHAN DEB

Obviously December 1984 is recent enough to be re-enacted. There are already charges of opposition links with terrorists and the killers of Mrs Gandhi, renewed talk of a foreign hand, the machinations of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence and, finally, the threat to the nation's integrity. But this battle will be fought harder and dirtier. Whether or not the voters buy the theories of 1984 again, as Rajiv Gandhi fights back for survival, he at least has the satisfaction of fighting the Opposition on the wicket of his choice.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA and DAVID DEVADAS with SALIL TRIPATHI in Bombay

GUEST COLUMN
BY A.G. NOORANI

Sins of Commission

FOR the first time ever, a judge—of the Supreme Court at that—conducting a judicial inquiry under statutory sanction, blatantly propounds the doctrine that he can opine on mere suspicion. While doing so, he refuses to hold a judicial inquiry which he had undertaken to hold.

Justice Thakkar says: "The commission cannot itself hold an inquiry... which will be more in the nature of a trial." His task is "to collect information" which might lead him to "form the opinion that, in the context of the material gathered by the commission, there are grounds to suspect" some persons. He would "articulate the reasons for forming the opinion that there are grounds for entertaining suspicion" about them. "And to recommend that the matter required to be further investigated by the investigating agency."

Ordinarily, an investigating agency collects material for a commission to consider and deliver a judicial finding. In an unprecedented reversal of roles, Justice Thakkar collects material for the SIT to consider. The expressions he has used to describe his task are as varied as those he has used to describe his many suspicions—an "investigative exercise"; "exploratory exercise"; and "pre-inquiry investigative exercise".

His refusal to hold an inquiry proper deserves to be quoted in extenso: "The commission cannot hold a parallel trial. This report (the final one) recording its conclusion is based on the pre-inquiry investigative exercise and not on an inquiry under Section 8(B) of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, which is neither feasible nor practicable. The rest has to be done by the investigating agency."

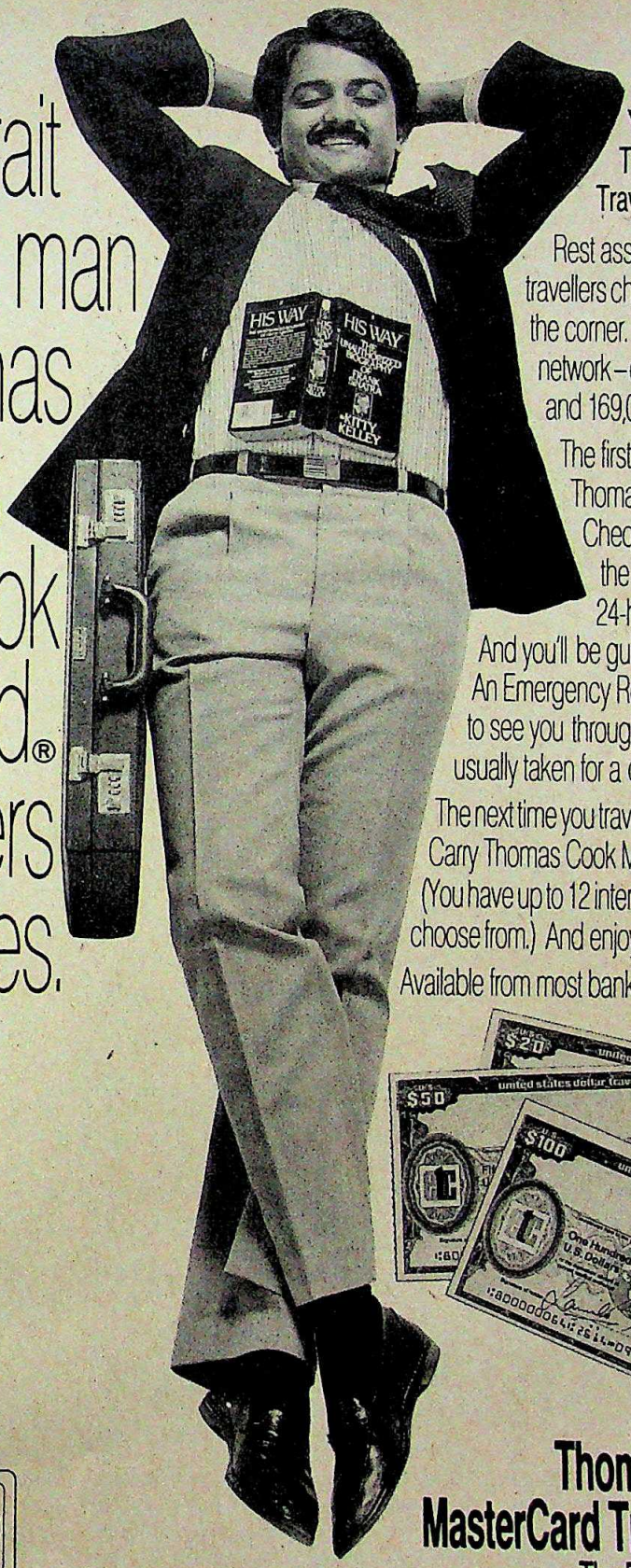
But the terms of reference of the commission clearly say: "The commission shall make an inquiry with respect of the following matters..."

The distinction between "inquiry" and "investigation" is fundamental. For instance, Section 2 (G) of the Criminal Procedure Code defines inquiry to mean "every inquiry, other than a trial, conducted under this code by a magistrate

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Portrait of a man who has lost his Thomas Cook MasterCard® Travellers Cheques.



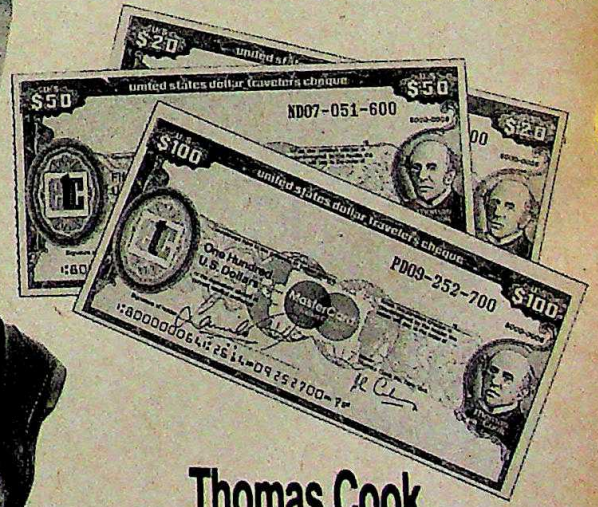
Yes. Don't panic if you lose your Thomas Cook MasterCard® Travellers Cheques.

Rest assured, your replacement travellers cheques are available just around the corner. From the world's largest refund network – over 1500 Thomas Cook offices and 169,000 appointed refund points.

The first thing to do, if you lose your Thomas Cook MasterCard Travellers Cheques, is to call Thomas Cook on the Anytime Line – the toll-free, 24-hour refund assistance service. And you'll be guided to the nearest refund point. An Emergency Refund can usually be arranged, to see you through the next 24 hours – the time usually taken for a complete replacement.

The next time you travel abroad, make the right choice. Carry Thomas Cook MasterCard Travellers Cheques. (You have up to 12 international currencies to choose from.) And enjoy total peace of mind.

Available from most banks and Thomas Cook branches.



Thomas Cook MasterCard

Thomas Cook MasterCard Travellers Cheques
The Right Choice

everest/88/TCIL/93 R

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

or court". On the other hand, clause (h) defines investigation to include proceedings "for the collection of evidence conducted by a police officer..."

Inquiry is a judicial task, to be conducted with all the norms of a judicial proceeding. Investigation is the job of the police, executed with police methods. Justice Thakkar repeatedly, disingenuously, asserts that he was not holding "an inquiry under Section 8B" of the Act. He was appointed as the judge on a Commission of Inquiry under the Act, to "make an inquiry". Section 8B comes into play once an inquiry begins and notice on persons affected by it is mandatory, as the courts have ruled.

Section 5A of the Act empowers a Commission of Inquiry to requisition the services of an investigation agency of the appointing government. The object is precisely set out—"for the purpose of conducting any investigation pertaining to the inquiry". The difference between the two functions becomes apparent in sub-section (5) of Section 5A. It says: "The commission shall satisfy itself about the correctness of the facts stated and the conclusions, if any, arrived at in the investigation report submitted to it and for this purpose the commission may make such inquiry (including the examination of the person or persons who conducted or assisted in the investigation), as it thinks fit."

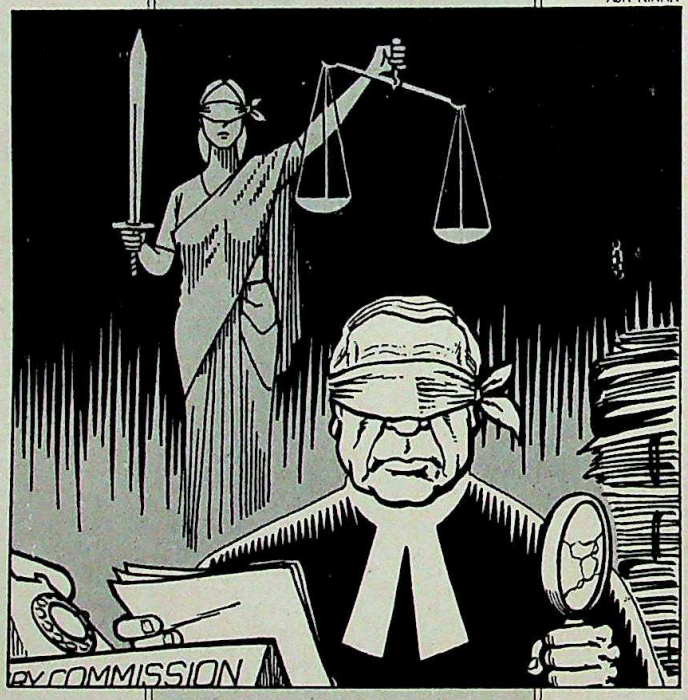
It was Thakkar's duty to ask the SIT to investigate and report to him. He was then bound by the Act to "satisfy" himself "about the correctness of the facts" and the opinions expressed in SIT's report. He had ample power—indeed, owed a clear duty—to examine the investigators. Instead, he collects material and asks SIT to sift it.

This was not the first case of an inquiry into an event which was also the subject of a criminal trial. In 1970, Justice Y.V. Chandrachud said in his report on Deen Dayal Upadhyaya's death: "The scope of this inquiry is wider than the scope of the sessions trial. I must determine why the murder was committed—a question that has wider ramifications than the question before the sessions court; namely, whether the accused before it were guilty...I can conduct a probe into the real truth."

But the aptest parallel is the neglected classic, Justice D.P. Madon's report on the Bhiwandi riots of May 1970. While the Commission sat, 223 persons were prosecuted on the charge of conspiracy to cause the riots. A Special Investigation Squad was set up. One fine day, reference to the conspiracy cropped up before Justice Madon. The commission immediately "directed that the evidence with respect to the conspiracy alleged by the squad should be led before it and that notice should be given to the 223 accused" if they wanted to be heard.

Thakkar's descriptions of his task are as varied as his suspicions: "investigative exercise"; "exploratory exercise".

AJIT NINAN



Investigators always collect material for a commission. Here, Thakkar collects material for the SIT.

The case collapsed before the commission within a few days after the evidence was led. Then the conspiracy case was withdrawn. The commission found that the squad had "trumped up" the charge and sought to prove it by "perjured evidence and by documents which were fabricated". Only a Commission of Inquiry could have exposed this.

Justice A.N. Grover, who inquired into the charges against Devraj Urs, was at pains to emphasise that the investigating agency acted under "the direction and control of the commission" which "at no stage delegates the function of making inquiry".

Justice Thakkar, in contrast, pathetically abdicated his task in favour of the SIT. The SIT, he writes, "suspects the involvement of a number of individuals in the conspiracy to commit the crime. It will not be appropriate for the commission to advert to the material gathered by the SIT in respect of the said suspects or to express any opinion" in that regard.

He notes the prosecution of Beant Singh and Satwant Singh but ignores Kehar Singh who was arraigned as a conspirator. A Madon would have heard the conspiracy case himself and returned a definite finding in Kehar Singh's case as well.

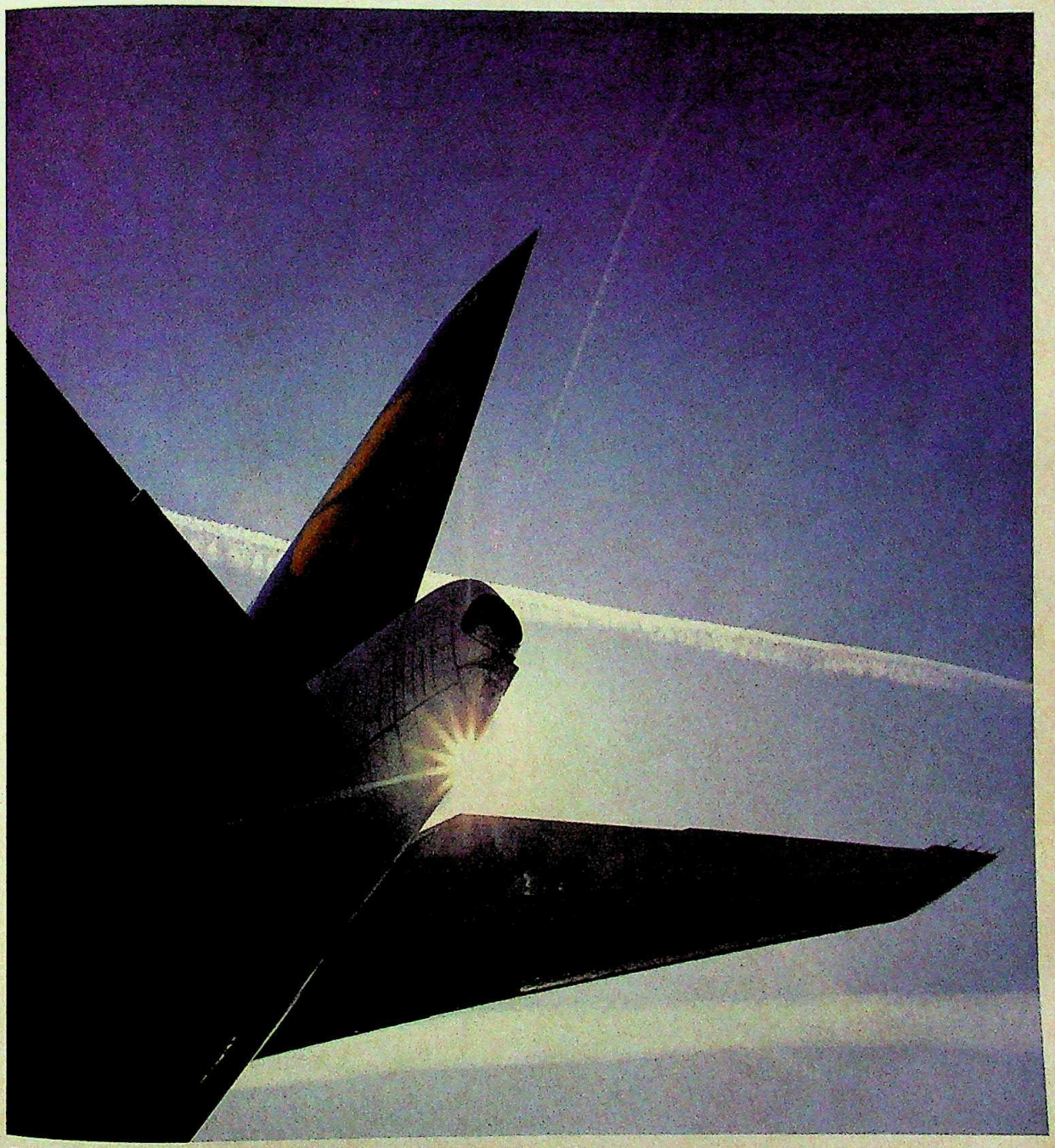
In a quaint interpolation (page 141A), Thakkar very categorically dismisses the theory that the Indo-Tibetan Border Police personnel shot Beant Singh in order to "silence him". It happens to be the prime minister's theory, actually. He told the Congress(I) Parliamentary Party on November 2, 1984 (*The Hindu, November 3*) that as in the case of the Kennedy murder, attempts were made in the present case to eliminate the assassins. However, one of them was alive.

Which brings us to the Government's stand before the commission. Did it adopt any? The people have a right to know. Immediately after the assassination, Rajiv Gandhi began to put forward various "conspiracy" theories. He has recently revived the theme. The people have a right to know whether those theories were at all put forth before the Thakkar Commission. The report does not suggest that they were.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lufthansa lands in more lands than any other.



From A for Argentina to Z for Zaire and in 82 countries in between.

Lufthansa

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

'My car moves on petrol. M

To
dema
Petsil
perfor
engine
your c
Insist

Av
1 ltr., a
auto s

Fo
Apeej
Bomb

Pet
Associ

Gu

Public Domain. Gu

Digitized by ...

...l. My engine runs on GMO.

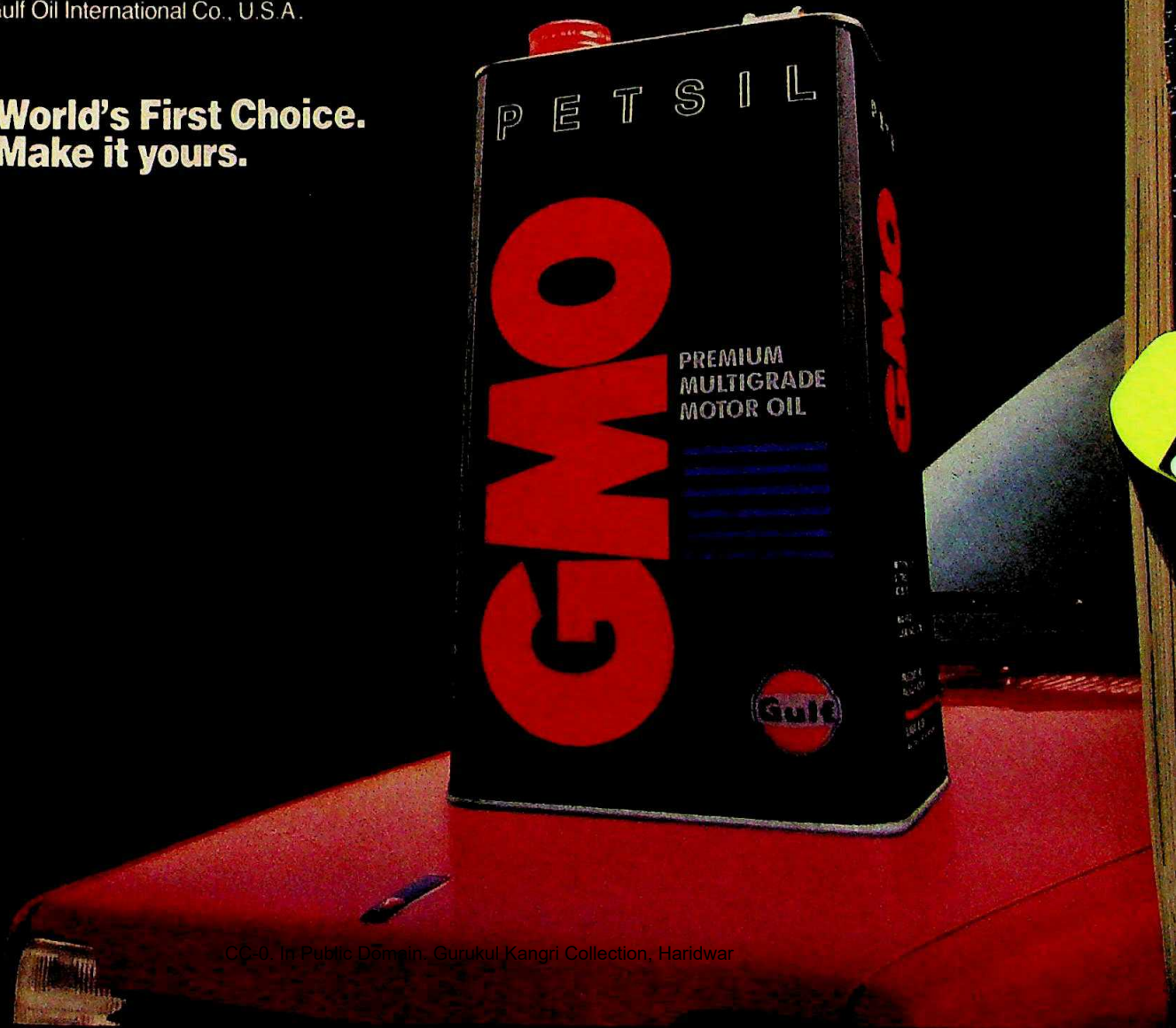
Today's new breed of engines demand a lot more from engine oils. Petsil GMO has the highest performance rating amongst engine oils in the country. Don't risk your car to an ordinary engine oil. Insist on Petsil GMO.

Available in new packs of 5, 2.5 and 1 ltr., at Petrosil's stockists and leading auto spares dealers.

For further information, contact: Apeejay House, 3, Dinsha Wacha Road, Bombay 400 020. Tel: 220818.

Petrosil Oil Co. Ltd.
Associates of Gulf Oil International Co., U.S.A.

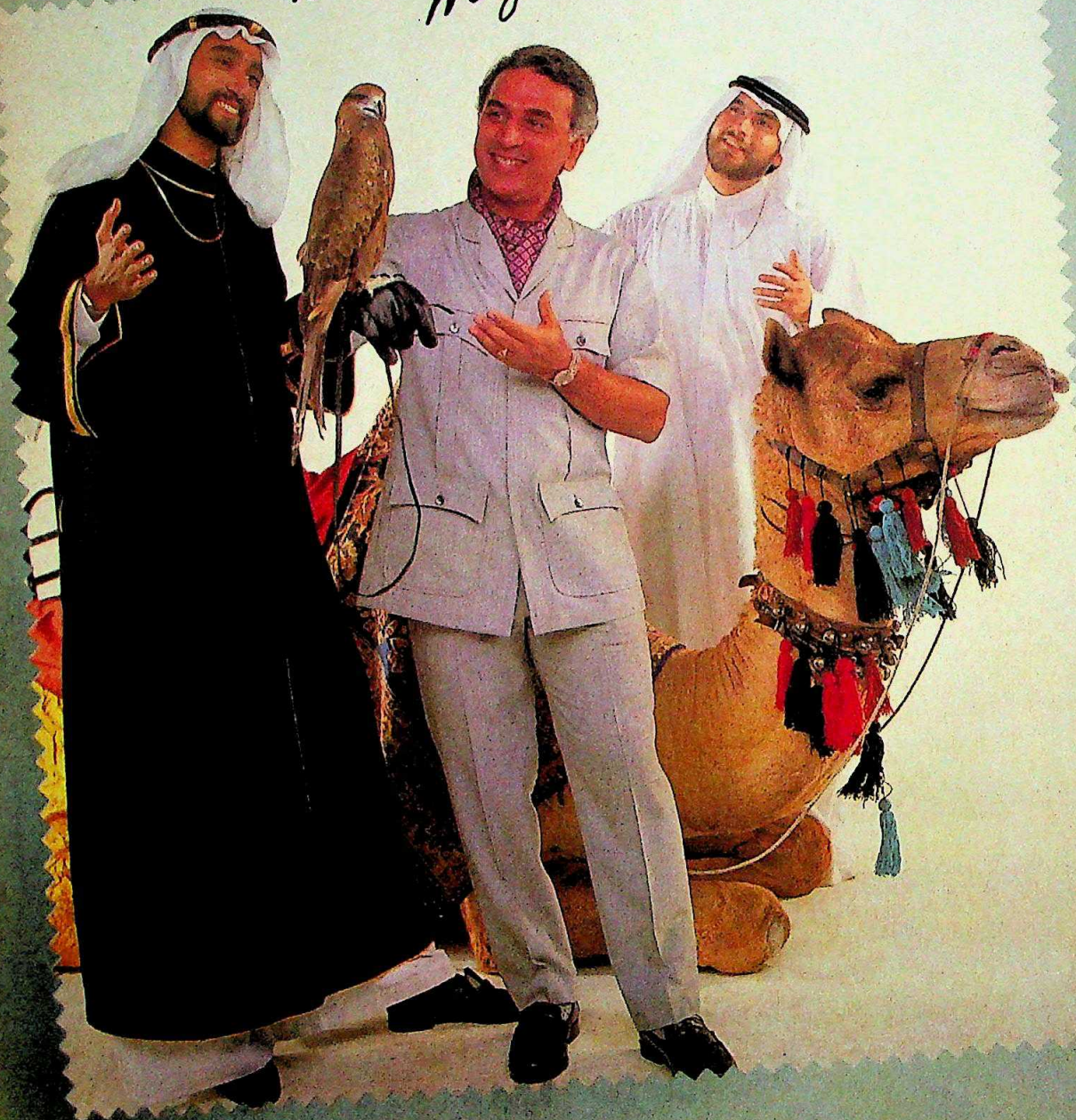
Gulf **World's First Choice. Make it yours.**



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Take the world in your stride.



dinesh

Exclusives ▲ Suitings ▲ Co-ordinates ▲ Safaris

The choice of leading fashion houses, internationally.

dvares/88/SDM/264

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE LEFT PARTIES

Dialectical Wars

Even 25 years after the Communist Party of India split, fear and suspicion continue to cloud unity efforts between the CPI(M) and the CPI. While the CPI has been making overtures of late, the Marxists continue to waver on the issue.

THE bold red Communist Party of India (CPI) signboards exhorting partymen to 'build communist unity' still dominate the main streets of Calcutta, but those who had them inscribed are now in a dither. The slogans raised during the 14th Congress of the CPI in early March, instead of striking a responsive chord in the Communist Party of India (Marxist)—CPI (M)—became yet another salvo in the tussle that has been going on between the two parties for the past 25 years.

The CPI had chosen Calcutta, the Marxist bastion, as the venue of its Congress, with reunification in mind. But no sooner was the unity appeal renewed, than it received a resounding snub. "Why should we merge?" snapped West Bengal Chief Minister Jyoti Basu. Taken aback, CPI strong man C. Rajeswara Rao—who was re-elected general secretary for the eighth time—accused the Marxists of adopting a 'negative attitude'. Said Rao: "The process of communist unity is not proceeding smoothly due to the Marxists' attitude."

For the CPI—which seems to have realised that it is difficult to maintain a separate communist identity outside the Marxist fold—unity has for some time been top priority. Said party Deputy General Secretary Indrajit Gupta: "There can be unity even if we differ on the analysis of the class composition of the state and the stage of the revolution." The CPI(M), apparently smirking at the state of the other communist faction, was quick to retort through its young idealogue and Central Committee Member Biman Bose: "The CPI is giving the so-called call on false premises. Unity can't be effected without a programmatic understanding."

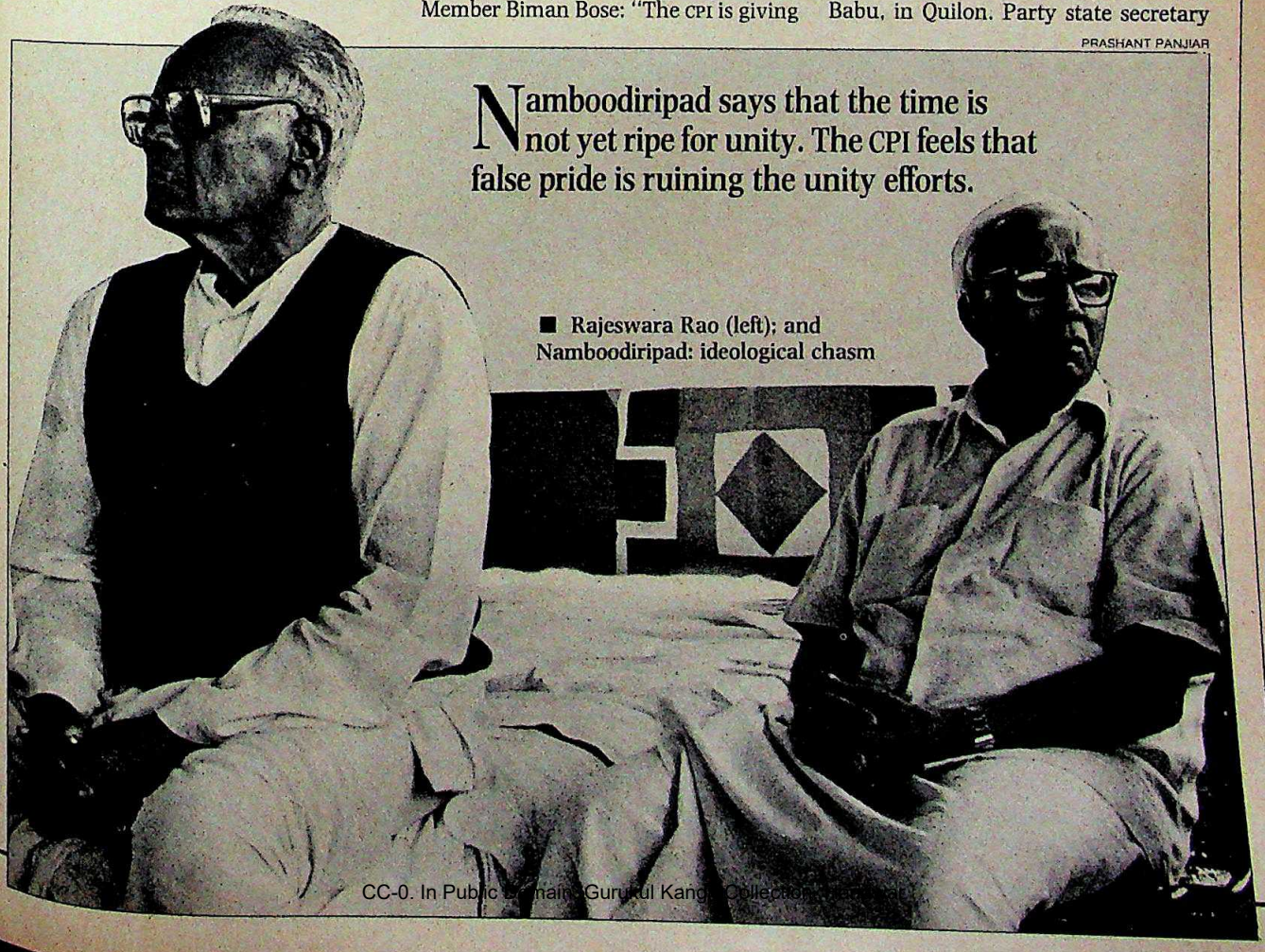
The very basis of their differences was the class outlook of both, argues Bose. "It is a case of Marxist-Leninist thoughts (of the CPI-M) versus social democratic ideas (of the CPI)," he says. The CPI leadership, however, pretended it did not hear and Rajeswara Rao went on to say: "We, however, consider them (the Marxists) a communist party."

If the CPI in West Bengal has been getting the dialectical short shrift from the Marxists, its counterpart in Kerala has been braving the Marxists' immense muscle and knife power.

Last month, the CPI leadership broke its long silence on Marxist violence after the murder of one of its workers, Suresh Babu, in Quilon. Party state secretary

PRASHANT PANJIAR

Namboodiripad says that the time is not yet ripe for unity. The CPI feels that false pride is ruining the unity efforts.



■ Rajeswara Rao (left); and Namboodiripad: ideological chasm

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

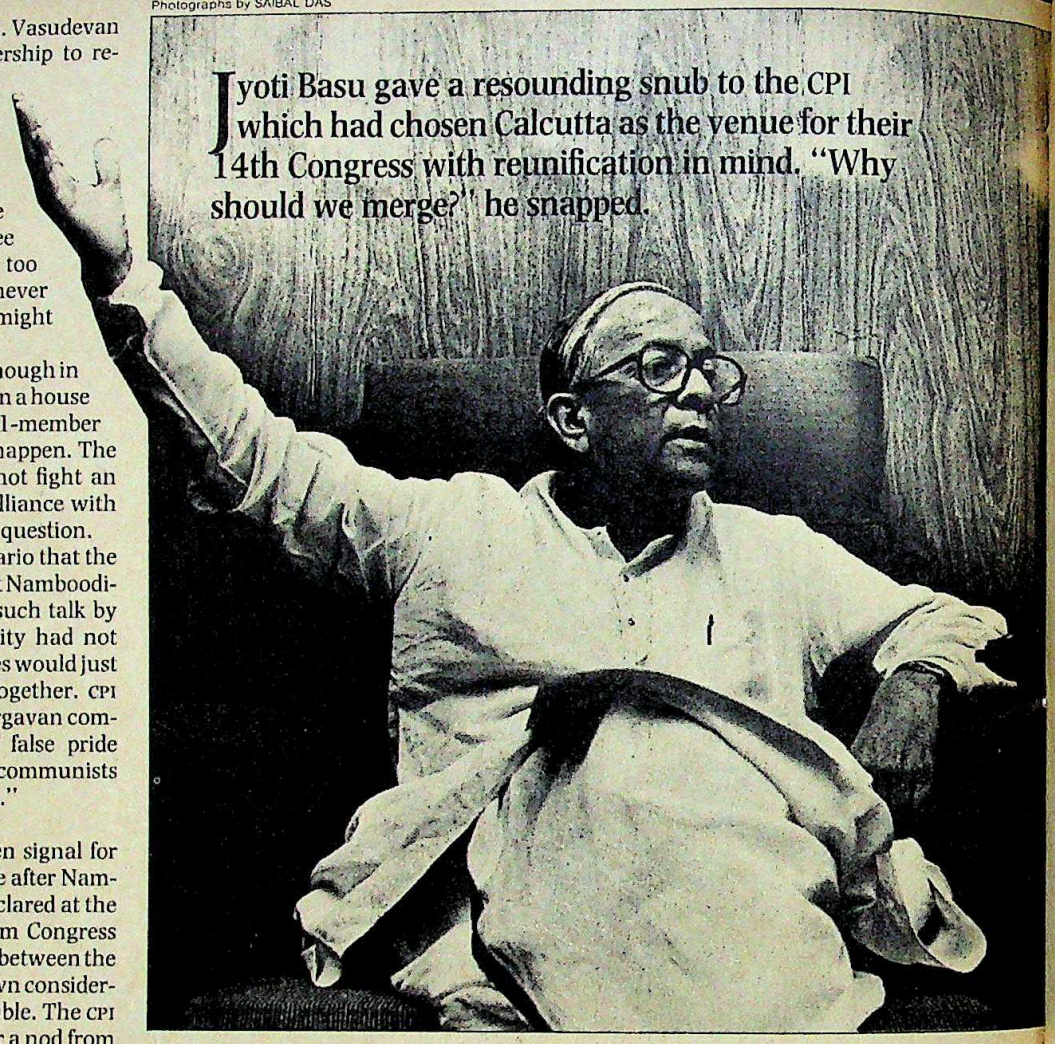
and former chief minister P.K. Vasudevan Nair asked the CPI(M) leadership to restrain its cadres.

Last fortnight, the CPI raised the issue at the Left Democratic Front meeting. A three-member committee was formed to look into the matter. A similar committee was formed in West Bengal too some time back. But it has never met. The Kerala committee might have the same fate.

The Marxists know that though in theory, the CPI with 16 MLAs in a house of 141, can bring down the 81-member coalition, that is unlikely to happen. The CPI, as in West Bengal, cannot fight an election on its own and an alliance with the Congress(I) is out of the question.

It was in this murky scenario that the CPI revived the unity talks. But Namboodiripad promptly scotched all such talk by saying that the time for unity had not arrived and that the left parties would just have to continue to work together. CPI State Secretary Veliyam Bhargavan commented: "Considerations of false pride and vanity unexpected of the communists are ruining the unity moves."

Photographs by SAIBAL DAS

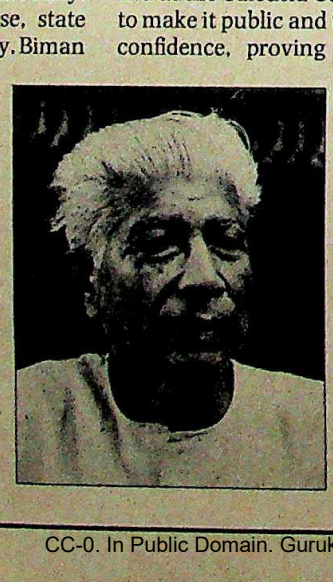


Jyoti Basu gave a resounding snub to the CPI which had chosen Calcutta as the venue for their 14th Congress with reunification in mind. "Why should we merge?" he snapped.

INTERESTINGLY, the green signal for the CPI's unity efforts came after Namboodiripad himself had declared at the end of his party's Trivandrum Congress (January '89) that differences between the two parties had narrowed down considerably and that unity was possible. The CPI leadership, forever looking for a nod from big brother, jumped at the chance.

They surmised that Namboodiripad made the statement keeping in mind the CPI Congress at Calcutta and worked overtime to ensure that the unity call would be the main plank of their session. Such was the optimism in the CPI that many believed that Jyoti Basu would address the party workers after the rally. But this did not happen. Worse, state Marxist leaders ridiculed the party. Biman Bose referred to the presence of the CPI cadres at the Marxist party headquarters, Muzaffar Ahmad Bhawan expecting a unity declaration, and said that it showed the 'bankruptcy' of the party leadership.

Despite this slap, the CPI leaders put up a brave front. State Committee Assistant Secretary Swadhin Guha recalled that unity efforts were an ongoing process and the fact that his party had initiated such efforts soon after the split.



All partners will certainly work against each other. If parties like ours are losing out to the CPI(M), there is no one else to blame."

MAKHAN PAUL
secretary RSP, West Bengal

Marxist leaders, however, maintain that the CPI is still living in a fool's paradise and is not prepared to admit that all its strategies and decisions since the split have gone wrong. Soon after its Patna Congress in 1987, the CPI set up a seven-member high level committee to redraft its programmes and promised to get it ratified at the Calcutta Congress. They failed to make it public and take the cadres into confidence, proving that the CPI still wanted to pursue its old line, a contentious issue between the two parties.

Senior CPI leaders such as Guha, like his party colleagues in Kerala, wonder why the Marxists are allergic to them when both hold similar views regarding the need to oust the Rajiv Government. "We do not know what irritates the CPI(M) now," said Guha.

The Marxist party it seems is getting vicarious pleasure in making the CPI dance to its tune—by making regular but vague statements about unity—with the intention of exposing what they feel is its ideological cretinism. So even while the CPI(M) has been trying to swallow other left front parties, the CPI, they feel, should die its own death. The CPI(M), particularly Namboodiripad, has not yet forgiven the CPI for the pro-Congress role that it played in Kerala, espe-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cially during the Emergency.

The Marxist tendency to cannibalise its partners has been in evidence in West Bengal for the last 11 years, where it has been systematically nibbling away at the minor left partners, most of whom have been clutching at any political straw to keep afloat. Basu played a major role in splitting the strong Forward Bloc (FB), using Ram Chatterjee, who was accommodated in the state Cabinet as a representative of the Forward Bloc (Marxist)—FB(M). Even after Chatterjee's death in 1986, the Marxists went out of their way to keep the paper party alive by helping his wife get elected from the same seat.

■ The 14th CPI Congress at Calcutta: striking the wrong chord

The same technique was used with Ajoy Mukherjee's Bangla Congress. The CPI(M) was a member in both the United Front governments of 1967 and 1969 led by the Bangla Congress. Later, a split was engineered and the Marxists midwifed the birth of the Biplabi Bangla Congress which is a member of the Left Front, but has no seats. Another Left Front partner is the Revolutionary Communist Party of India (RCPI) which has two seats. Basu obviously prefers ciphers as partners.

Some of the left parties, however, realised this Marxist strategy very early, like the Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI), which was a member of the 1967 and 1969 United Front governments. Said SUCI leader Debabrata Sarkar: "We had to leave the Left Front in 1977 because we refused to submit to the CPI(M)'s big brotherly attitude on ideological questions."

This does not explain why the Marxists have mounted pressure on their senior partners like the FB and the Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP). "Since the CPI(M) had not succeeded in weaning away our grassroots strength, it has resorted to pressure tactics to demoralise our cadres by attempting to reduce our administrative strength through the use of police and by snatching away important government portfolios," complained FB state secretary, Ashok Ghosh.

Veteran RSP leader Makhan Paul is not as vociferous in his criticism: "All Left Front partners would certainly work against each other in order to increase their strength and the CPI(M) cannot be an exception. If parties like ours are losing out, there is no one else to blame." Paul is, however, pained at the growing feeling amongst Marxist leaders that other Left Front partners are totally dependent on them.

It was to thwart this feeling that the two parties decided to take on the Marxists in the 1988 panchayat elections, dubbing them as a "fascist party" that was out to eliminate them in a "Stalinistic manner". This frontal attack paid dividends: the two parties substantially increased their strength. Said Ashok Ghosh: "The CPI(M) is mistaken if it thinks that there has been a complete polarisation of votes between them and the Congress(I)."

Over the last decade however, the CPI(M) haul of Assembly seats has been improving. Its strength has gone up from 177 in 1977 to 187 in 1987. That of its partners is declining: the FB has 26 legislators now as against 28 in the last assembly, the RSP's share has gone down from 20 to 18 and the RCPI and FB(M)'s from three each to two each at present.

But the CPI, unlike the other partners, marginally increased its strength in the West Bengal Assembly from two to seven between 1977 and 1982. It has 11 members in the Assembly now. The party does not think that they owe their seats to the CPI(M).

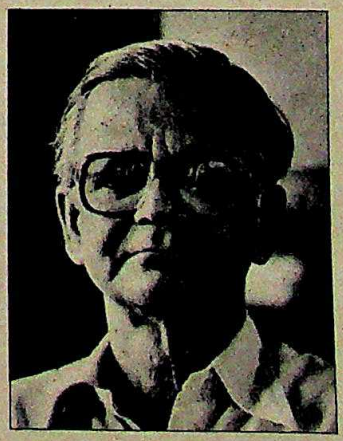
CPI leaders say privately that the Marxists are a bit worried about the "phenomenal growth" of the party, though Jyoti Basu and other leaders consider it a political non-entity in the state. The Marxists point out that while their membership has increased by over one lakh, the CPI membership has grown by only 15,000 in the last year.

In spite of marked differences within the CPI(M) itself in its approach to unity with the CPI, there are no indications that even the central leadership will be in a hurry to overrule the West Bengal leaders' opinion about merger. If Namboodiripad does not wink yet again at the CPI, the two communist parties will most probably revert to the 1964 position and again start ideological battles on class conflicts and dictatorship of the proletariat. But as things stand, it seems that the CPI(M) is fighting for dictatorship within the left movement in the country.

—FARZAND AHMED and KAMALJEET RATTAN in Calcutta with RAMESH MENON in Trivandrum

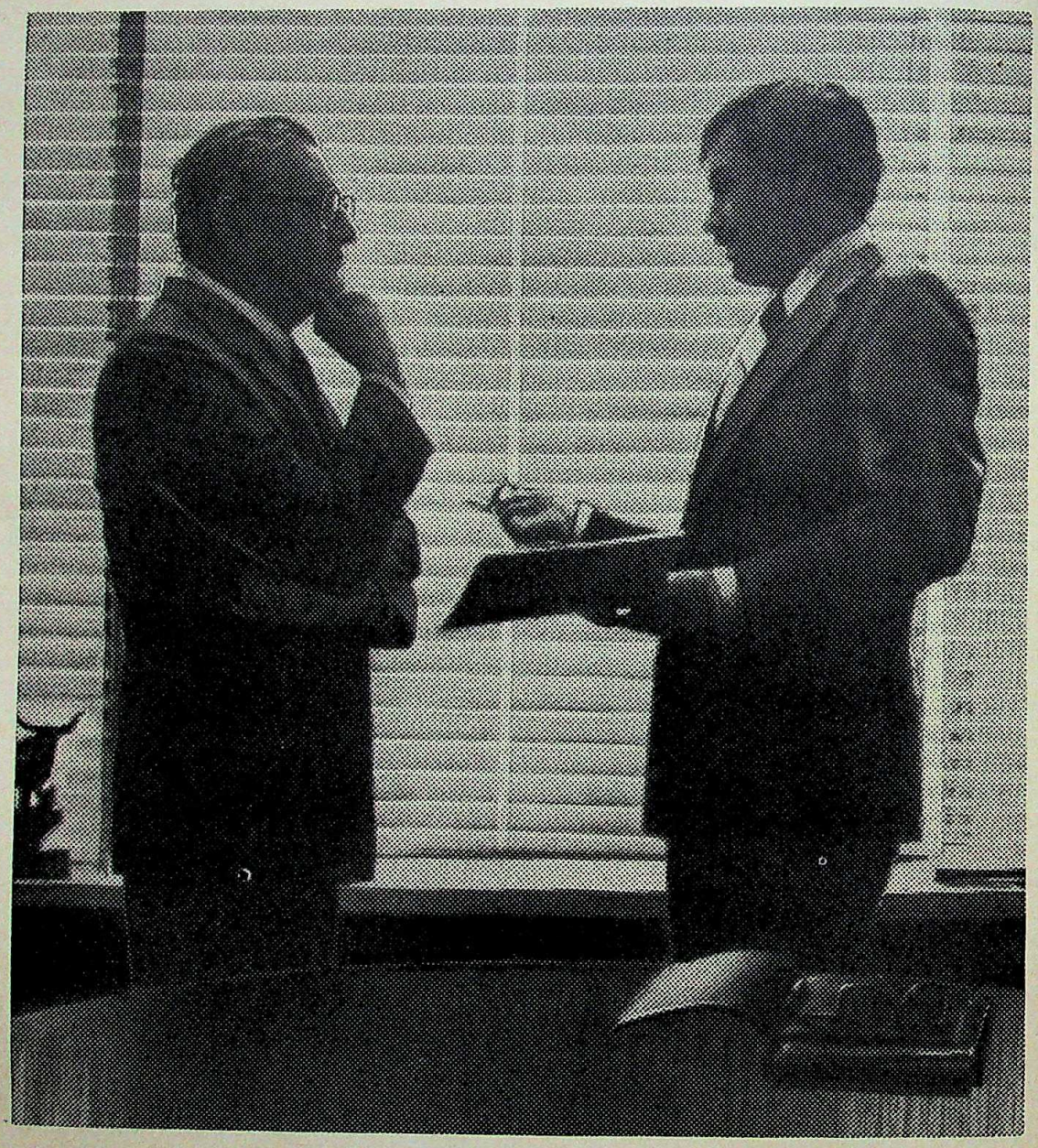
"Unity efforts have been an ongoing process ever since the split. We do not know what is the question that irritates the CPI(M) now."

SWADHIN GUHA
CPI assistant secretary, West Bengal



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



76 issues managed and more than Rs.1,882 crores raised from the capital market in 1988.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MEETING CHALLENGES IS A WAY OF LIFE AT SBICAP

Yes, challenge and response are hourly phenomena at SBICAP. And we never run out of solutions.

At the same time, there's no standard catch-all approach at SBICAP. Every issue has different characteristics, and merits a special strategy for its handling, a unique approach.

SBICAP looks at the issue's individual characteristics with a professional eye, points the way to success amid the complexities of the new issues market, and holds out a helping hand to actually lead the client to full success.

And all this for every issue, from a small one for Rs.60 lakhs to a mega issue of over Rs.300 crores!

In every case, the commitment brought by SBICAP to the issue is the same! This goes far beyond guiding the issuer on the statutory requirements to be fulfilled. SBICAP takes up the challenge of finding the right niche in the market and the way to it.

And because we have an unrivalled access to a network of branches, brokers, sub-brokers and specialised funds, our power of placement only keeps on increasing.

SBI Capital Markets Limited

SBI CAPITAL MARKETS LIMITED

(A wholly-owned subsidiary of State Bank of India)
202, Maker Tower E, 20th Floor, Cuffe Parade, Bombay 400 005.
Tel: 21 99 66, 21 55 69. Telex: 11-5230—MBKG IN

India's Premier Merchant Bank

ADROIT-53/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BODOLAND AGITATION

Turn for the Worse

As the latest bandh called by the All Bodo Students Union ended last fortnight after violence against government institutions and brutal retaliation by the police, only one thing seemed certain. That Assam was in for a long period of turmoil.

FOR the people of Assam, the peace of the past four years has already begun to seem like a distant memory, an interlude between two prolonged agitations.

The bandhs called by the All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) in support of its demand for a separate state for the Bodo tribals have successfully paralysed life in Kokrajhar and Darrang districts and, for various periods of time, cut off the entire North-east from the rest of the country. What's worse, the agitation shows every sign of being as prolonged as the one launched by the All Assam Students Union (AASU) around a decade ago.

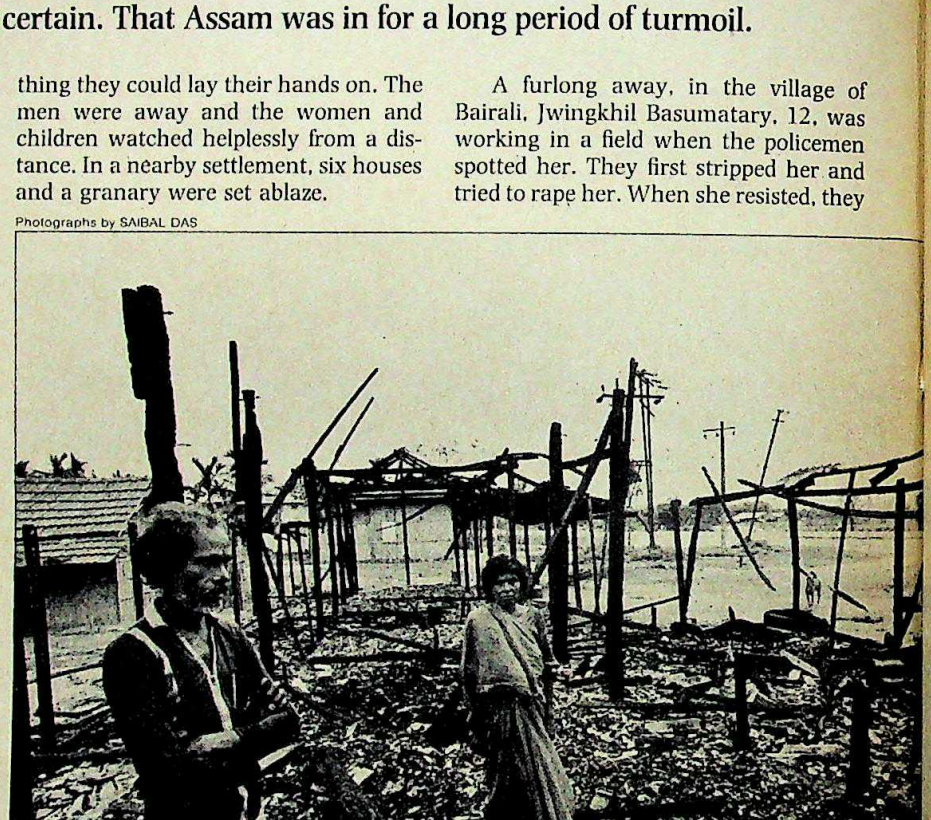
The actions of the state's police are certainly not such as to encourage an early end to the agitation. In retaliation to violence against policemen, they have gone on a rampage in Bodo-dominated villages in Kokrajhar and Darrang districts. Thereby they may have destroyed whatever chances existed of isolating the militants and may, in fact, have helped broaden the militants' base.

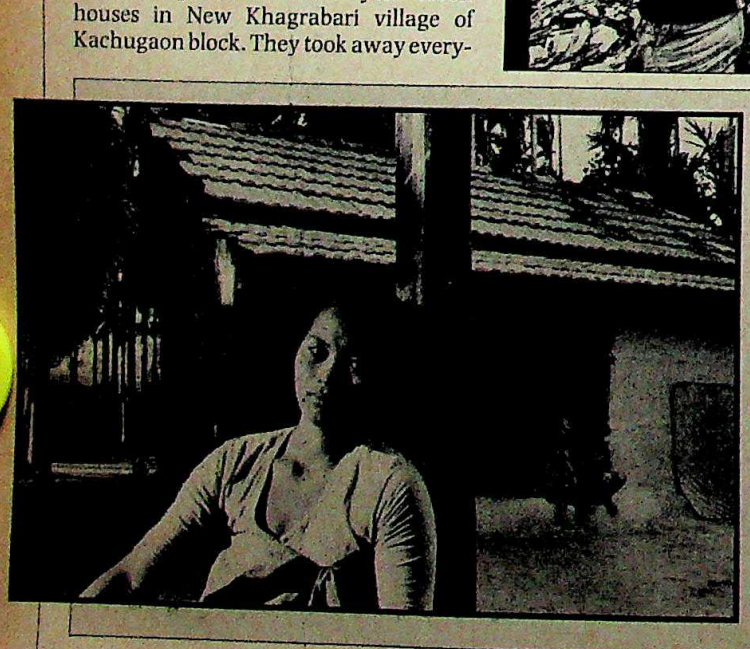
On March 23, in the space of a few minutes, policemen destroyed seven houses in New Khagrabari village of Kachugaon block. They took away everything they could lay their hands on. The men were away and the women and children watched helplessly from a distance. In a nearby settlement, six houses and a granary were set ablaze.

A furlong away, in the village of Bairali, Jwingkhil Basumatary, 12, was working in a field when the policemen spotted her. They first stripped her and tried to rape her. When she resisted, they beat her up and kicked her private parts.

In Tomalpur village, Rajen Islary, 48, narrates how his 12-year-old daughter Maidangshri was savaged by the police. They struck her all over with their rifle butts and even now Maidangshri can speak and walk only with great difficulty. Elsewhere in the village, 60 women and girls locked themselves into a house. But the police smashed the walls and assaulted them mercilessly. Says

Photographs by SAIBAL DAS





When Jwingkhil Basumatary, 12, resisted attempts by the police to rape her she was beaten up and kicked in her private parts.

Houses ravaged by ABSU activists: violent spree

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Islary: "Their intention was clear—rape. But since the menfolk were nearby they went away after some time."

A report prepared by the Kachugaon block committee of the ABSU charges that such violence has been widespread and specifically aimed at women. Elsewhere too, the police were brutal. ABSU Treasurer Daorao Narzary says the police burnt down 40 houses in Gossaigaon subdivision. Binai Kungur Basumatari, a legislator and leader of the United Tribals Nationalists Liberation Front (UTNLF), says that on March 23, in Udalguri subdivision of Darrang district, the police killed at least 10 Bodos and wounded and crippled many more. Kungur made a similar charge in the state Assembly. It went uncontested.

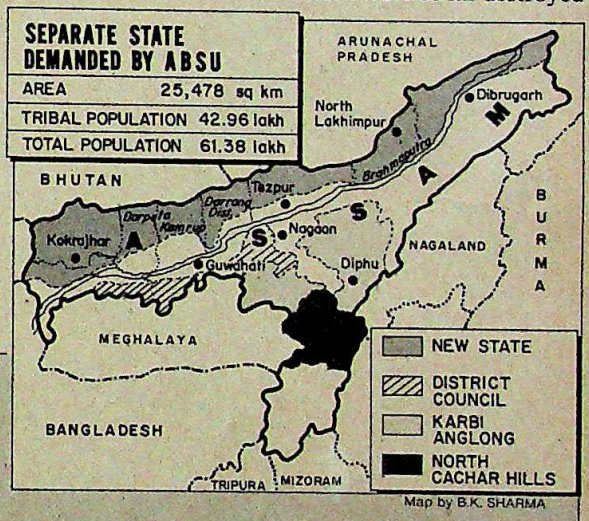
Villagers from Kapurpora, Pakribari, Baramjuli, Kunderbil and north Nalbari corroborated Kungur's statement. The police, they say, descended on their villages in search of Bodo militants and in a day-long operation killed 10 people and ransacked 50 houses. Among the victims were: Seudhar Baglari, 75 of Kapurpora; a 65-year-old crippled leper of Baramjuli; Gajen Dalmari, a schoolboy of north Nalbari; Sebastian Baglary, 75, of Bagantola; and Loda Khaklari, 65, of Pakirbari. Angel Basumatary, 35, who, along with his family, tried to hide in the nearby jungle, was shot dead at point-blank range.

The police deny all charges of brutality. A day after the massacre, Deputy Inspector General of Police S.K. Dev told newsmen that some Bodo miscreants had been killed in an "encounter". And as if to justify the police action, Z.N. Sharma, minister in charge of implementing the Assam accord, and Director-General of Police S.V. Subramaniam took newsmen to some villages attacked by Bodos.

ABSU Vice-President Pradeep Kumar Daimary ridicules the police claim that those killed were militants. The victims, he points out, were either too young or too old to have participated in extremist activities.

Other Bodo leaders allege that the Government is using criminal elements among migrant Muslims to attack Bodos and trying to instigate clashes between Bodos and other tribals. It is a charge that was repeated by Muslim United Front MLA Abdul Jabbar in the Assembly though Home Minister Bhrigu Kumar Phukan refuted it in an interview to INDIA TODAY.

Still, the ABSU too must be held responsible for provoking police violence. In voicing its demand for a separate state constituting half of present-day Assam, it, along with its various underground wings, has unleashed a reign of terror. The Government institutions and officials have been singled out as targets. According to statistics presented in the Rajya Sabha last fortnight, Bodo activists had this year killed 62 people by the end of March. And official sources say that since the launch of the ABSU agitation last year 300 people, including 35 government personnel, have been killed. In Kokrajhar district alone, according to official statistics, Bodo militants have so far destroyed



Map by B.K. SHARMA

SEPARATE STATE

Old Demand

UNTIL two months ago, few outside the North-east had heard of the Bodo tribals of Assam. The agitation they launched for a separate state seemed to have arrived from nowhere.

But the demand is really an old one. What's new is the methods the Bodos are employing to achieve it.

The Bodos or Kacharis claim to have migrated to the Brahmaputra Valley from central Asia around 5000 B.C. According to myth, they had a powerful capital at Adimbapur (now Dimapur, capital of Nagaland). Adimbapur is said to have been named after Princess Adimba who married Bhima.

In the 13th century A.D. the region was invaded by the Ahoms who drove the Bodos from their homeland. The fight lasted nearly three centuries after which the Bodos established a kingdom in the Cachar hills with its capital at Guwahati. Later they were forced to retreat farther to the plains.

It was under British rule that the Bodos first raised the demand for a separate homeland. In 1927, the Kachari Yubak Sammelan submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission demanding an "independent identity" and the creation of a separate Kachari regiment.

After Independence, the hill tribes successfully managed to advance their demands. As a result, the states of Nagaland and Mizoram were formed between 1962 and 1972. The plains tribes missed the bus again.

In 1967 the All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) and a political party, the Plains Tribals Council of Assam (PTCA), were formed. Later there was a set-back when the PTCA split. But the demand for a homeland has never been withdrawn. Over the years, repeated representations were made to the Central governments under both Indira Gandhi and Rajiv. Finally in 1986, the ABSU decided its patience had been exhausted.

That year, under the leadership of Upendra Nath Bramha, a school-teacher-turned-bank employee-turned-activist, the organisation decided to launch a "do-or-die" movement for a separate state. The earlier list of 92 demands was abandoned in favour of three principal ones.

- A separate state on the north bank of Brahmaputra.
- The creation of autonomous districts in tribal areas on the south bank of the Brahmaputra.
- The inclusion of Bodo-Kacharis of Karbi-Anglong and other tribes in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution.

On January 1, 1987, the ABSU submitted a memorandum to Chief Minister Prafulla Mahanta and on February 10 the same year it served an ultimatum to the prime minister.

Last March the movement was formally launched and has since gone through 32 phases of agitation. The latest one—a 10-day bandh—ended last fortnight. This year, underground activities were stepped up with a vengeance. The violence succeeded in winning the ABSU the national attention it wanted and the organisation seems convinced now that violence pays far more than peaceful methods. It's going to be a difficult lesson to unlearn.

—FARZAND AHMED in Guwahati

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

as many as 139 bridges.

Bodo militants have used a variety of country-made guns and crude bombs to strike at government officials and personnel. Last fortnight, ABSU activists raided a godown of the Public Health Engineering Department and stole several pipes. An odd target for a raid? No, say the police. At least a hundred pipe guns can be fabricated from these pipes.

The Bodos' violent tactics have certainly succeeded remarkably in drawing the country's attention to their demands. They have another advantage. The Bodo population is concentrated in a strategically important area of Assam—a 'chicken neck' which connects the North-east with the rest of the country. So it's not difficult to paralyse the entire region. As the agitation intensified, army movements were seriously affected and two battalions of the CRPF and the Assam Rifles had to be deployed to protect road and rail communications. The army even had to requisition private buses to enable stranded jawans to join their convoys.

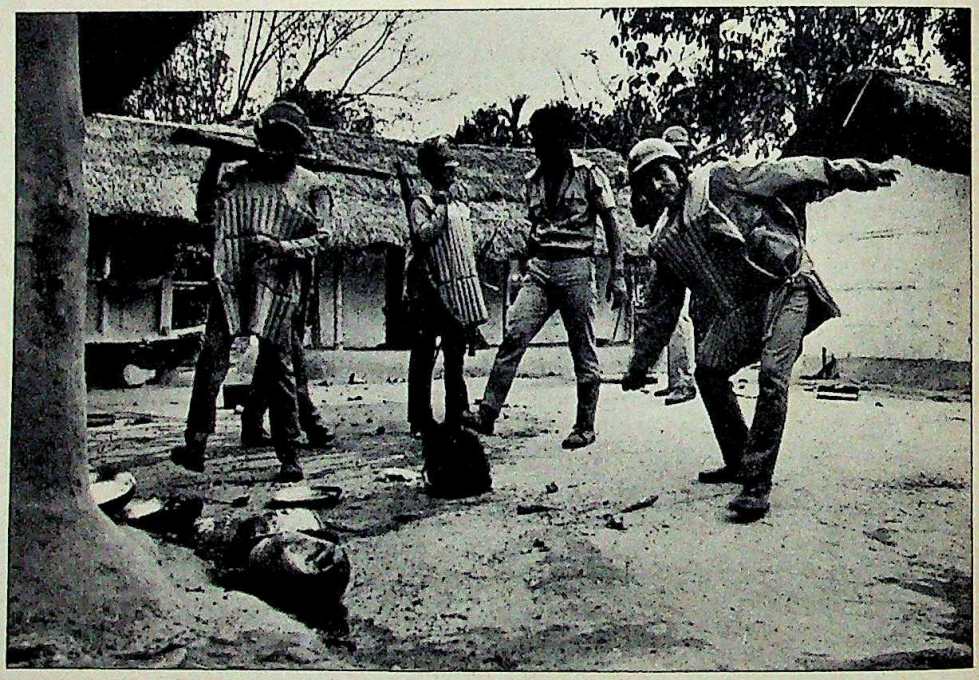
The paralysis of communications in the area was seized upon by the Centre to browbeat the state Government. Addressing the national convention of the National Students Union of India, Rajiv Gandhi warned that if the Assam Government failed to maintain supplies of essential commodities to north-eastern states, the Centre could not remain silent.

HIS action seemed to confirm Home Minister Phukan's contention that the Centre was using the Bodo agitation to destabilise the state Government. Chief Minister Prafulla Kumar Mahanta accused the prime minister of "conspiring" to topple the democratically elected government by instigating separatist forces in Assam. He was referring to a reported meeting of top Union Home Ministry officials with ABSU leaders in Calcutta. And, replying to Rajiv's charge that the state Government had failed to maintain essential supplies in the North-east, he pointed out that the Centre had not responded to his demand for more paramilitary forces.

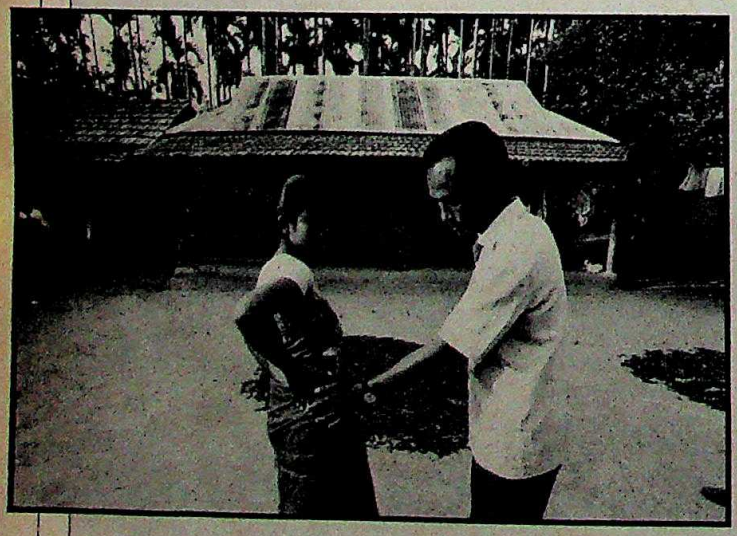
The power struggle in the Congress(I) between Union Minister of State for Home Santosh Mohan Dev and Home Minister Buta Singh too may be playing a part in keeping the Bodo agitation alive. Dev has played a key role in the party's electoral victories in Tripura, Nagaland and Mizoram and if he can get the Assam Government dismissed, he will be able to upstage Buta Singh.

Dev has certainly been successful in sowing trouble in the ruling Asom Gana Parishad (AGP). Last fortnight, AGP and AASU activists held a black flag demonstration against Phukan and the Government's failure to contain the agitation. The Government has deployed 20 companies of paramilitary forces and placed the army on alert. But the ABSU, far from being restrained, has threatened to intensify the agitation culminating with a declaration of independence on August 15, when it will launch a 1001-hour bandh.

But the Bodoland activists may also be paving the way for a backlash by the AASU, which is every bit as militant as the ABSU. Were that to happen, the violence in the state so far could seem like a sparring bout. —FARZAND AHMED
in Kokrajhar



CRPF men ransack a Bodo house: reign of terror

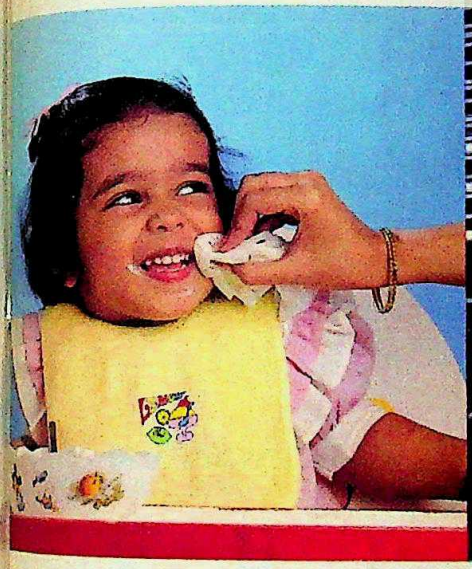


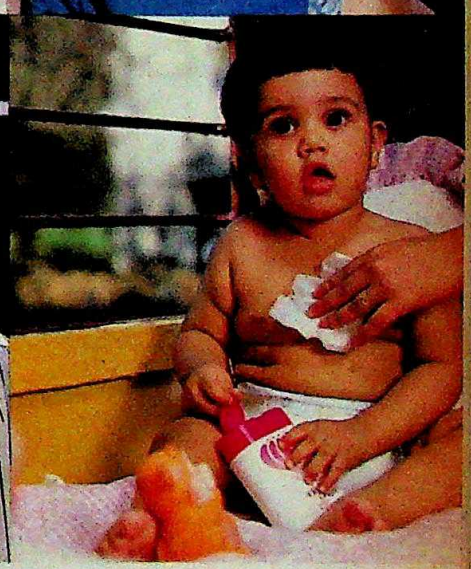
Rajen Islary's 12-year-old daughter, Maidangshri, was beaten by the police with their rifle butts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digi... Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GET FRESH





WITH THESE COOL, WET WONDER

Fresh Ones. Pre-moistened tissues. They clean, refresh and revive. Very hygienically. Anytime, anywhere. At home or at work. In boardrooms or on playgrounds. While picnicking or while travelling. In cars or at the bus-stop. Before a date or after a snooze. Before meals or after meals...

Fresh Ones. So pleasant smelling. And so easy to use. Just pull out gently, to get fresh again.

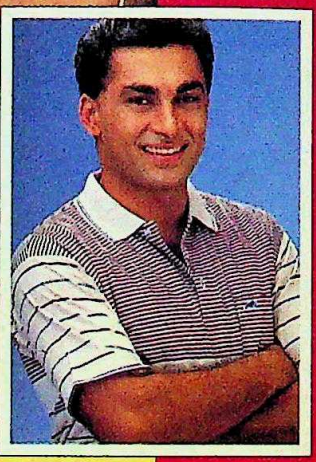
Manufactured by:
TCP-PERSONAL CARE
71, Kalptaru, 1st Floor,
Nutan Laxmi Society,
J.V.P.D. Scheme, Bombay 400 049.

TCP
PERSONAL CARE

Freshness at your fingertips

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



YOU WON'T FIND THE BULL IN A COMMON HERD

SMASH INTERNATIONAL

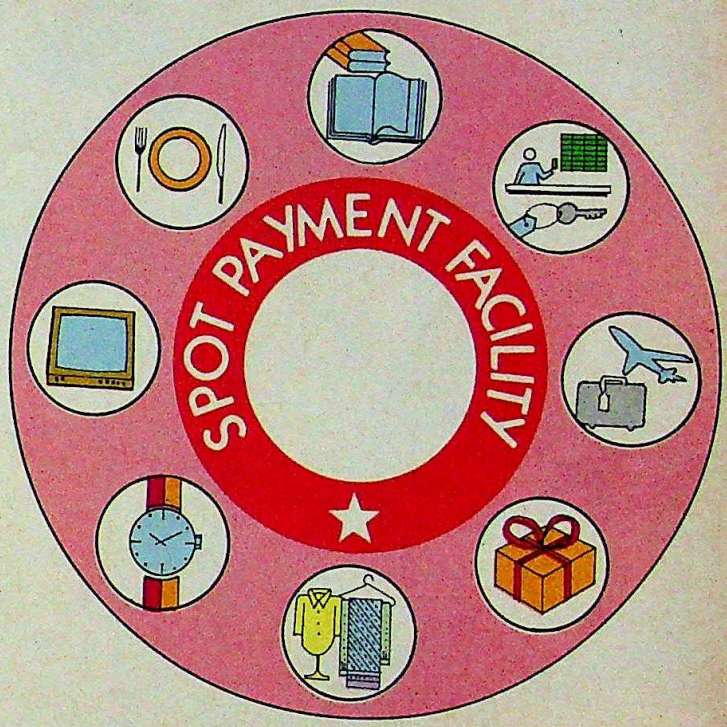
International quality T-shirts and leisurewear for adults and kids in smashing new designs.

Featured here are Style Nos. HSI 721 & AM 460 for adults and AM 469 & AM 477 for kids.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Convenience goes high-up with the BOBCARD-VISA tie-up.



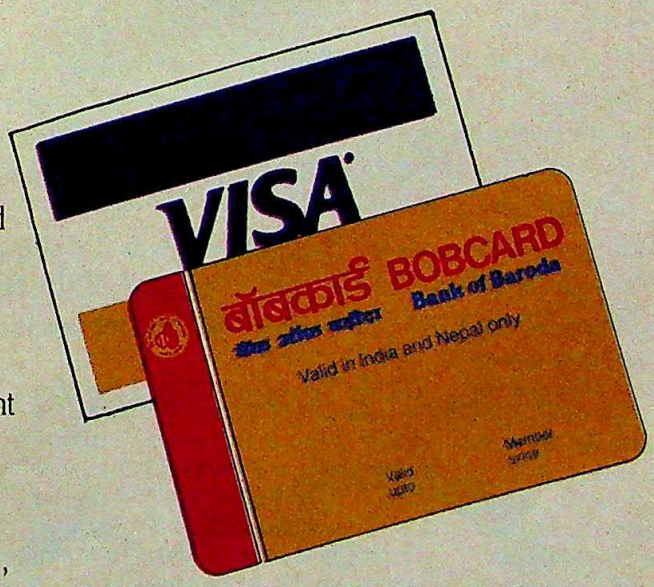
Become a BOBCARD Merchant Establishment...

get extra business and 'instant payment facility' on both BOBCARD and VISA.

Convenience marches ahead for BOBCARD Merchant Establishments – and those who'd like to become one. Bank of Baroda will reimburse those honouring VISA too... extending its spot payment facility which BOBCARD M.E.s enjoy... at over 120 BOB branches, in all important cities. Further, facility for quick authorisation is also provided in case a VISA card holder exceeds the floor limit.

So now you can look ahead to extra business with a creditable extra. And it makes more sense to become a BOBCARD Merchant Establishment, if you aren't already one.

Details available from:
Bank of Baroda, Credit Card Dept., "Esperanca", 1st floor, Shahid Bhagat Singh Road, Colaba Causeway, Bombay 400 039.
Tel.: 2020630/2027780/2020728.



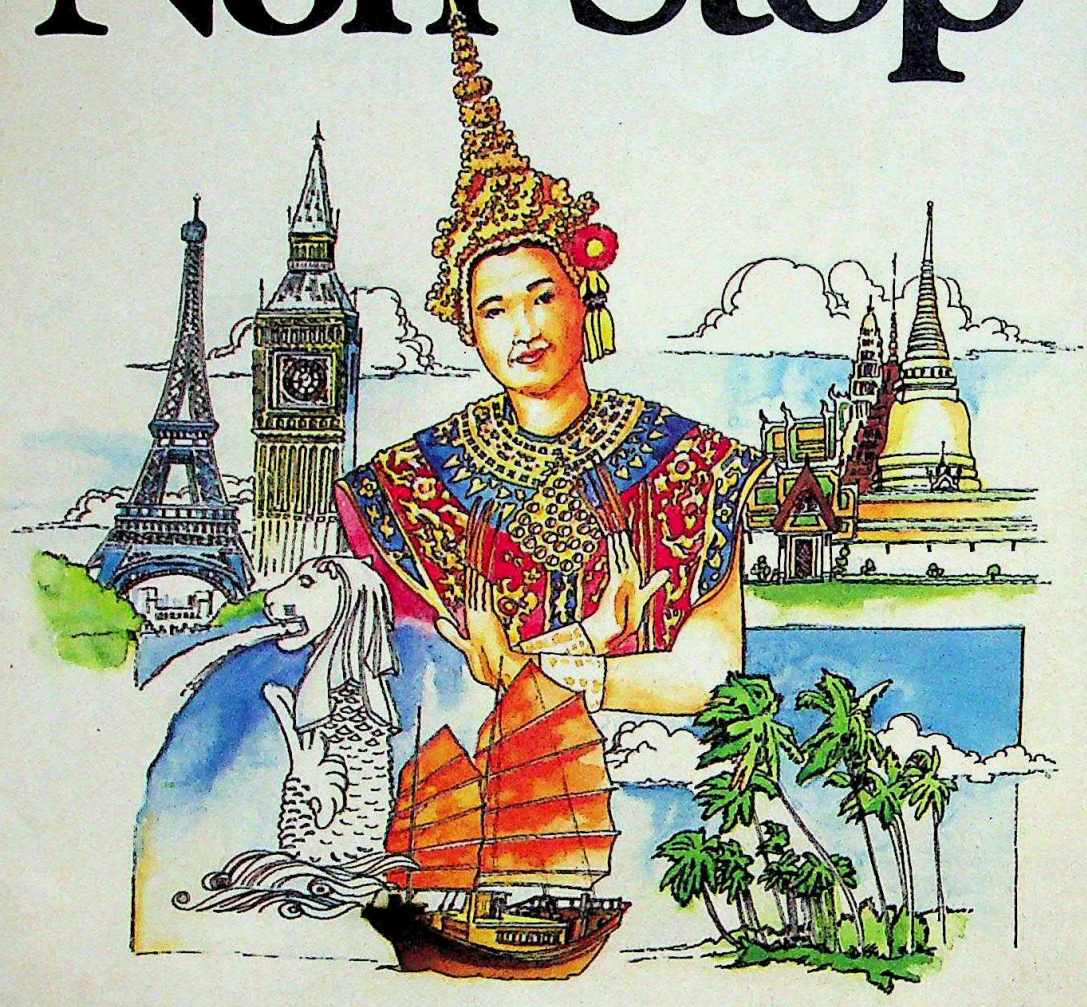
Bank of Baroda
(A Government of India Undertaking)

मेरा भारत महान

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Non-Stop



Every week, Thai flies non-stop 3 times to London, twice to Paris and 8 times to Bangkok. From Bangkok, Thai flies non-stop and direct to over 45 Asian and Australasian destinations, and daily to 12 key European destinations.

Savour the luxury of Thai's renowned in-flight service. You'll sample delicious delicacies, dine in the finest fare, and sip wine from the world's most celebrated vineyards.

Fly Thai International to discover what flying is really all about !

LONDON PARIS INDIA BANGKOK

Thai
Smooth as silk.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

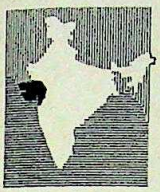
LINTAS (INDIA) 70 2618

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GUJARAT

Deep Rooted Scandal

Charges of illicit tree felling



"I, or my relatives, are in no way involved in the plunder of forests (in Vyara division")—Gujarat Chief Minister Amarsinh Chaudhary's statement to Gujarati daily Loksatta *on January 1, 1988.*

"This is part of a politically motivated campaign to malign me of which I cannot take any cognizance. The illicit tree felling increased in south Gujarat forests during 1984-85 because the State Reserve Police had been withdrawn and posted elsewhere in the wake of agitations"—Chaudhary, in an interview to Gujarati daily Sandesh *on January 16, 1988.*

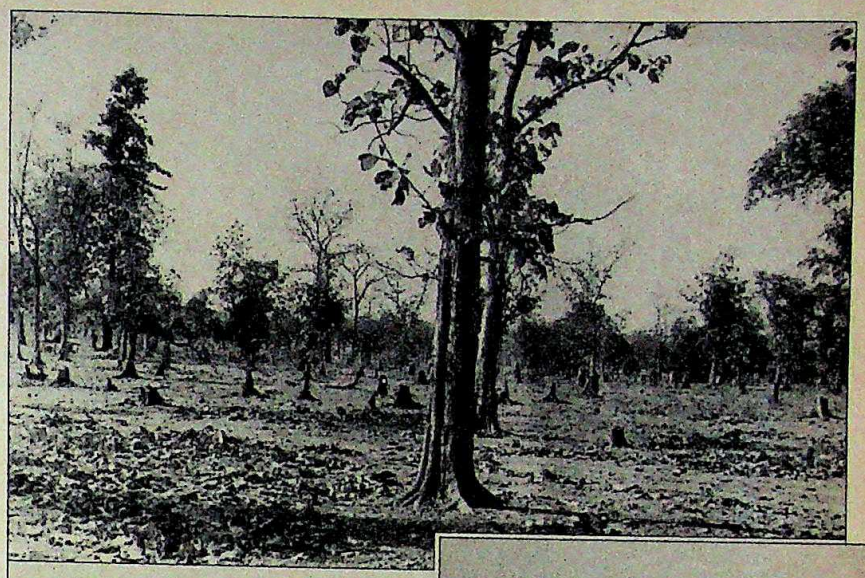
"It's a canard"—Chaudhary, in a statement to INDIA TODAY, *February 29, 1988.*

THE roots of the four-year-old scandal grow deep. And, try as he might, Chaudhary has not been able to bury the charge against him: that as state forest minister, he encouraged plunder of the once verdant forests of Vyara, his constituency, by tribals and timber contractors, in order to buy votes during the 1985 assembly election campaign.

"Cut trees and give votes" was the slogan reportedly coined by Chaudhary and his supporters and used freely at election meetings. There was a reason for the desperate vote-catching measure—he was contesting for the first time since his rift with his Vyara-based political mentor, Congress(I) strongman Jhinabhai Darji, in 1983. And he feared sabotage by Darji's supporters.

The illicit felling of trees might never have come to light if it was not for the recovery of stolen wood worth over Rs 17 crore by G.A. Patel, conservator of forests, who took charge of Surat forest circle—Vyara is one of its seven divisions. The scam took on major dimensions when it was known that this was only one-third of the wood plundered (estimated at nearly Rs 50 crore).

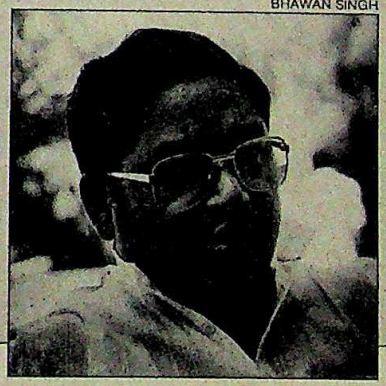
When the issue was raised by the Opposition in 1987, the state Government was compelled to give figures of the number of trees illegally felled in the seven divisions of south Gujarat between April 1983 and May 1985. The figures revealed that the number of trees felled in Vyara was three to four times more than that of any other division (*see chart*).



(Clockwise from above) Denuded Vyara forest in 1985; logs seized by Forest Department and Chaudhary

Forest officials say that most of the tree felling occurred in Chaudhary's constituency during the 1985 election campaign.

BHAWAN SINGH



Last year, local daily *Jaihind* raised the scandal again. So, Chaudhary led a padyatra in the Vyara forests to show his "concern" for ecology. In another clever move, he announced a committee comprising arch-enemies Darji (who had written to Rajiv Gandhi alleging Chaudhary's involvement), and C.D. Patel, MP, as well as opposition leader Dalsukh Patel, with whom he has a good equation. But Darji said: "I will not remain on any panel appointed by the present government." Said a triumphant Chaudhary: "If those who made the allegations are unwilling to substantiate them, the chapter has to be treated as closed."

But Chaudhary's confidence was misplaced, as documents with INDIA TODAY reveal. Particularly significant are two entries by P.H. Rohit, then range forest officer (RFO) of the Vyara mobile patrolling squad in his official diary. On February 26, 1985, he notes: "Thefts have increased in the forest in view of the approaching elections to the Vidhan Sabha." Yet, on February 28, he notes: "This morning, the forest minister called me to his residence (at Vyara) and instructed me not to patrol the jungle area as it would have an impact on voters."

But Chaudhary flatly denied this. Said he: "I contest elections on the strength of programmes rather than officials. Even today I can win an election from Vyara without visiting the constituency even once."

But the case against Chaudhary becomes stronger in view of the forest staff's statements to A.S. Kapasi, conservator of forests, who was ordered by the Forest Department to inquire into the illicit felling of trees in 1985-end. In his statement, Mohsinmiya Kadri, forester of Antapur, near Vyara, said: "Between January and March 1985, hordes of 400

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to 500 people would indulge in large-scale illicit tree felling. I and my beat guard were not in a position to stop it." Kadri said that after he informed his superiors, a team was sent. But the sub-divisional forest officers (DFO) expressed their helplessness in doing anything before the polls. Kadri gave vent to his feelings in an earlier written report to Unai range RFO N.F. Patel: "I cannot watch this daylight plunder of forest wealth. If national property is being looted and no help is forthcoming from the department, what can junior employees do? People say that politicians are openly behind this loot and hence the Government is unable to do anything." Significantly, the 12 villages named by Kadri, where heavy felling had taken place, fall in Chaudhary's constituency.

Equally hard-hitting was N.F. Patel's report to his sub-DFO on July 5, 1985. Said he: "During the election campaign, slogans like 'Cut trees and give votes' attracted forest plunderers in a big way. Superiors were informed, but nothing was done."

Further confirmation came from Gamanbhai Gamit, a beat guard at Pithadra in Vyara division, who told Kapasi: "Most of the tree felling occurred during the election campaign when armed gangs would descend on the forest and we had to run away." Said Amaniya village sarpanch Mohanbhai Gamit: "The maximum damage was caused during the poll period."

Kapasi tabled a report, which said a majority of the trees were felled before May 1985 (before the poll period). So, Chaudhary ordered suspension of 21 forest personnel, including D.M. Nayak, then conservator of forests at Surat. Interestingly, though the action was taken on the basis of Kapasi's report, Kapasi himself had to pay a heavy price for "embarrassing" Chaudhary. He was shunted out of the Forest Department and appointed in the innocuous post of managing director, Rural Development Corporation.

The suspended forest personnel, who obviously felt they had been made pawns in a political game, began demanding justice. Chaudhary had only one way out: to prove that the felling occurred after the polls—during G.A. Patel's tenure. A "complaint" against Patel was made to the Government. Chaudhary ordered a fresh inquiry by Chief Conservator of Forest B.P. Lakhani, who was close to him.

Expectedly, Lakhani's report was tailored to suit Chaudhary. It blamed the lapses on Patel and refused to take note of the probable period during which the maximum tree felling was done.

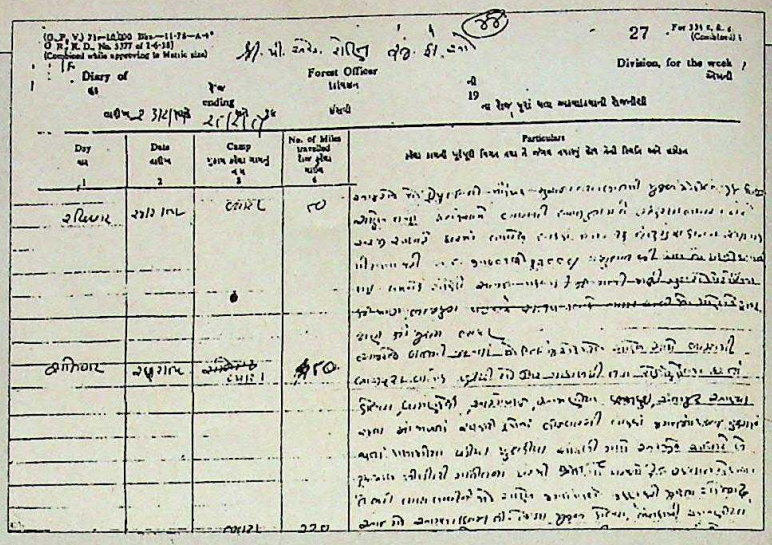
BUT in November 1986, Patel challenged Lakhani's report in a 16-page rejoinder and shot off another letter to M.N. Vaishnav, principal chief conservator of forests. The second letter was explosive—it described how Chaudhary had threatened him with dire consequences for refusing to toe the line. Chaudhary was apparently peeved by the fact that many of those charged with forest theft were his supporters.

So moved was M.N. Vaishnav by the letter that he wrote to the Government defending Patel. Said Vaishnav: "It would be a definite death-knell for forest protection if his (Patel's) efforts to save forests are eclipsed through less convincing and raw statistics." The last remark obviously referred to Lakhani's report.

Now, attempts are being made to protect Nayak—his suspension was revoked on technical grounds—who is facing a departmental inquiry in the Vyara case. Last month a board of inquiry was announced with H.A. Vaishnav, chief conservator of forest, as presenting officer, and A.H. Pinto, an official junior to Vaishnav, as member. Vaishnav has protested against the humiliation as, according to convention, the junior official is given the role of presenting officer. There is also evidence to prove that Pinto is close to Nayak and has acted against Patel in the past. Interestingly, Patel has objected to the fact that some key witnesses have been left out. But Chaudhary has denied there was a move to tamper with the inquiry against Nayak.

As the scandal takes a familiar turn, Vyara residents are not willing to go on record on the issue for fear of reprisals. And politicians are out to prove yet again that their commitment to protection of forest wealth cannot be more important than ensuring their political survival.

—UDAY MAHURKAR



Diary of — Forest Officer — Division, for the week ending

Day	Date	Camp	No. of Miles travelled	Particulars
1	2	3	4	

Two significant entries by Vyara's forest officer in his official diary: one, on February 26, 1985, notes the increased tree felling due to approaching polls; the other, on February 28, says Chaudhary told him not to patrol the jungle.

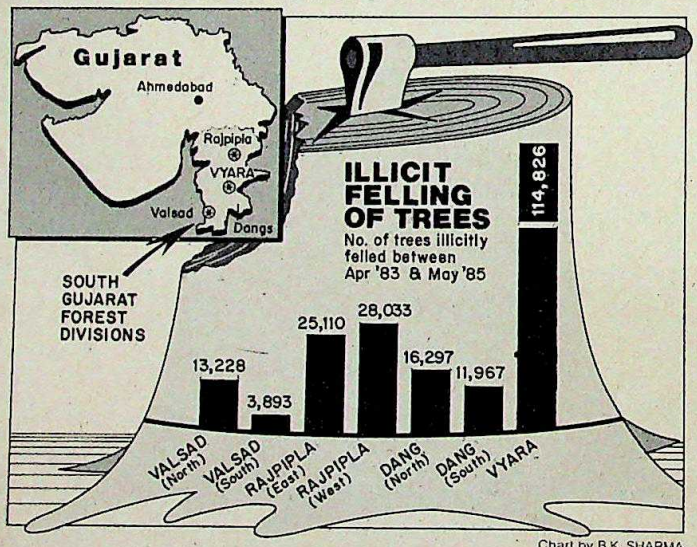


Chart by B.K. SHARMA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

What did the Thinking Man at Paris say to the Skypak Man?

"Come to think of it, you're the first man-of-action I met... since Rodin."

We'll deliver. Wherever on earth. SKYPAK The worldwide couriers.

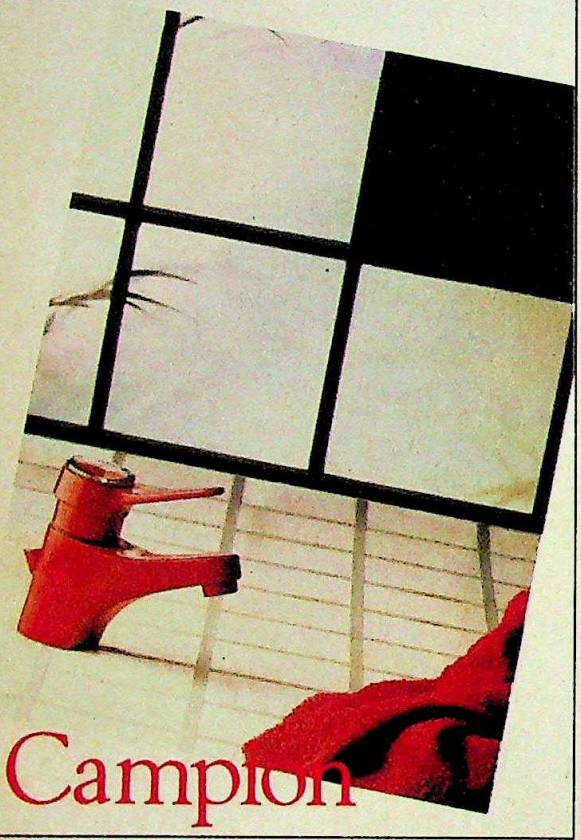
Skypak House, Off M. Vassanji Road, Marol, Andheri (E), Bombay 400 059.

Avenues:SC:496:89

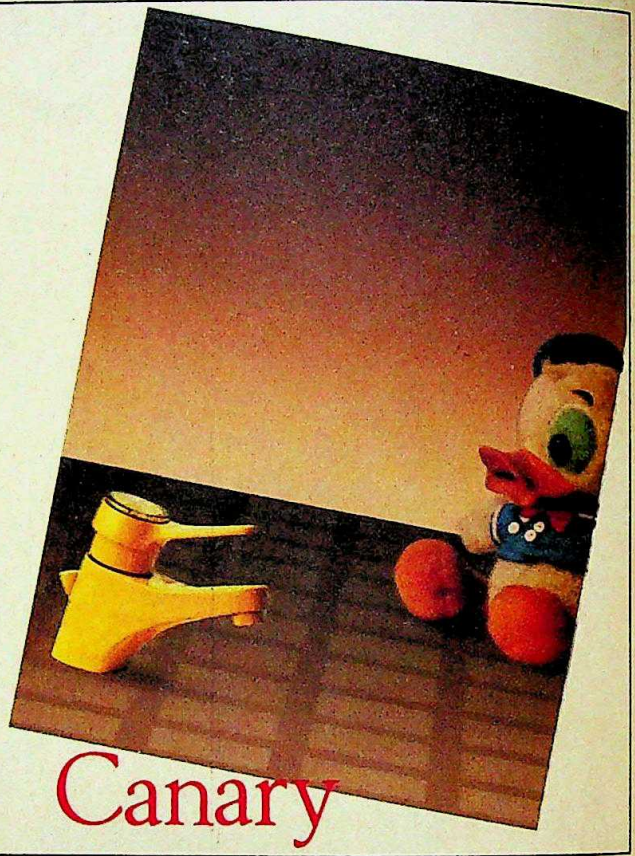
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

CSE Centre for Science and Environment

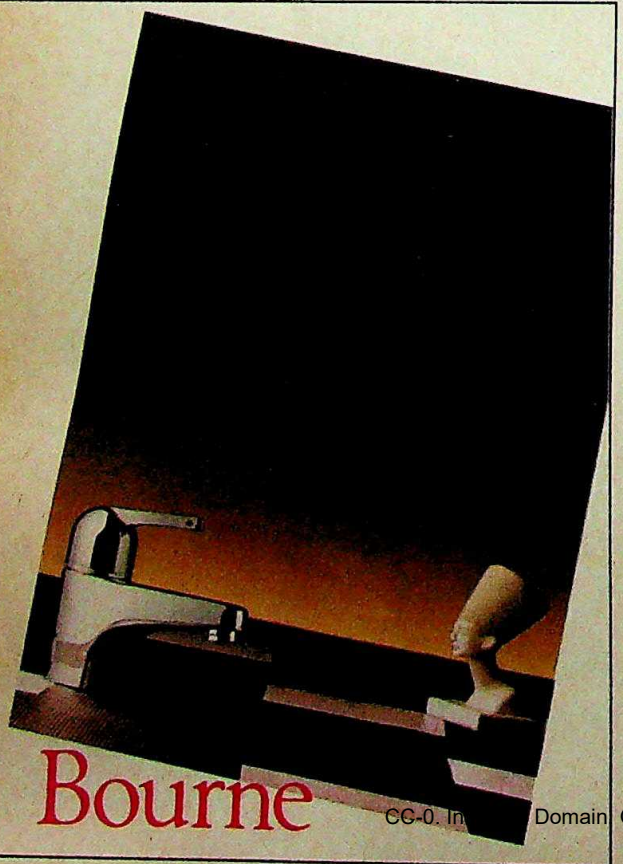
NOW THE LARGEST RANGE FRO



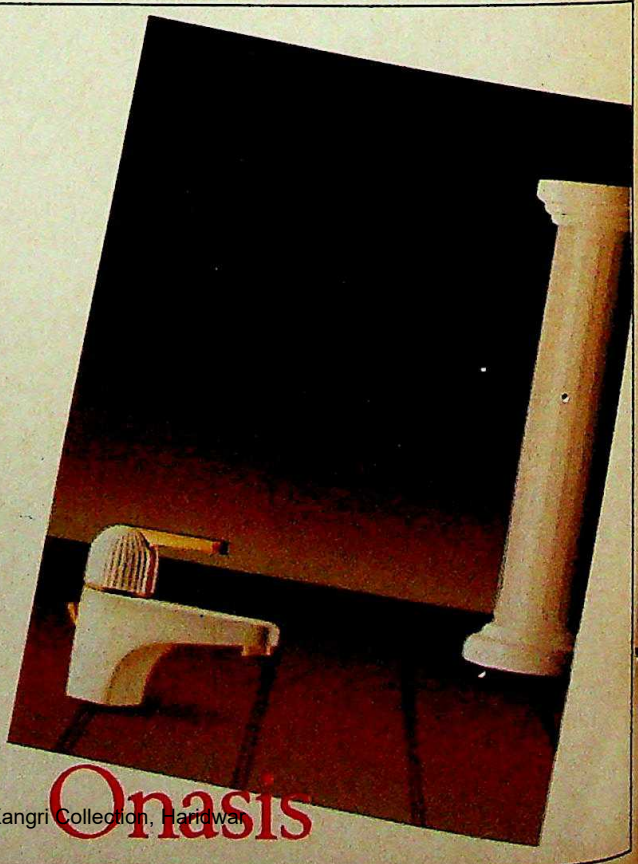
Campion



Canary



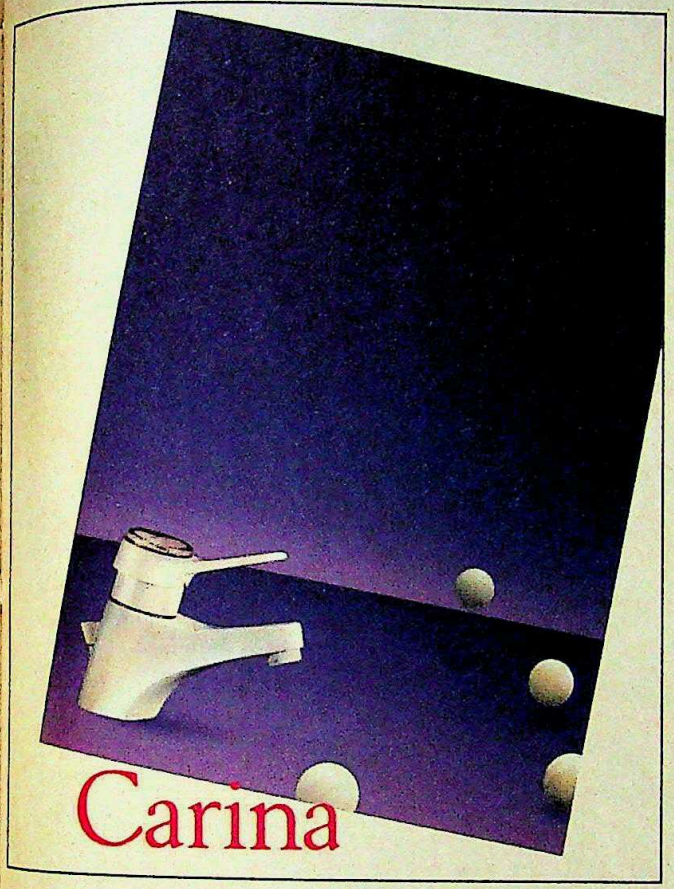
Bourne

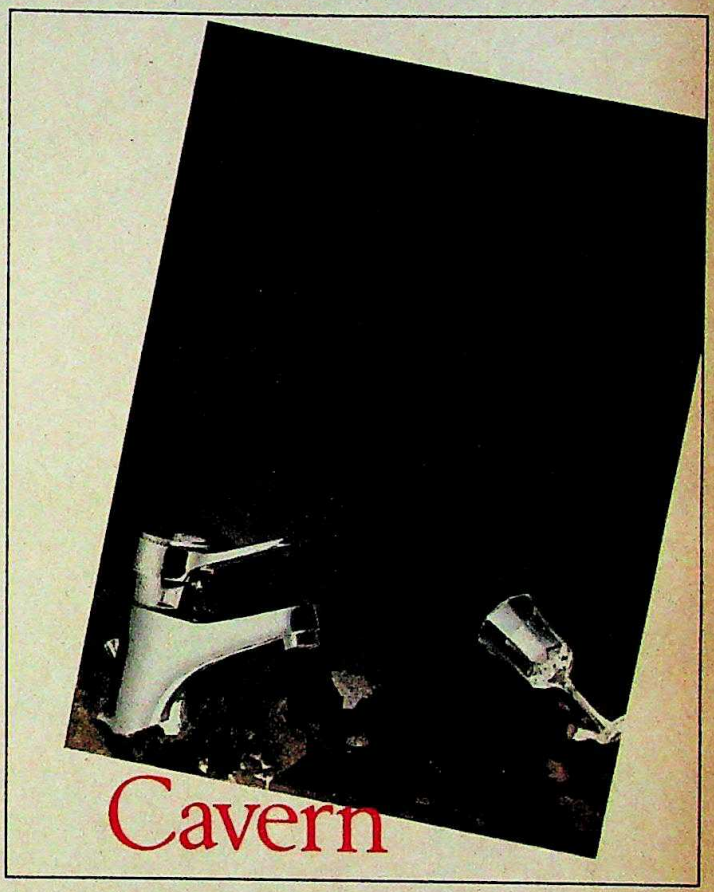


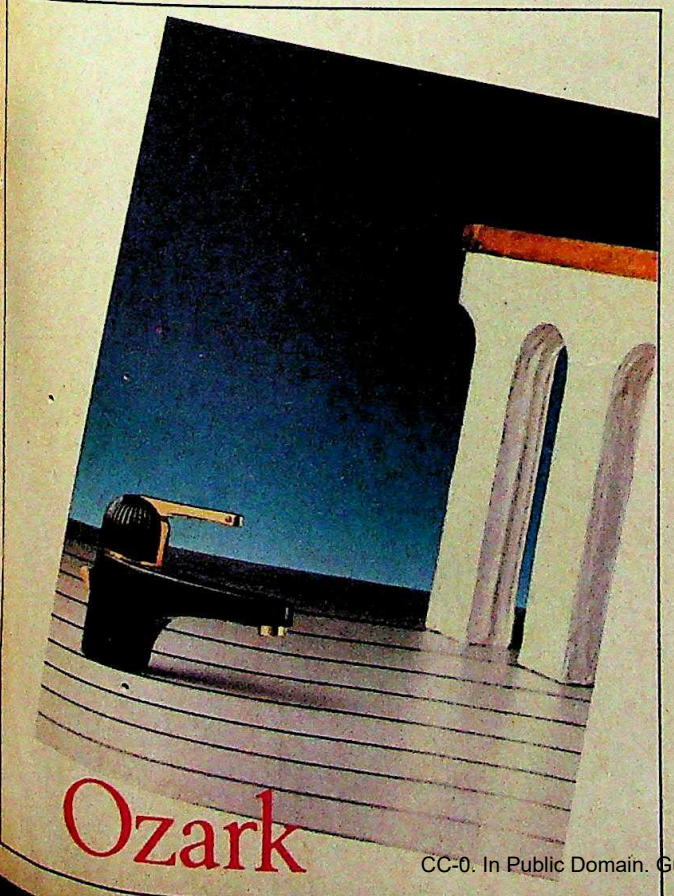
Onasis

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

GE FROM THE LARGEST SELLING







The dilemma of multiple choices from the latest in the world.

dripless
KARIBIK

Single Lever Mixers with Ceramic Disc Cartridge

from ROKAL ARMATUREN Gmbh West Germany

Write in for a free brochure

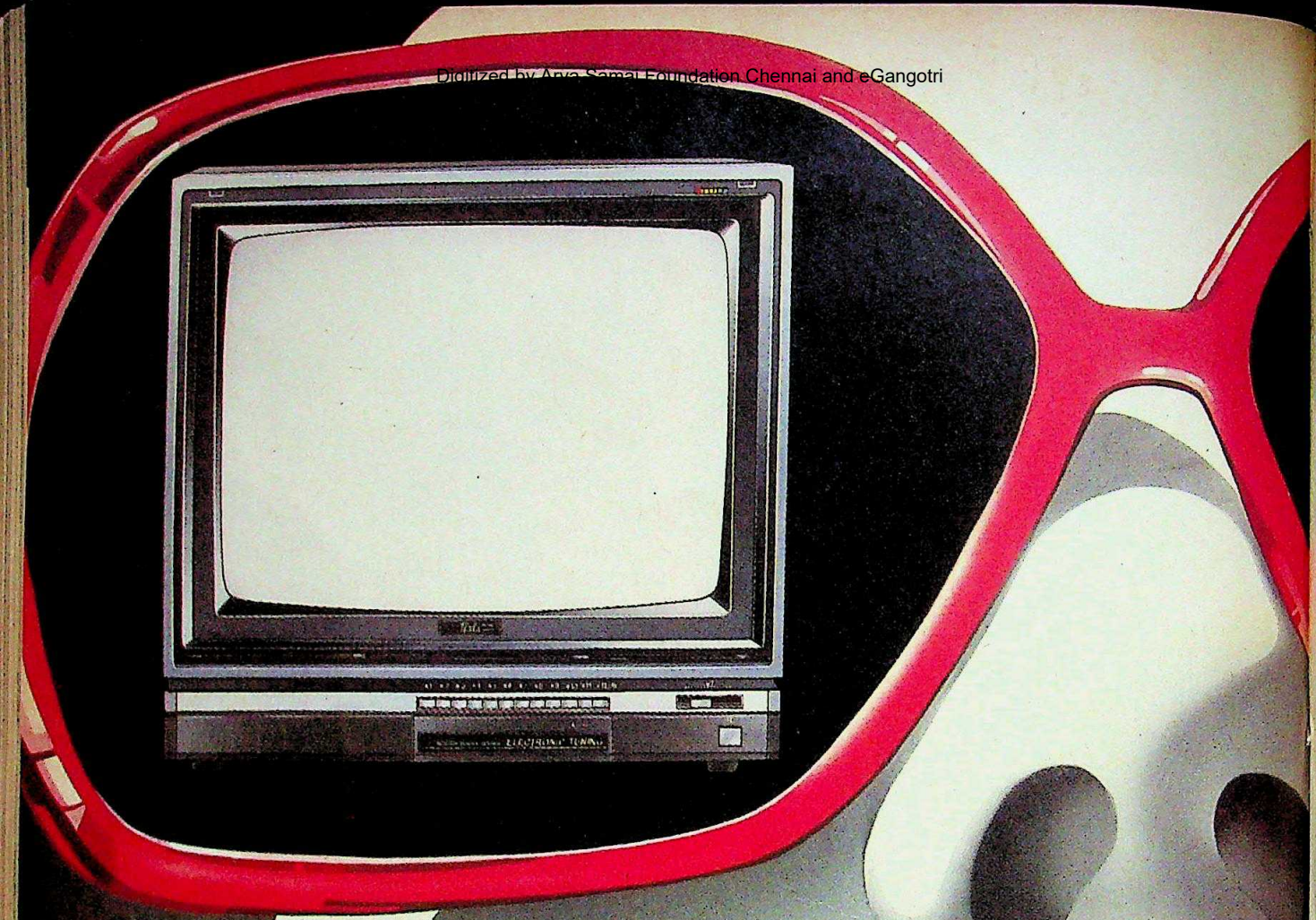
Aquaplus India Marketing Pvt. Ltd.

B-170, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase-I, New Delhi-110020

Telephones: 6837075, 6837671.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



SPECTACOLOR

CORE CP 202E
Colour Television

Spectacular ... colour, sound, design, finish!

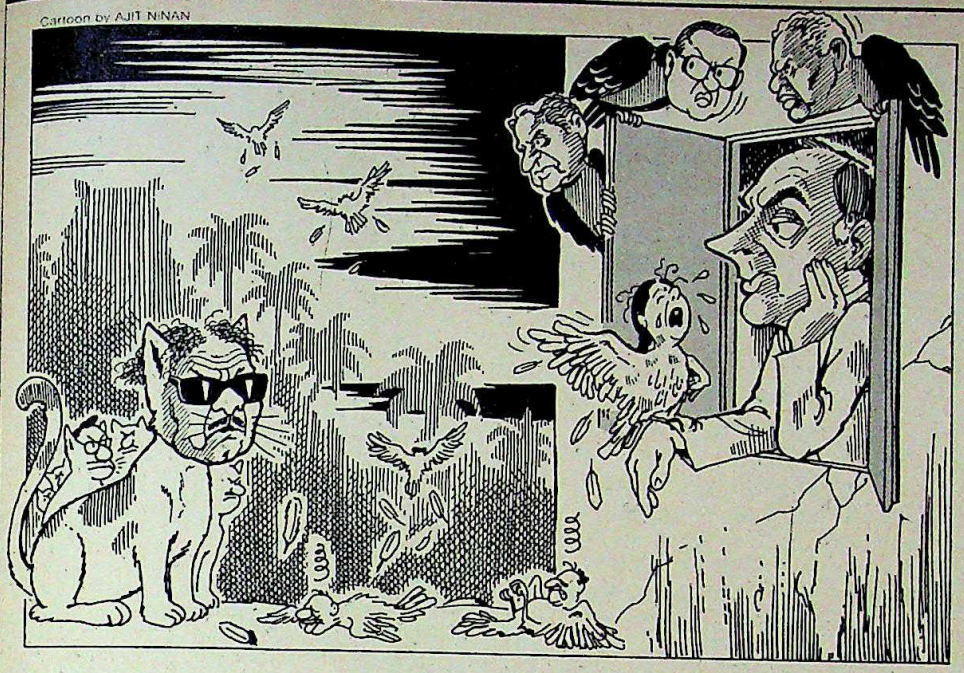
CORE CP 202E ■ 12-position channel selector ■ automatic brightness, contrast and colour control facility ■ self- operative frequency and voltage regulation unit ■ anti-glare screen ■ tri-directional 3-speaker sound system

naa/D/TX-89

Texla®
The right choice

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



TAMIL NADU

Marriage of Convenience

Congress(I) and AIADMK forge alliance

ONE day seems to have changed it all. The unprecedented violence on March 25 in the Tamil Nadu Assembly and the Jayalalitha-inspired events that followed have sparked off a major realignment of forces both within and outside the two Dravida parties. Politicians who were just a few weeks ago spewing venom at each other now stand arm in arm. And the state which just saw a tumultuous political upheaval when DMK wiped out the vestiges of the MGR rule, has become the stage for another polarisation which could have wide-ranging repurcussions.

The first indication of this came on April 7, when the Congress(I) and the AIADMK which fought against each other in the recent election after being partners during the MGR years, held an impressive joint public meeting in Madras. Jayalalitha who was originally scheduled to address the meeting could not make it as she returned late from New Delhi where she negotiated the coming together of the two parties. But observers wondered whether the absence of senior AIADMK leaders at the meeting signified that regroupings were taking place within the party.

The Congress(I) compensated by sending several top leaders to the meeting—state party chief G.K. Moopanar, Union Minister of State for Home P. Chidambaram, and MLA Kumari Anandan. The star of the show though was T. Rajender, Tamil film director who broke with the DMK just before the assembly elections protesting against the overweening influence of Karunanidhi's son M.K. Stalin.

Until he quit the DMK, Rajender used to be a bitter opponent of Jayalalitha. All that has changed now. At the Madras meeting he aimed barbs at Karunanidhi. He also described at length the attack on his own house by DMK members, which in his opinion could only be compared to scenes in the English film *Mad Max*.

Chidambaram's imagination did not run so wild. He was content to excoriate Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi and Madras Police Commissioner P. Durai. The AIADMK has charged that it was Durai who leaked Jayalalitha's letter of resignation from the Assembly found during a police raid on Natarajan, one of her close aides. Chidambaram said that during President's Rule in the state, Durai's behaviour had been responsible. It was only after Karunanidhi came to power, he said, that his actions assumed a political colour. The DMK might well question his statement. Last year, it had condemned Durai's role during the AICC(I) session in Maraimalai Nagar.

The propriety of the Union minister of state for home criticising a police officer was questioned by some. But it scarcely seemed to bother either the Congress(I) or the AIADMK, flush with the excitement of coming together again.

The reunion was due mainly to Jayalalitha's efforts. From the hospital bed she directed the 29 legislators of her party with the commanding power of a wounded general. Her party legislators walked out every day after the House reconvened on March 27 demanding a discussion on the incidents in the Assembly. On two consecutive days some AIADMK members had to be escorted out by House marshalls. The Congress(I) too joined in the walkouts on two days. By then the AIADMK had finalised its political programme: to demand the resignation of the DMK Ministry. Said the party's Chief Whip K.K.S.S.R. Ramachandran: "We cannot allow this Government to function."

Jayalalitha, showing keen political acumen, moved swiftly to drive home the advantage she gained from her party's success in blowing up the violence in the Assembly and what it termed the DMK's attempt to outrage Jayalalitha's modesty.

The fact that Jayalalitha had played her cards well became evident when the chief minister announced that the corporation elections, earlier scheduled for May, would be postponed to June or July. Karunanidhi argued that if this was done those who turned 18 by April 1 would also be able to vote as the rolls would be ready only by then. Another reason for the postponement, he said, was that Muslims had appealed for a postponement because campaigning would be affected by Ramzan.

Others felt the real reason lay elsewhere. Jayalalitha has acquired the halo of a martyr. So holding the elections in May might be disastrous for the DMK. By June the halo would probably have faded and the DMK would by then have reacquired some of the popularity.

Karunanidhi also made an attempt to go on the offensive. He produced old files to prove that AIADMK Deputy Leader in the Assembly S. Thirunavukkarasu who was housing minister in the MGR ministry had indulged in corrupt practices. This particular scandal which was first exposed in June 1988 revealed that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INTERVIEW

"Karunanidhi has given me a new resolve"

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Jayalalitha's characteristic inaccessibility—which irks her supporters—was clearly evident in the 'Do Not Disturb' sign hung up outside her deluxe suite in New Delhi's exclusive Ashoka Hotel. But inside, the charismatic AIADMK *leader—troubled by arthritis, and sporting a spondalitis collar around her neck—was exuding a resurgent confidence. Surrounded by personal bodyguards, she spoke to Senior Editor* PRABHU CHAWLA *in her first interview after her party's debacle in the January assembly elections.*

Q. *What was the reason behind your dramatic decision to quit politics?*

A. It was purely on health grounds. Only an arthritis patient would understand the agony of this ailment. How can I be an effective political leader if I am unable to move freely and remain confined to a wheelchair. I would be happy if someone else acceptable to the party cadres could take over the leadership from me. But I am not being allowed to step down in favour of anybody else.

Q. *Does it mean that you are unable to cope with the political pressures and want to escape them ?*

A. The life of any political leader is full of tensions, especially when it involves high level power politics. But I've never felt there is a situation which I can't handle. There is a difference between one's ability to handle a situation and the desire to handle it. For example, I never wanted to enter films but was forced to by my mother. And I made a success of it. Similarly, I was reluctant to enter politics but MGR forced me to, and now I am in the thick of it. I have no options. But I don't enjoy politics.

Q. *But vacillations on your part give the impression that you are trying to run away from your responsibilities.*

A. My life has always been full of ups and downs. That doesn't mean I am running away. For example, that the moon disappears for a short while doesn't mean that it has gone away forever. The moon is a constant factor—it just keeps waxing and waning. It is due to personal compulsions that I have been viewed as being in and out of politics. But I was never really out of it. Now Karunanidhi has solved this dilemma of mine by his vindictive and petty actions. Even though I wanted to keep out of politics, Karunanidhi has given me the resolve to continue.

Q. *But there is a feeling amongst your partymen that the resignation was more due to internal party problems and a growing threat to your own leadership.*

A. There was never a crisis in the party. All of us have been constantly in touch, and have been taking decisions collectively.

Q. *Or had it something to do with the financial crisis? You were finding it difficult to refund the money which you had collected from candidates during the assembly elections.*

A. There were no financial problems either. There has been a motivated compaign against me. We had collected Rs 3.41 crore as deposits and almost the entire money has been returned. Only two persons have failed to collect their money. We have sent them telegrams as well. It seems Chief Minister Karunanidhi is putting pressure on them not to collect the money so that false cases can be launched against me and my party.

Q. *Could it be due to frustration? You must have expected to win and become chief minister. And now you are finding it difficult to survive in the Opposition after having been with the ruling side.*

A. This condition of mine is not something of my choosing. It is not an easy task to be a political leader. I never had any desire or intention of grabbing position or power. Nor have I ever conspired to get these. I entered politics with the sole objective of lessening MGR's workload. I never thought of myself as becoming his successor. I was bulldozed into joining politics.

Q. *But you joined the ruling party. Now, however, you are in the Opposition where you have to fight it out. Maybe you are not cut out for that.*

A. Well, have I not faced Karunanidhi and his gang of goons effectively? Have I not held rallies and taken out processions against the DMK Government?

Q. *Then why aren't you attending the Assembly? As an opposition leader, don't you think you should be attending the session regularly?*

A. I have not been doing so purely due to health reasons. I also have a feeling that the DMK would like to harm me physically. My being a woman makes me doubly vulnerable.

Q. *Is it correct that you have decided to continue your agitation and create problems for the ruling party in order to divert attention from exposes about the MGR government?*

A. The agitation has been precipitated by Karunanidhi. We could not have aimed at diverting attention because the resignation was not intended to be made public. It was the DMK Government which arrested our party workers and sent the privileged letters to the press and the speaker. Now we have decided to fight it out. The truth is that I

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have no time for illnesses now.

Q. But you are trying to side-track the scandals concerning the MGR government which are being exposed by Karunanidhi?

A. Since I was not part of the MGR administration, I don't know anything about these charges. If there are specific charges against ex-ministers who are my colleagues in the party we are willing to face a probe by either a Supreme Court judge or by the CBI. But raking up charges against a dead person is sheer political vendetta and nothing else, and we will not allow this vilification of a great leader like MGR to continue.

Q. But why do you need the Congress(I) support for this? You were enemies till a few months ago.

A. It is not that we can't agitate on our own. It is simply that this is an issue on which we want the support of all the opposition parties in the state.

Q. So in the process your foes become your friends.

A. The Congress has never been a foe. Moreover, in politics there are no permanent friends or foes. The Congress had, unfortunately, put itself up as a rival. It was like the Mahabharata in Tamil Nadu—members of the same family were fighting each other. Now all of us have sorted out our problems and decided to work like a united family again.

Q. Do you think you will gain by aligning with the Congress(I) which was rejected by the people recently?

A. But the people of Tamil Nadu want the Congress to rule at the Centre. The prime minister himself is very popular with the people of Tamil Nadu. This was reflected during the recent assembly elections. Now we have come to an agreement that we can work together in the state. I don't foresee any problems.

Q. Earlier you were unwilling to talk to local Congress leaders. You wanted to talk only at the prime minister's level. Is that still your stand?

A. It's not like that. This is again malicious propaganda that I wanted to negotiate only with the prime minister. We will have a dialogue with anyone who is deputed by the prime minister. And it will be unfair on my part to dictate to the Congress who they should depute for their political assignments. Basically I think whatever decisions we have to make should be acceptable to the cadres of both the parties. The alliance and understanding have to be mutually advantageous.

Q. Will you campaign for the Congress(I) outside Tamil Nadu as well?

A. Yes. If I am invited to do so.

Q. Do you see in Rajiv Gandhi a better leader than V.P. Singh?

A. Of course. Rajiv is interested in upholding democratic principles and decency in public life. At least he has expressed himself strongly against the assault on a woman inside the Assembly. On the other hand barring Menaka Gandhi no one from the Janata Dal has come out openly against this. Does this mean that Mr V.P. Singh approves of such acts? Is this the policy of the National Front? Tomorrow, if the National Front comes to power, is this the way Singh and other leaders will treat women in Parliament, and in the state assemblies?

Q. Why are you trying to exploit the fact that a woman has been assaulted? Do you expect to gain extra mileage from it?

A. One can't outrage a man's modesty. I am not making too much of being a woman. I am the first woman opposition leader in the state and I can't perform my duty unless I am fully protected. What is the use if there is no self-respect. Of course, I am capable of taking on Karunanidhi myself. And I prefer to struggle and come up the hard way. I don't want to be told that everything was handed over to me on a platter.

"Rajiv Gandhi is better than V.P. Singh. He is interested in upholding democratic principles and decency in public life."

Q. But by resorting to agitational politics and using the Central Government's might, aren't you trying to dislodge a democratically elected government in the state ?

A. No. We never grudge Karunanidhi's return to power. But having been given an opportunity he should provide a clean government. Let him apologise for whatever happened in the Assembly and drop all those ministers who were involved in assaulting me. I will return to the Assembly as soon as this is done.

on December 31, 1987, Thirunavukkarasu had issued as many as 73 government orders of which 30 related to various building law violations.

Thirunavukkarasu had until now been silent about these allegations. But now that Karunanidhi had produced proof he was forced to reply. He claimed that whatever he had done was in accordance with law. And obviously piqued, he hit back with a counter-allegation: Karunanidhi, he said, had taken Rs 10 crore from private parties to allow them to quarry for granite thus depriving the public sector Tamil Nadu Minerals of its rights to quarry for granite. The allegation did not stick. Karunanidhi was able to extract an apology from Thirunavukkarasu by proving that the order in question had been passed during President's Rule.

Even as Jayalalitha and Karunanidhi were duelling, it was evident that Dravida Kazhagam politics was undergoing a major realignment. The DMK had of course suffered the loss of film director Rajender. But it is likely to make up by drawing many from the AIADMK.

R.M. Veerappan, the bulwark of anti-Jayalalitha forces within the AIADMK during MGR's time seems to have moved closer to his erstwhile enemy Karunanidhi. The two had a long meeting during a recent function after which Veerappan issued a statement condemning Jayalalitha's charge that the chief minister tried to poison her when she was in hospital. But Veerappan denies he has turned pro-DMK. Says he: "We are only opposing irresponsible statements by Jayalalitha. Otherwise we will function as a constructive opposition to the DMK."

A pattern is discernible in the polarisation within the two Dravida Kazhagam parties. Those who alongwith MGR broke away from the DMK in 1972 but came into politics through the Dravida Kazhagam—Veerappan, K.A. Krishnaswamy, Aladi Aruna—will probably gravitate to Karunanidhi. Those in the party who entered politics after having been members of the MGR Fans Association—Thirunavukkarasu and K.K.S.S.R. Ramachandran—will in all probability stay with Jayalalitha.

In this high-stakes game of baiting, Karunanidhi, being in power with a huge majority, has a definite edge. But he knows too well that he cannot commit too many political errors and still hope to survive. The recent events in the Assembly painfully brought home that lesson to him. And Jayalalitha has shown that she is no mean rival. When it comes to rough-and-tumble politics, she has demonstrated that she can give as much as she gets.

—GUHA PRASAD

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KERALA

Striking Out

The Congress(I) mobilises cadres

WHILE in most states they are rolling up their sleeves and going at each other hammer and tongs, in Kerala Congressmen are actually pooling their resources and mobilising their cadres. The Congress(I) is holding at least 50 meetings in the state daily, and is perpetually on the streets organising public rallies, workers' meetings and seminars. Explains the state's Youth Congress(I) President, Ramesh Chennithala: "We have to maintain such a frenetic pace to counter the communist movement."

The man behind all this activity is the affable PCC(I) chief A.K. Antony, who has been leading from the front. Unlike his counterparts in other states, he has been staying away from the Delhi-durbar, preferring to spend time in the state. Recently, he undertook a 40-day tour of Kerala, holding 1,200 small and large meetings, detailing the failures of the Left Democratic Front (LDF) Government. He claims the response was better than expected.

The tour was largely aimed at roping in funds for the party. It yielded over Rs 1 crore—to be divided between the PCC, DCC, block committees and the mandals.

Antony's tour and the Kerala Pradesh Youth Congress(I) (KPYC-I) protest meet held in March have helped boost the party's morale, which had plummeted after the massive 13th party congress of the CPI(M) held at Trivandrum early this year. Declares Antony confidently: "If elections are held in April, we will form the Government in Kerala."

The KPYC-I has been instrumental in this resurgence. It has been trying to exploit the frustration among the unemployed youth who were swayed by the CPI(M) in the last assembly election because the party promised them employment. With the LDF unable to give more than one-tenth of the promised jobs, the KYPC(I) has kept itself busy organising agitations demanding employment. This has caught the imagination of thousands of unemployed youth. Gushes Ramesh Chennithala, KPYC(I) chief and a former state cabinet minister: "In Kerala, unemployment shall always be an issue."

In the first phase of their agitation on March 27, 1988, the organisation got 10 lakh unemployed youth to write letters demanding employment to Chief Minister E.K. Nayanar, who in turn bundled them up and posted them to the prime minister asserting he ought to do something about it. This only served to make the LDF look ridiculous.

In the second phase, Chennithala last year undertook a 'Kerala March' beginning on September 1 from Kasargod and ending on October 12 at Trivandrum. In the third phase, more than 2 lakh activists of the KPYC(I) picketed the 13 district collectorates and the secretariat in the state capital. Now it plans to fill jails some time in August.

Meanwhile, financial constraints are plaguing the LDF, and it has even cancelled about 90,000 vacancies because of this. Ever since it assumed power, it has been unable to whip up resources complaining that it is repaying heavy loans of the previous Karunakaran government. The Centre has, of course, proffered little help.

The dismal performance of the LDF is another stick for the Congress(I) to beat it with. One such recent instance was when school students appeared for exams without ever having seen their textbooks as the LDF could not get them printed on time. The government press at Trikkekara was turning out lottery tickets and not textbooks.

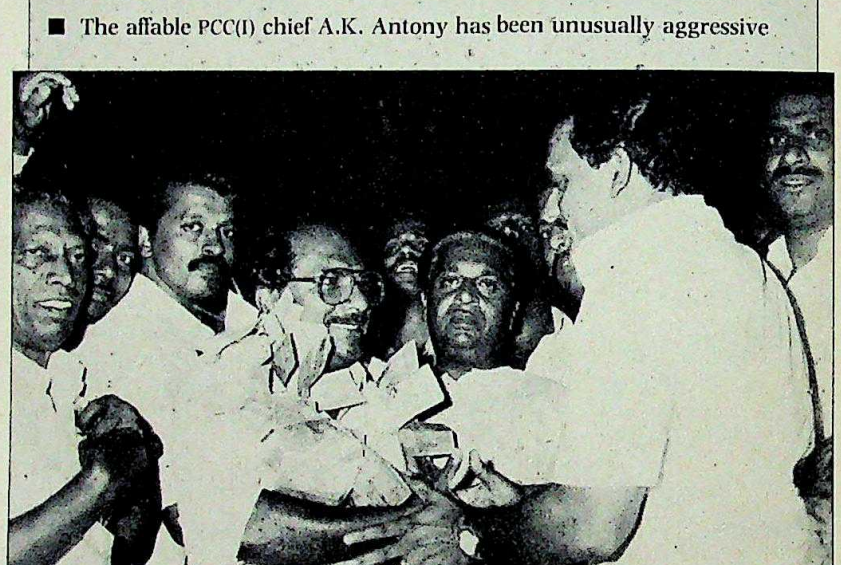
Another issue which the Congress(I) has exploited is the LDF money-saving attempt to limit midday meals only to poor children. The move was abandoned after the Congress(I) shouted itself hoarse on how the LDF was creating a class division in schoolrooms.

The deteriorating law and order situation, with CPI(M) activists who figured in several of the political clashes going scot-free, has also helped the Congress(I). Warns former chief minister K. Karunakaran: "Voters are not going to forget these instances in the coming elections." He has a ready reckoner on his table at his residence listing on violent incidents after the LDF assumed power: 312 rapes, 170 political murders and 21 attacks on journalists.

The Congress(I) realises it has also to have the intelligentsia on its side. This month, it is planning to reactivate its cultural wing. It has also been regularly organising political camps for its workers to educate them on political ideology, issues, and of course, communism. In a highly literate and politically alive state, the Congress(I) is learning many useful lessons from the Marxists: that to come to power in Kerala, they need much more than money and muscle power.

—RAMESH MENON

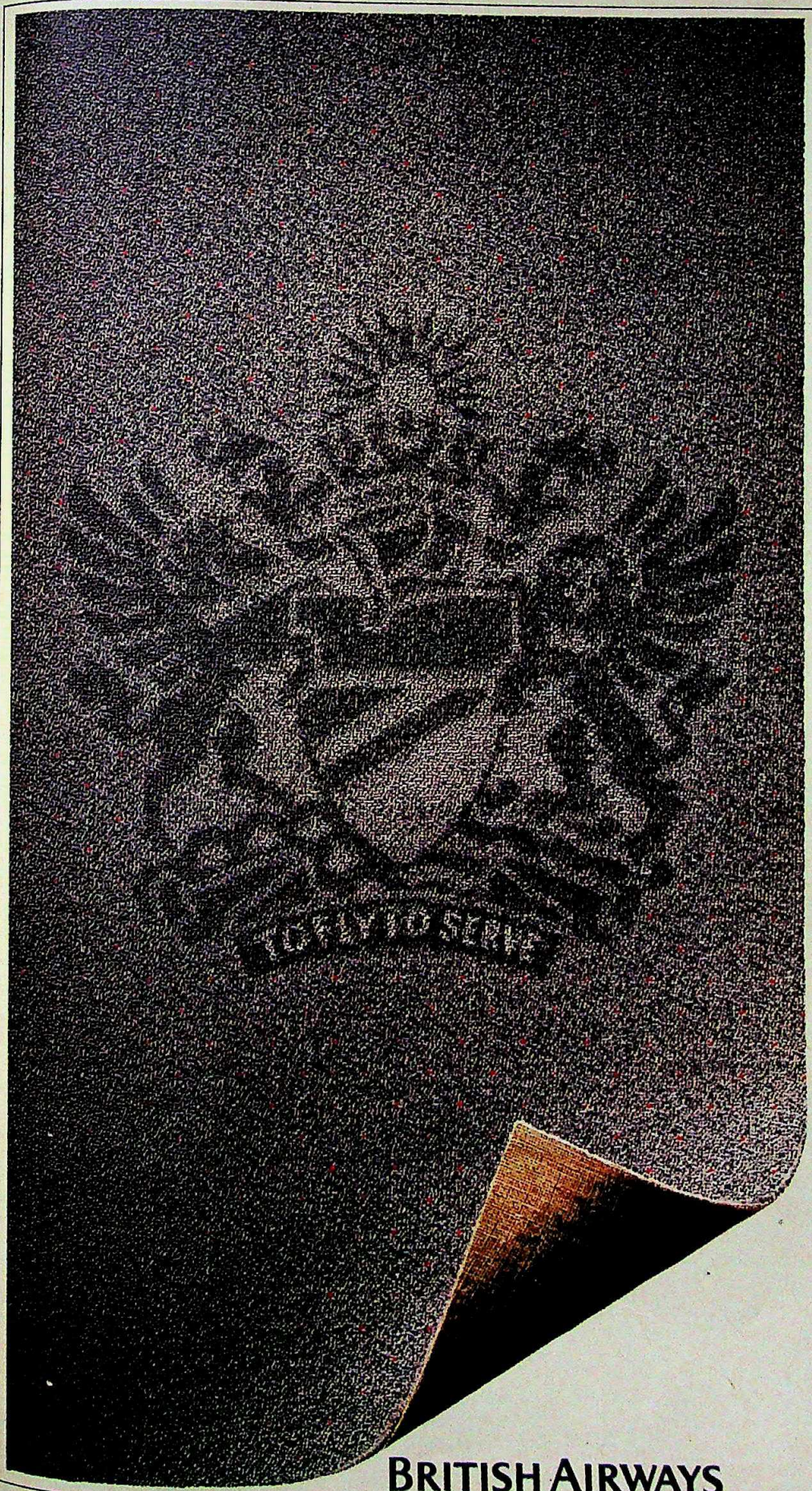
■ The affable PCC(I) chief A.K. Antony has been unusually aggressive



The dismal performance of the LDF Government has given the Congress(I) a stick to beat them with.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



ON MARCH 1, BRITISH AIRWAYS RELAUNCHED FIRST CLASS.

IN 12 WEEKS, WE CHANGE THE CARPET AGAIN.

And we change it again every twelve weeks thereafter.

Not that it isn't superb wool carpet. It's simply that we understand and respect the needs and expectations of you, our First Class passenger.

So we have designed our new service totally around your comforts, in every detail, in every area, on the ground as well as in the air.

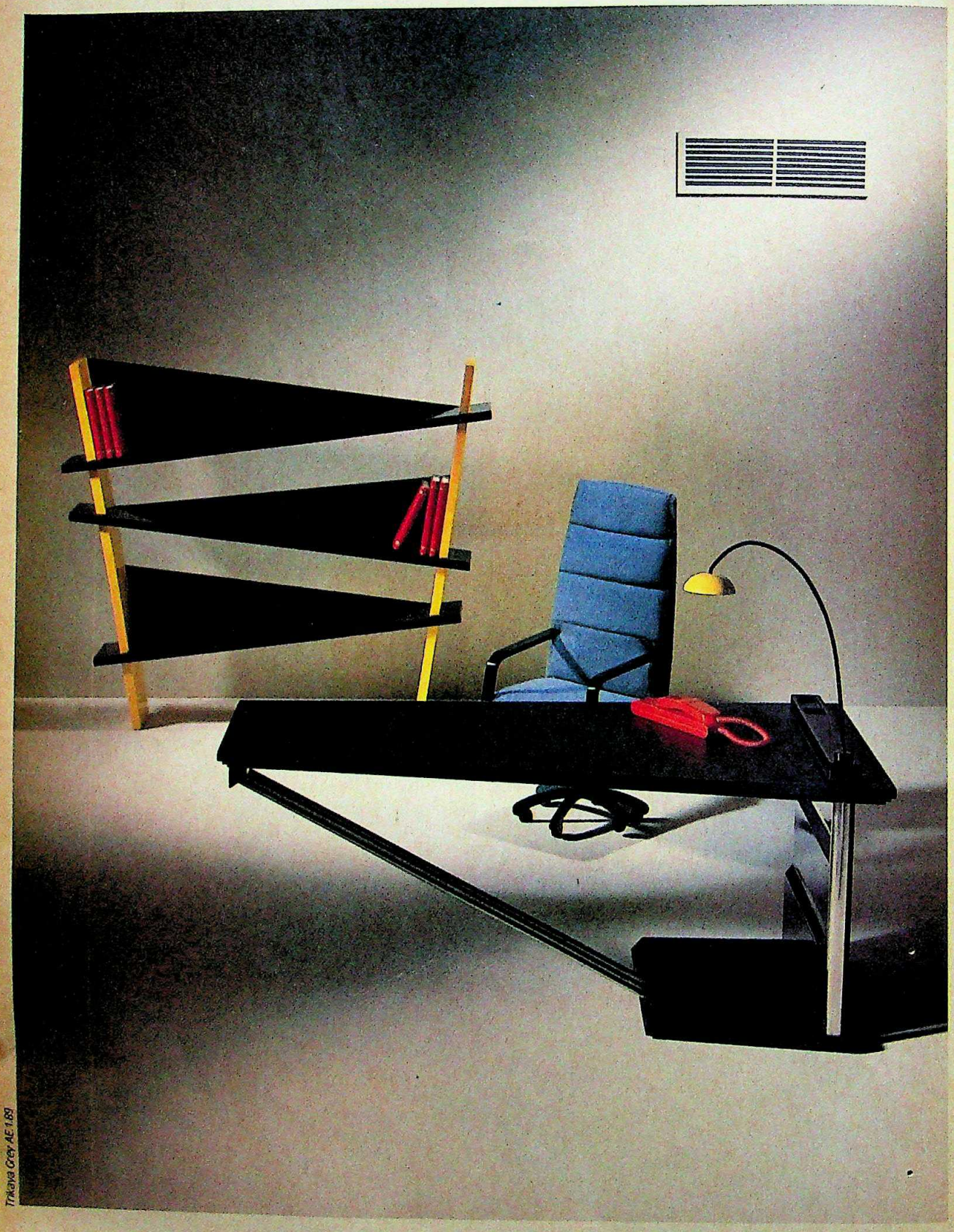
Now, wouldn't it be a shame to spoil all that with a carpet that's thirteen weeks old?

FIRST
class

BRITISH AIRWAYS
The world's favourite airline

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Trikaya Grey AE 1.89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When the phone rings, do you reach for the receiver or the air conditioner switch?

If you switch off the air conditioner every time you take a call because you can't hear a word. If you find yourself raising your voice at meetings when there's no cause to. If you've had enough of noisy air conditioners, get yourself an Amtrex split. It has a separate condenser unit that's placed outside, so it makes no noise. And a perfectly streamlined air-delivery system inside. Which makes it the most noiseless split air conditioner available. It can be installed on the ceiling. But it's also available as a floor and wall model. It comes in a choice of 1, 1.5 and 2 tons. As well as multi-split models of 2, 3 and 4 tons that cool more than one room simultaneously. (The widest range in the market today). It's already been installed at some of the largest companies in India: Reliance Industries, Food Specialities Limited and Crompton Greaves, amongst others. To get one, raise your voice for one last time and call Amtrex.

AMTREX

SPLIT AIR CONDITIONERS

Amtrex Ambience Pvt Ltd. (An Enterprise of Lalbhai Industries Consolidated.) Corporate Office: 'Rachana', Shahibaug Road, Ahmedabad - 380004. Offices: Ahmedabad 383035 Ambala - Bangalore 563291 Baroda 323677 Bhopal 62109 Bhubaneshwar 52034 Bombay 2040447 Calcutta 441092 Chandigarh 25147 Gauhati 32683 Goa 22346 Indore 65140 Jaipur 68797 Lucknow 40670 Madras 451301 New Delhi 6835986 Pune 661693 Raipur 23093 (P.P.) Secunderabad 228755 Vizag 66160

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It takes three wings to carry the outdoors to the indoors.

ORIENT FANS
A lifetime of refreshing air.

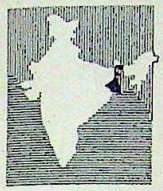
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WEST BENGAL

Powerful Problem

Bakreshwar a load on CPI(M) resources



JYOTI Basu's Marxist Government in West Bengal likes periodically to assert its independence; unfortunately, on occasions, this boomerangs rather badly. The Bakreshwar Thermal Power Project is a classic example. Last year, the Left Front Government declared that since the Centre appeared bent on blocking the 840 MW project, the state would implement the project on its own. Brave words. But putting it into practise requires more than just courage. It requires money—Rs 1,000 crore according to estimates. And money, the Government is learning, is a commodity hard to come by.

The CPI(M), the leading partner in the Left Front Government, is going all out to raise funds. It has termed Bakreshwar a "people's project"; plans a "film-star-studded musical evening" on April 14, the Bengali New Year's Day, which is expected to fetch Rs 40 lakh; party MPs have donated a month's salary; and donations have been sought from the people, and even from schoolchildren.

The front organisations of the party—the Students' Federation of India and the Democratic Youth Federation of India—organised blood donation camps to raise money by selling blood. There was a flood of donors but, typically, blood preservation facilities were insufficient, and a lot of blood literally went down the drain.

All this has earned the party a lot of newspaper headlines, but little money. So most of the funds will have to come from other sources. One of these is the state's annual budget—Rs 92 crore were allocated this year. Also, state Finance Minister Ashim Dasgupta plans to raise nearly Rs 100 crore every year by improving tax realisation and by launching schemes to attract savings.

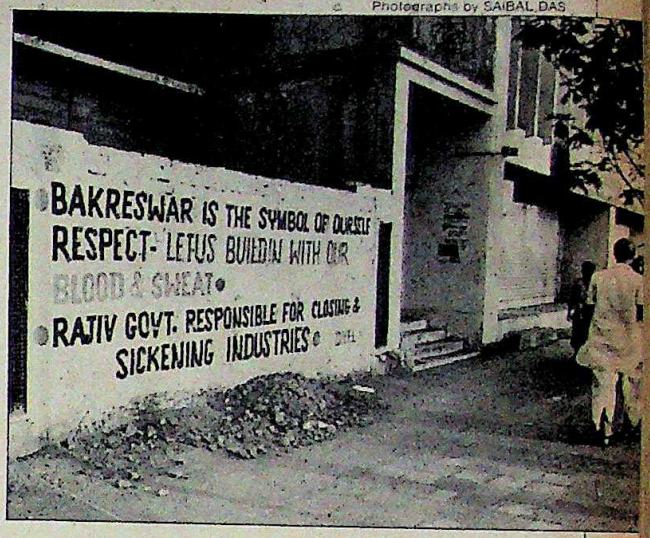
Far from fetching the Government accolades, these steps have earned it brickbats. Says celebrated economist Bhabatosh Dutta: "It is impossible to complete the project with the state's own resources." He points out that nearly 34 per cent of the state's Rs 1,115-crore budget has been earmarked for the power sector, which means a reduction of resources for other vital sectors such as irrigation, education and social services. "Both the Central and the state Government," he says, "must understand that industrial power should not be mixed with political power."

Worse, even the CPI(M)'s partners in the Government do not share its enthusiasm. Says Revolutionary Socialist Party General Secretary Tridib Choudhury: "We are not interested in donating either blood or money." Bhabani Ray Choudhury, leader of the All India Trade Union Congress, the CPI's trade union wing, concurs: "We have no plans to donate funds because we do not have any." Only the CPI(M)'s trade union wing, the Centre for Indian Trade Unions, has promised to give Rs 1 crore.

Stung by such criticism, the CPI(M) has hit back. Said politburo member and state party Secretary Saroj Mukherjee: "We will be compelled to give an appropriate reply if other Left Front constituents unnecessarily attack us."

The Congress(I) says the CPI(M) has no intention of completing the project and is using Bakreshwar as a tool in its fight against the Centre. Last fortnight, Rajiv Gandhi accused the Marxists of non-investment in the power sector during the sixth plan period, when about 40 per cent of the Central allocation for power had to be returned, unutilised.

But as the history of the Bakreshwar project shows, the Centre too is not guiltless. In the mid-'80s, the Central Electricity Authority observed in a report that by the end of the eighth plan, West Bengal would have a power short-



Jyoti Basu laying the foundation-stone (left); and graffiti about the project

The Marxists are trying to raise funds for the Rs 1,000-crore Bakreshwar project, but critics feel that it cannot be implemented without Central assistance.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fall of nearly 800 MW. Bakreshwar was intended to bridge that gap. Four years later, the project was cleared on condition that external credit assistance was available, which was met when the Soviet Union promised credit.

In April 1986, the Centre declared that the USSR would provide credit only if the project was implemented in the Central sector. This meant that all the power would not go to the state. But when Basu met the Soviet ambassador, he contradicted the Union Government's contention.

Basu wrote a letter to the prime minister which, he says, "is yet to fetch a reply". Exasperated, he finally served an ultimatum on the Centre in April last year, warning that if clearance for financial aid was not given within three months, the state would go ahead on its own. When that threat was ignored, Basu had no option but to act.

Still, the state Government's record in the power sector does not inspire confidence. According to the latest figures available, the state's plant load factor (a measure of efficiency) for power is around 42 per cent, compared to the national figure of nearly 56 per cent.

Also, though funds have been allocated in the annual budget, it has made little progress in getting the infrastructure for the project ready. The result, as state Power Minister Prabir Sengupta admitted recently, will probably be that the amount will remain largely unspent.

Power engineers also point out that the West Bengal Power Development Corporation has failed to complete the Kolaghat Super Thermal Power Plant on schedule due to lack of funds. Expecting quick action on Bakreshwar, they argue, is a little far-fetched.

What all this means is that even if funds for the Bakreshwar project become available, the project is unlikely to be completed by the target date of 1995. Until then, consumers can expect the present power cuts to continue, along with the power tussles between the state and the Central Government.

—KAMALJEET RATTAN

BOTTOMLINE BY D. BUNKER

Tracing the Leak

IT was a disaster of mammoth proportions—the MIC leak that created such a stink in the country. The moment it became known that the origin of the leak was a MIC (Member of Inner Circle), Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi quickly ordered up a NIT (Nehru Investigation Team) to trace the source of the leak. Now, after much Nit-picking, a copy of their report has been leaked to INDIA TODAY, which details the manner in which the investigations were carried out:

NIT to Buta Singh: Are you a member of the Inner Circle?

Buta: Of course. I am a faithful, loyal servant of the....

NIT: We're investigating a very serious matter. Only a MIC could have leaked the report. Do you have anything to tell us?

Buta: Actually, on second thoughts, I may or may not be a MIC.

NIT: What do you mean?

Buta: Well, I can say I am a MIC today. But tomorrow, the prime minister may say the opposite. It can get very embarrassing. I'll have to check with the Prime Minister's Office.

NIT to Kalpnath Rai: You gave an interview to the press in which you said that M.L. Fotedar was the source of the MIC leak.

Rai: Interview? What interview?

NIT: This one (displaying a copy of the publication).

Rai: Oh, that one. You know what these newspaper people are like. They are all part of a larger conspiracy to destabilise the country.

NIT: The interview was tape-recorded. We have the tape.

Rai: You know what these foreign tape-recorders are like. They are all part of the larger foreign conspiracy.

NIT: Why did you blame Fotedar?

Rai: That was part of a larger conspiracy.

NIT: What conspiracy?

Rai: To signal to the party that he is no longer a MIC.

NIT to H.K.L. Bhagat: Are you in the Inner Circle?

Bhagat: You see, it is like this. There are inner circles and outer circles. There are flyovers and underground....

NIT: Are you in the Inner Circle or not?

Bhagat: That's silly. Don't you watch Doordarshan?

NIT: Well then, you are a suspect in the MIC leak.

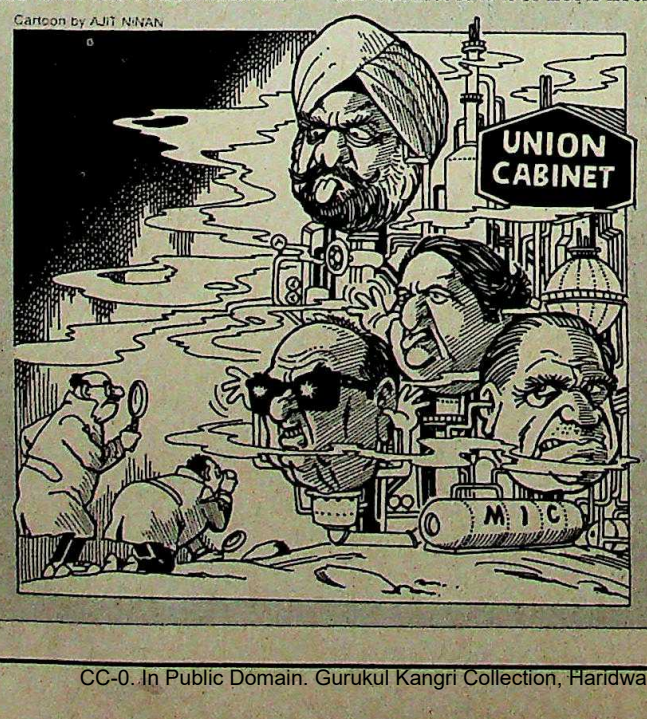
Bhagat: But the Supreme Court has already blamed Union Carbide...

NIT: Not that one. This leak is in the Union Cabinet.

Bhagat: I am only the minister for Disinformation and Boredcasting. In any case, the Cabinet only saw the final report when it was tabled in Parliament. How could they have leaked it when they didn't have it?

NIT: That is not part of our investigative brief. Whether the Cabinet saw it or not is irrelevant. As long as there is a needle of suspicion in the haystack, we have to find it.

Cartoon by AJIT NINAN



NIT to Fotedar: You have been named as a source of the leak. What do you have to say?

Fotedar: This is false, mischievous and motivated. How can you believe anything the press writes? Everything they write is false, misch....

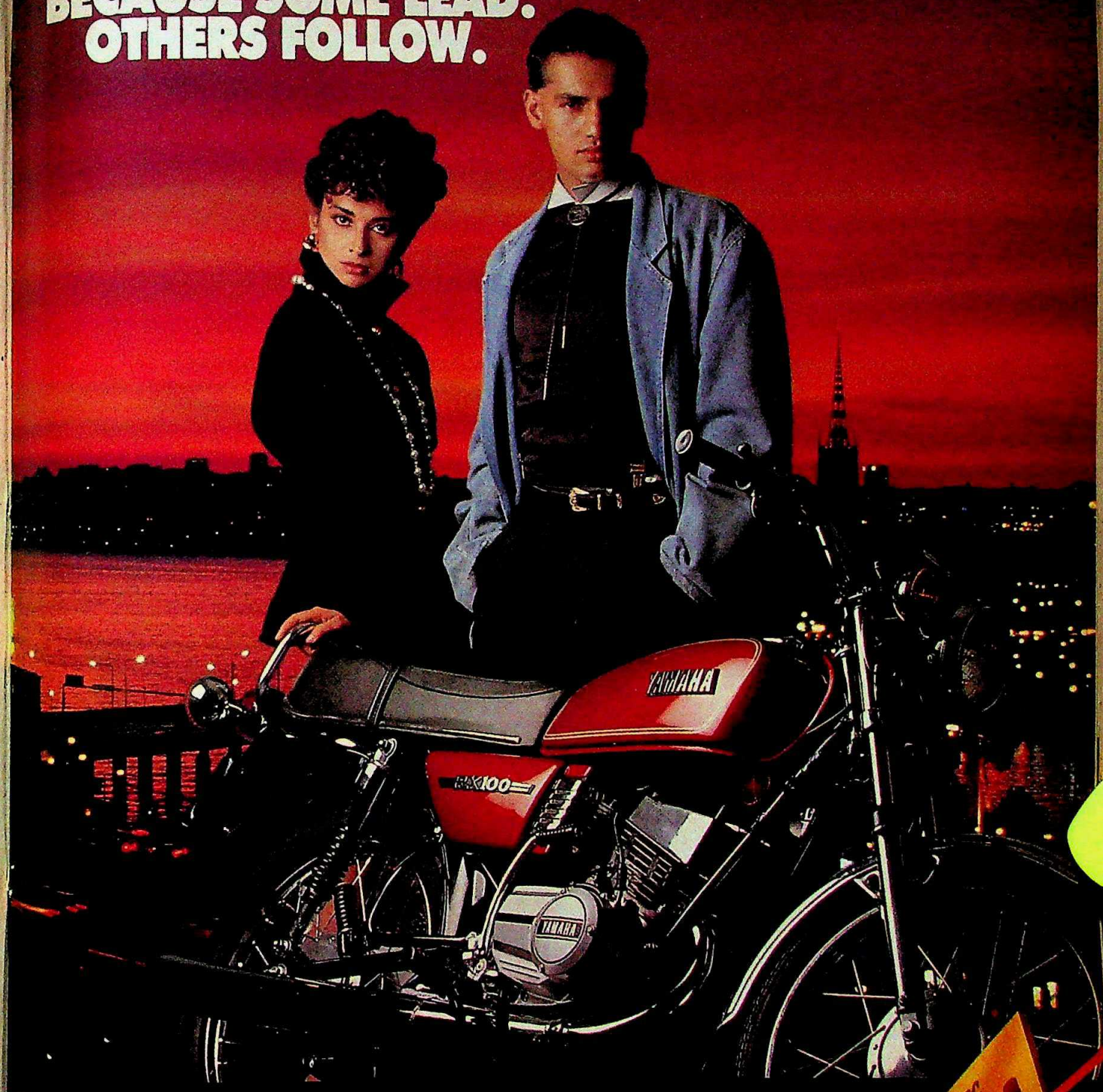
NIT: Are you a member of the Inner Circle?

Fotedar: Of course. Here are reports written in INDIA TODAY, *Sunday, Illustrated Weekly, Surya, Indian Express.* They all say I am a member of the Inner Circle, so it must be true.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

YAMAHA. BECAUSE SOME LEAD. OTHERS FOLLOW.



There are two kinds of people. Those who go through life doing what everybody else does. And those who dare to be different. Leading the way. Setting the trends. They are the ones you can instantly spot in a crowd. And they are the ones who ride a Yamaha. Because as far as motorcycles go, the Yamaha is a breed apart. An original in a world of imitations.

Take a look at the 11 BHP engine that gives you more power than anybody else. A double cradle frame for extra engine protection. Brake Drums that are wider than normal for extra stopping power. An ergonomically designed shape to be one with the wind. Tri-nickel chrome plating to last through the years. And of course, the pure joy of riding the best engineered bike in the country.

So you've got a choice. You can either get on to any two wheeler that takes you from here to there, like everybody else. Or you can take a different road. And ride a Yamaha.

ESCORTS

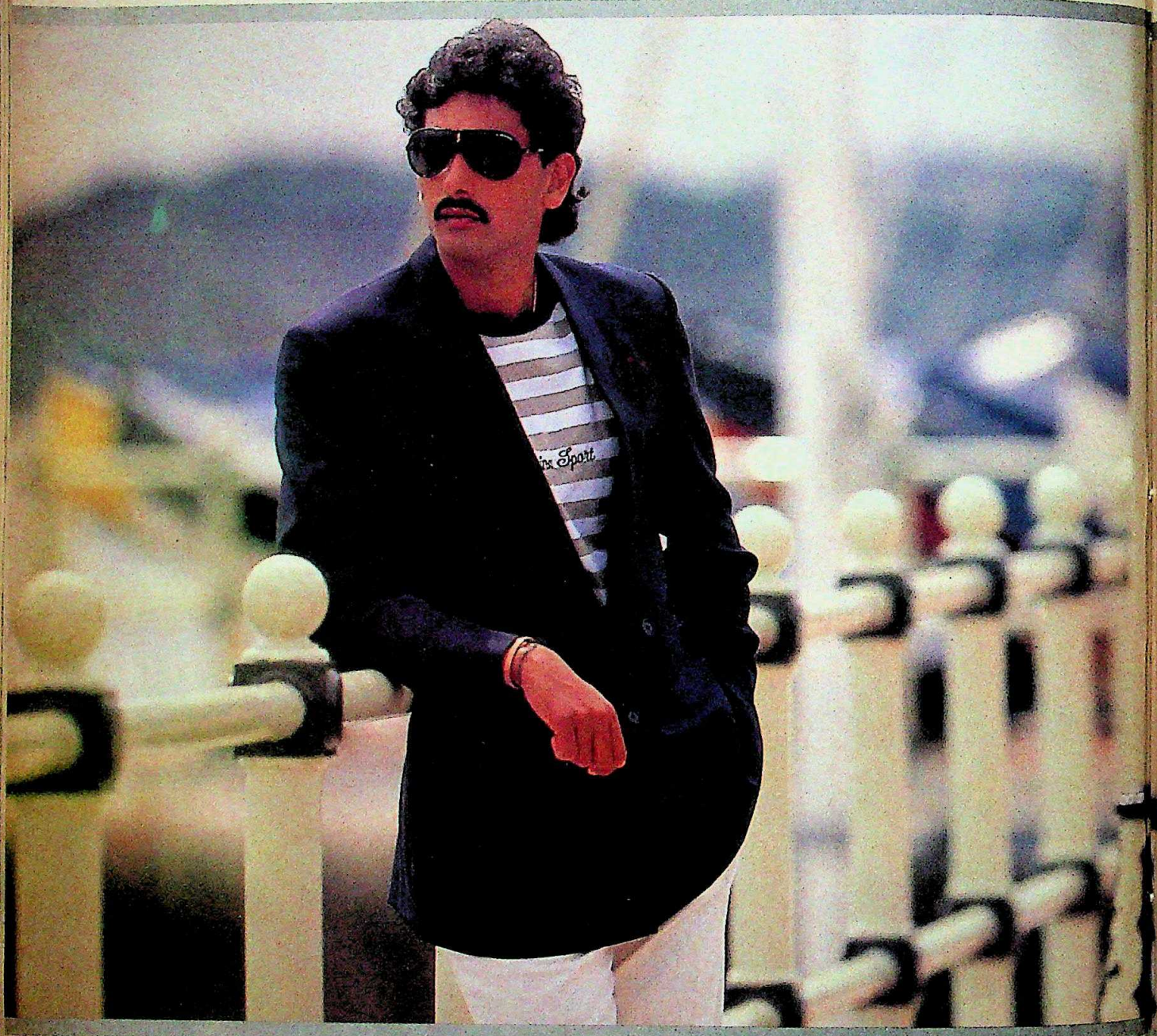
AUTHENTIC YAMAHA RX100

ESCORTS

AHEAD OF THE 100's

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bold, sporty and fashionable. The statement of rich and refined Vimal suitings.



V I M A L ' S □ S U M M E R □ S T A T E

A A loose double breasted navy blue coat. Pointed lapels and conventional collar. Unslitted. With two show buttons. Trousers are 'parallels' with 2 deep pleats and cross pockets. B The coat is double breasted with wide lapels. Straight flaps over pockets. Slitted back. Baggy trousers with deep pleated front. Seven loops and turn-up bottoms. C Hip length jacket with thick zippers. Ribbed collar and ribbed cuffs. 2 cross pockets. Baggy trousers with 7 loops around the waist. Deep pleated front. Cross pockets.

In 1839, Louis Daguerre invented the first practical photographic process. Later, photographers specialized in different forms of photography, including fashion. Since 1977, leading photographers like Fabio Bartholomew, Wilas Bhende,

CC-0. Shri Pt. 1977 Jain Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

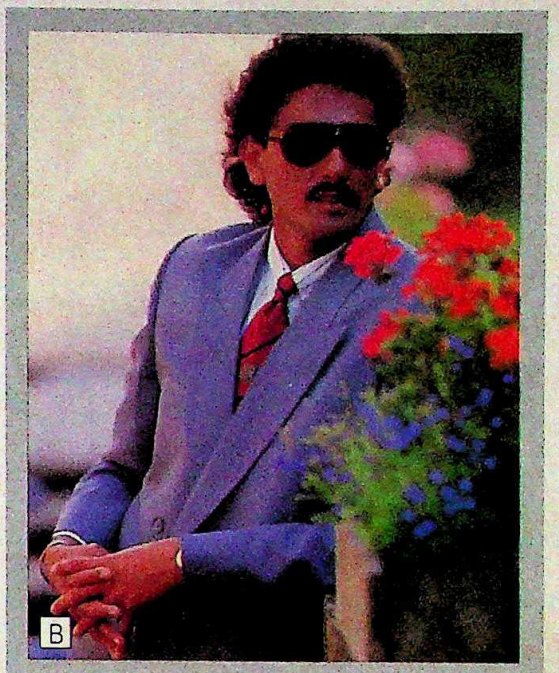
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

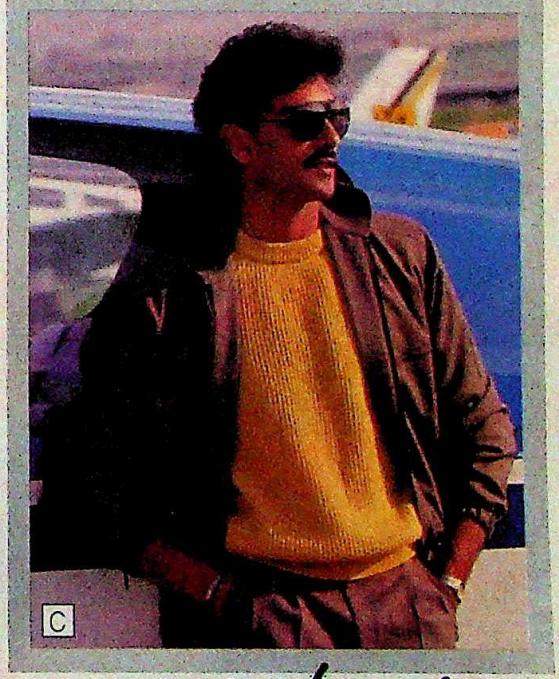
ngs.

The statement of Ravi Shastri.

T

E M E N T S





The looks of a winner

VIMAL
A RELIANCE PRODUCT

POLYRICH & WOOLLEN SUITINGS

Suresh Cordo, Ritu Nanda, D. L. Oberoi, Denzil Sequeira, Suresh Sheth and Shantanu Sheorey have shot beautiful images for Vimal. Which helped create the Vimal image. Vimal celebrates 150 eventful years of photography.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Mudra A-RIL 4534

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

60TH ANNIVERSARY

AKAI

For Sixty years, Akai has been creative at heart.
Following a culture of mental and emotional commitment to creativity. A commitment that has helped Akai to carve a niche of technological superiority. Helped to enhance the electronic marvels of our time – audio, video and T.V.

1989. And Akai's constant search continues. For ways to enrich the lives of people who put their trust in Akai.

THE WORLD'S LARGEST SELLING VCP

AKAI VS-P8, Mark III

Slow Motion

Sleek and compact. Unique Quick Start function. Slow Motion. Auto operation.

Special Carry On Board the Aircraft Pack

recording

AKAI VS-R8, Mark III

Also has Recording function

THE NEW GENERATION VIDEO

AKAI VS-27

With features no other VCR offers. Quick Start, Quick Index Search, Quick Intro Scan, Super Clear Slow Motion, Double Speed Playback, Electronic Child Lock System, 62 TV preset stations, Quick timer, Full function wireless remote with tracking control, 8-Programme 1 month Timer, Unique Tape View system, HQ System, Memory Back-up, Full Auto operation, with built-in voltage stabilizer.

AKAI VS-53

Extra features include: a DX-4 Head System, 2-Speed 8-Hour recording, Auto Digital Tracking Control and 100 TV preset stations.

If it's Real Hi Fi It's got to be Akai

AKAI System M 552

A classic component unit. Tuner, amplifier, 5-band graphic equalizer and cassette deck, 680 Watts (PMPO). With the latest motorised Volume Control. Surround speakers feature the newly developed 'back load horn' designed for rich, powerful sound with well-defined bass.

New Space Age Portable Sound

AKAI AJ-W238

Double Cassette Deck. Sequential and continuous play. High speed dubbing. Wrap around 2-way speaker system. 24 Watts (PMPO). 3-band Graphic Equalizer. 3-band Radio.

AKAI AJ-R218

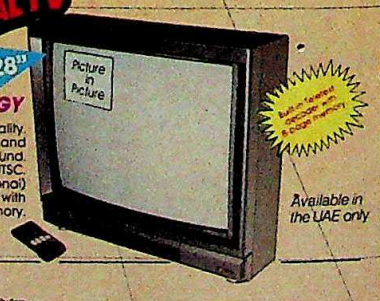
European styling. Auto Reverse. 18 Watts (PMPO). 3-band Radio.

New AKAI DIGITAL TV

28"

DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY

For pure picture and sound quality. The new generation Flat and Square 28" screen. Stereo Sound. Three systems PAL-SECAM-NTSC. Picture-in-picture (Optional) Built-in Teletext decoder with 8-page memory.



Available in the UAE only

FREE INTERNATIONAL WARRANTY

All Akai equipment carries a FREE Warranty for efficient service and replacement of spare parts at these Akai service centres in India :

BOMBAY - **Paras Electronics** Lamington Chambers, 394, Lamington Road, Opera House, Bombay 400 004. Tel: 386 978

MADRAS - **Paras Akai Service Centre** 11/1A Leonard Street, Royapettah, Madras 600 014. Tel: 812 495

PUNE - **Paras Akai Service Centre** 890, Raviwar Peth, opp. R.C.M. Gujarati School, Pune 411 002. Tel: 439 084

AKAI

Why settle for the National Favourite when you can get the International Leader

Distributors:
DUBAI:
General Enterprises Co., P.O. Box 363, Dubai. Tel: 224131, 236575
KUWAIT:
Morad Yousuf Behbehani, P.O. Box 146, Safat-13002, Kuwait. Tel: 4844000
PAKISTAN:
Universal Enterprises Co., 31 Hotel Metropole Bldg., Merewether Road, Karachi-17. Tel: 511611
QATAR:
Ahmed Al-Uthman & Bros., P.O. Box 218, Doha. Tel: 23507, 23508
SAUDI ARABIA:
Peninsular Distribution Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 7997, Jeddah 21472. Tel: 671-4488
STATE OF BAHRAIN:
Ambassador Store, P.O. Box 237, Manama. Tel: 253513
SULTANATE OF OMAN:
Suhail & Saud Bahwan, P.O. Box 169, Muscat. Tel: 793741, 793760

INCA/AK/267E

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Scripting Blues

THE stormy petrel of the West Bengal Congress(I), Subrata Mukherjee, has been making waves in the Assembly, attacking his own partymen. But the waves he was making in the pool with actress Moon Moon Sen have all but stopped with the 14-part teleserial *Chowdhury Pharmaceuticals* being pulled off the air.

Calcutta Doordarshan took this decision because the serial was departing from the originally approved script. Directed by Agnidev Chatterjee, the serial was meant to drive home the anti-drug abuse message. Instead, the telecast episodes had a fair sprinkling of sex and violence which made the Doordarshan babus distinctly uncomfortable.

PRASHANT PANJIAR

Mukherjee: new act

Uncharacteristically, Mukherjee accepted the decision rather meekly and agreed that the director had departed from the original script. Still, that may not be the end of Mukherjee's acting career. The sponsors of the serial, Telerama, are negotiating with Doordarshan to resume telecast if the remaining episodes revert to the approved script. So Mukherjee may yet have the opportunity to display his proven histrionic abilities to an audience even larger than the state Assembly.

On Candid Camera

THE ruling Congress(I) is constantly evolving new methods to combat any potential rebellion in the party rank and file. Now that computers have become *passe*, the latest weapon in the armoury of the party high command has turned out to be video cameras. And the legislators of Madhya Pradesh recently found—much to their horror—the spotlight turned directly on them.

At a meeting of the Congress Legislature Party in the state capital, there were fireworks when the controversial tendu leaf policy of the state Government came up for discussion. However, even as tempers were rising, a group of legislators noticed a video camera recording their every word and movement. In no mood to take this encroachment of privacy lying down, they promptly registered a strong protest against the "snooping". Said an angry lady legislator: "Obviously, the leadership is trying to threaten us with this electronic evidence."

The leadership, of course, claimed to have altogether different—and far more noble—intentions. Union Energy Minister Vasant Sathe, who was also present at the party meeting, said that he wanted a recording of the proceedings so that he could hear the views of the legislators in detail. Several MLAs, however, insist that the video film is intended to be used as evidence against them at the time of the distribution of tickets next year. If that is indeed the case, then his brief tenure in New Delhi certainly appears to have made Chief Minister Motilal Vora much smarter than his legislators had reckoned.

Enticing Offers

ANDHRA Pradesh Chief Minister N.T. Rama Rao still has a few cards up his sleeve—the resignation of three former ministers and two party legislators notwithstanding. First, he came up with enticing offers of sundry posts of chairpersons of state-owned corporations and companies. And expectedly, it worked. Known dissenters K. Vidhyadar Rao and A. Mahipal Reddy decided to continue in the Telugu Desam Party, while former minister S. Ramachandra Reddy declared that he was not going to join the ranks of the dissidents.

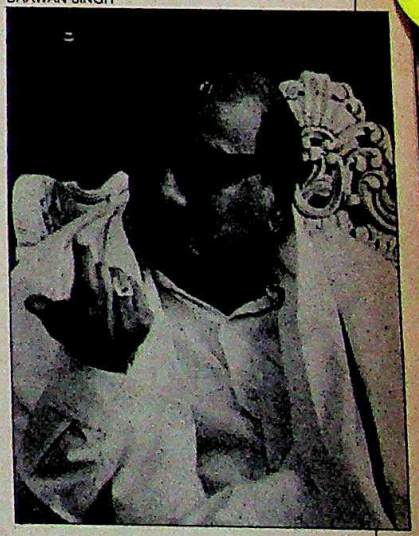
Then, Rama Rao gave an assurance to the worried legislators that he had no intention of recommending the dissolution of the House. The wily chief minister's most winning move, however, was his promise of giving cheap government land to legislators for building houses.

Yet another dimension of the multi-faceted strategy was worship. On March 27, the chief minister spent more than two hours at a Siva temple in Chittoor district to help him overcome his political problems, breaking 32 coconuts as an offering. And no doubt, the final weapon in Rama Rao's armoury to fight both the Congress(I) and the dissidents in his own party will be his much-awaited bilingual film, *Brahmarishi Viswamitra*. Understandably, his political opponents are now going slow on their plans.

Rare Agreement

FOR over a decade M. Karunanidhi tried to grab every opportunity to gain political advantage. Each time he was blocked by the late M.G. Ramachandran. But there was one avenue that MGR could do nothing about—Karunanidhi's powerful film scripts lampooning the AIADMK government. When all MGR's moves to persuade distributors and exhibitors not to touch the films failed, he resorted to legislation. Thus was born the Tamil Nadu Cinema Regulation (Second Amendment) Bill, which was passed by the Assembly on May 11, 1987.

BHAWAN SINGH

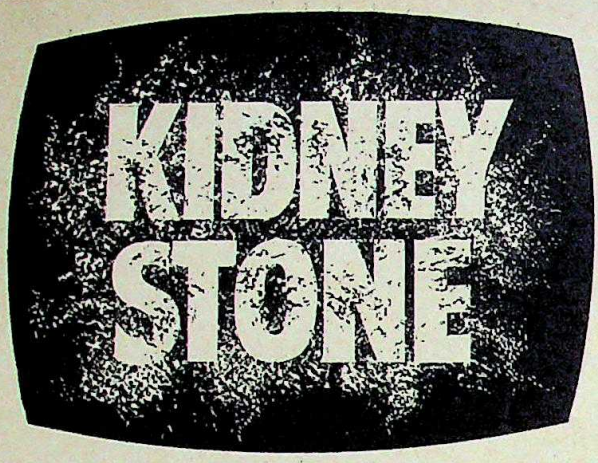


Karunanidhi: in concord

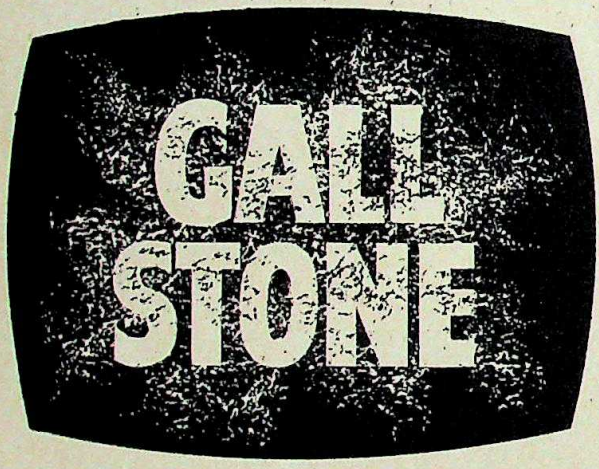
The bill conferred on the Government the power to prohibit the exhibition of films containing material derogatory to MLAs. It also provided for imprisonment of producers and directors of such films. The then governor, S.L. Khurana, sat on the bill for nearly eight months till he quit office in February 1988 making it quite clear what he thought about the bill though he did not want to create a governor-government controversy by returning the bill. His successor P.C. Alexander has now done what Khurana did not. He has returned the bill to the Assembly for reconsideration knowing the government will welcome its withdrawal. His main argument: the bill confers powers of censorship on the state Government that belong constitutionally to the Central list. Needless to say, this is one rare occasion when a governor and chief minister of an opposition-ruled state are in full agreement.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



A Breakthrough in Medical Technology



No Radiation No Surgery

The latest Lithotriptor is now installed in Akshaya, a well integrated medical complex with full facilities and under the care of highly accomplished team of doctors.

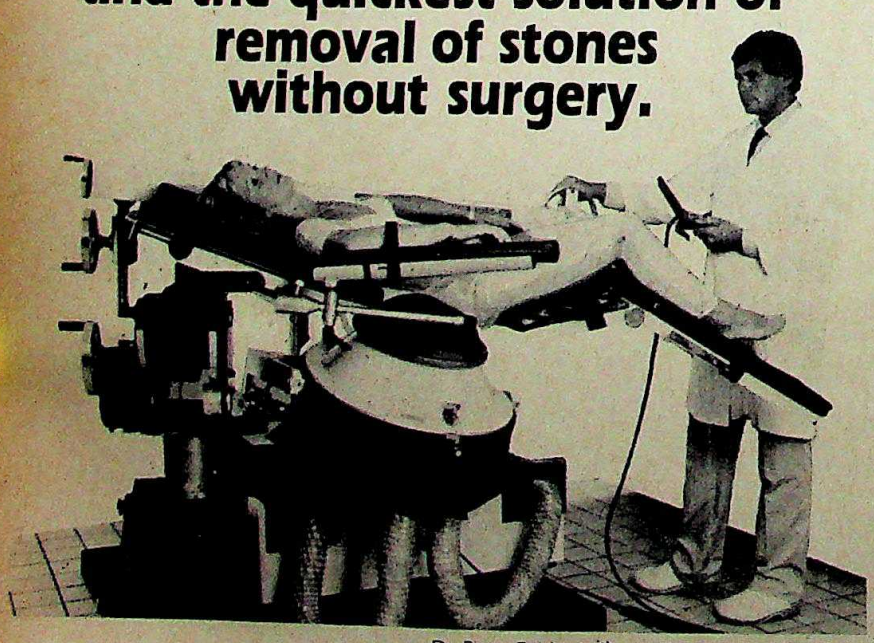
It detects stones both opaque and non-opaque, through ultrasound imaging. Then it beams controlled shock waves to crush the stones to dust.

Over 5 lakh patients have taken advantage of this medical breakthrough all over the world.

Those of advanced age, diabetic, hypertensive, heart patients, with just one kidney, or with recurrent stones, can be treated safely.

The treatment will cost you upto Rs. 12,000/- maximum; as for the total expenditure you will be told the exact amount before undergoing the treatment. For remotely peculiar composition of stones that can't be crushed, an alternate surgery will be offered at no additional cost.

Akshaya Hospital & Research Centre now brings the latest, the safest and the quickest solution of removal of stones without surgery.



Dr. Pierre Foldes with a patient on the Lithotriptor.

Akshaya Hospital & Research Centre Private Limited

'Palm Spring' (Opp. Rajasthan Bank),
Lokhandwalla Complex,
Andheri (West),
Bombay 400 058.
Tel: 6265500, 6266066

You are cordially invited to visit the centre any time by prior appointment.

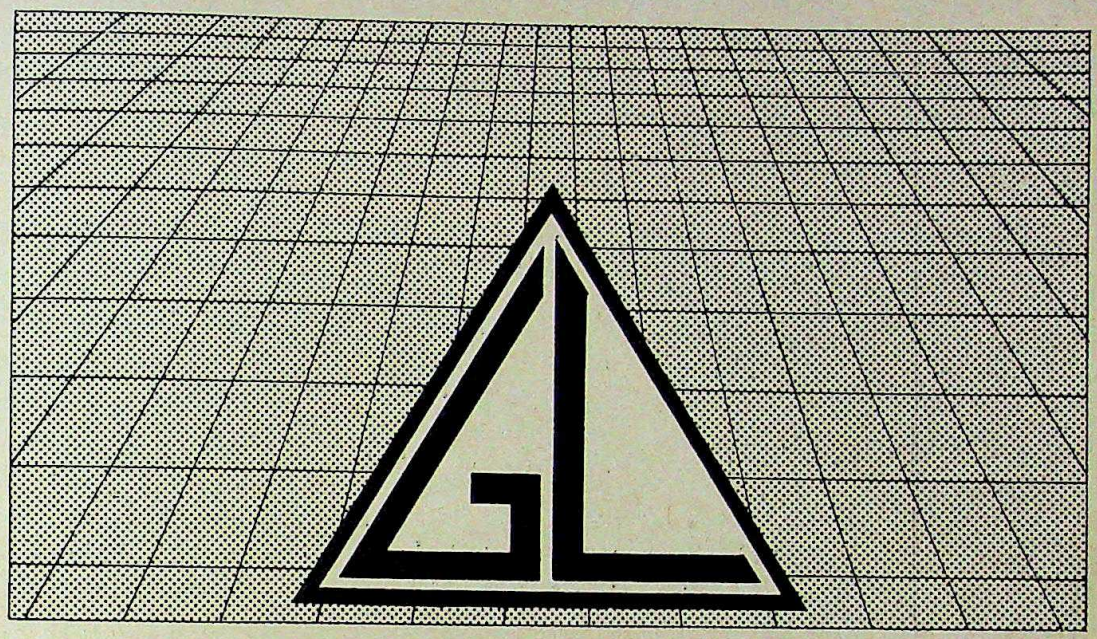
Courtesy Bank of India.

MORA AVA 8901

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the fast lane to the future....



A Sound Company..... going steady with the success.

Within 5 years of its inception the rapidly growing **Grover Leasing** has consolidated its strength and stability manifolds, now touches a landmark in its operation.

DIRECTION

A flagship company of the fast growing Grover Group, it began operations in 1984 for extending money power in the form of leasing and hire-purchase, finance to the Public, professionals and industries. There are provisions for loans to consumers for purchase of consumer durables, as well as saving plans for children's education, marriage, purchase of assets, etc.

DYNAMISM

The company is managed by an experienced team of professionals imbued with the spirit of enterprise and innovation, maintaining steady growth potential. Their endeavours have made **Grover Leasing** a premier leading organisation, enjoying a great deal of goodwill. Computerised service functions and efficient management of manpower and capital resources, with prudent financial planning, are some of the hallmarks of its modern functionality.

Grover Leasing, an organisation, where the most valuable asset is peoples confidence.

GROVER LEASING LIMITED

(Flagship Company of Grover Group)

Regd. Office : M-2, Yogeshwar, Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001
Phones : 3323106, 3325803, 3323837, 3321723, 3328064
Telex : 031-61548 GLND-IN & 031-63422 LEAS-IN.
Fax No. (91)-11-3318960

Regional Office : 644 Anna Salai, Madras-600 006.
Phones : 471299, 471386 Telex : 41-8713-GLMS-IN

Branches

Ahmedabad-380009 Phone : 469202 Adyar Madras-600020 T. Nagar, Madras-600 020 Phone : 444843 Bangalore-560 001 Phone : 70526
Coimbatore-641 018 Phone : 36651 Salem-636 016 Phone : 7523 Tiruchirapalli-620 018 Phone : 34050 Madural-625 001 Phone : 37789
Karaikudi-623 001 Phone : 3031 Chidambaram-608 001 Phone : 2978 Pudukkottai-622 001

PRESSMAN

A COMPANY COMMITTED TO YOUR PROSPERITY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEW VOTERS

Youth Power

With the lowering of the voting age to 18, the young have suddenly become politically important. In a sizeable number of constituencies, they can swing the result. Not surprisingly, every political party is going all out to woo them.

HERE is an important announcement: Wanted sound-minded Indian citizens born between April 1, 1968, and April 1, 1971. Caste, sex, creed no bar.

Don't be surprised if you wake up one morning to find such an advertisement in the newspapers. Since the lowering of the voting age last December from 21 to 18, youth power means political power. And in an election year, political parties are going all out to woo the youth. As Manish Tewari, president of the Congress(I)-affiliated National Students Union of India (NSUI) enthuses: "Frankly, these days I see everyone between the age of 18 and 21 as a walking ballot paper."

PRASHANT PANJIAR

Rajiv Gandhi with delegates at NSUI convention

It certainly makes sound political sense. The numbers are astronomical—more than 4.7 crore according to the latest estimates. More important, the new additions to the electorate are evenly distributed—about 86,000 in each of the 545 Lok Sabha constituencies in the country. In 1980 there were 35.5 crore voters and in 1984, 37.9 crore. In the next elections the number was to touch the 40 crore figure, but with the lowering of the age it will jump to 44.7 crore. And even if half of the new voters cast their ballots, they will have a crucial say in deciding the country's next government. Says an Election Commission researcher: "This change will give a completely new complexion to the electorate."

Arithmetically, the new voters can surely prove a clincher for any party. For instance, in 1980 when elections were held for 525 seats, 177 results were decided with less than a 40,000-vote margin. And 90 of these seats were won by a margin of less than 20,000 votes. In 1984, when only 513 seats were contested—elections were not held in Punjab and Assam—results for as many as 119 were decided by a lead of less than 40,000 votes despite the strong pro-Rajiv wave. Of these 76 were close finishes where less than 20,000 votes decided the fate of the contestants. Thus the new voters can decisively tilt the political scales at the next hustings.

Realising this, all parties are trying to involve more youth in their political agenda. The Congress(I) for the first time gave 600 positions to office-bearers of the Indian Youth Congress (IYC) in Uttar Pradesh's district councils, block units, municipal committees, gram sabhas and local cooperatives. The Telugu Desam too gave many tickets to youth in the state's Mandal Praja Parishad elections. And the BJP has made the young MLA, Gopinath Munde, an activist among farmers, head of the Maharashtra state unit. The Janata Dal's Uttar Pradesh General Secretary, Sanjay Singh, is also concentrating on involving youth in his set-up.

Significantly, when Rajiv inaugurated the NSUI meet last fortnight in New Delhi, he exhorted it to play a role usually left to the parent party. For instance, he called upon the youth to fight against the Opposition and what he called the conspiracy against the nation, and he specifically told them to start campaigning with the general election in mind.

But in typical NSUI fashion, the delegates remained indisciplined, even when Rajiv was lecturing them on national issues. Senior Congress(I) leaders were apprehensive that in an attempt to woo the youth without a strategy, the party might reduce their role to that of mere political stormtroopers. Said a Union minister: "We have not given them enough concrete programmes. I wonder how this young tide will turn." True enough, two days later, the IYC organised a violent demonstration at the residence of Rajya Sabha member and Congress(I) bearbug, Ram Jethmalani. An incensed Jethmalani hit back: "This is a preview of what you

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

should expect all over the country in the coming days. They are desperate."

Leftists too are not to be left behind in the wooing game. It was, in fact, the cadre-based Communist Party of India Marxist (CPI-M) which made the first visible effort to ensnare the new electorate. The seventh national convention of the party's student wing, the Students Federation of India (SFI), in Calcutta this February, departed from many traditions to make an impact on the youth. This followed a decision taken by the CPI(M)'s central committee to hold a seminar on the national alternative. Breaking the set practice, major opposition leaders like V.P. Singh, Ramakrishna Hegde and P. Upendra of the National Front were invited besides the party leaders who usually address these functions. V.P. Singh expectedly launched a frontal attack on the Congress(I) and called upon the delegates to overthrow the Rajiv Government. Jyoti Basu rubbed in the message while addressing a one-lakh strong youth rally at Calcutta's Brigade Parade Grounds.

These messages were consolidated in the last resolution of the meet, aptly titled 'Defeating the Rajiv Gandhi Government'. It was the first time that the student organisation was stepping out with a battle cry against the Central Government, something till now left to the parent party. The resolution concluded: "Now that the voting age has been lowered to 18 years, the democratic students and the SFI are in a much better position to discharge a more meaningful role in the coming general elections. The conference calls upon the student community to redouble its zeal to defeat Rajiv and his policies." Said SFI President Vijay Raghavan: "We have kicked off our campaign against the Congress(I)."

The thrust of its strategy entails consolidating the 19 lakh-strong cadre in universities and schools—mainly in West Bengal and Kerala—to carry further the anti-Rajiv message according to a rally-a-day schedule. In addition, its sister organisation, the Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI), was also galvanised into action. It is coordinating the joint election strategy of over a dozen organisations—the youth and student wings of the CPI(M), CPI, Forward Bloc, Telugu Desam, DMK and the representatives of the Janata Dal. The DYFI is perhaps the largest youth organisation with a membership of over 50 lakh, mostly in the rural areas.

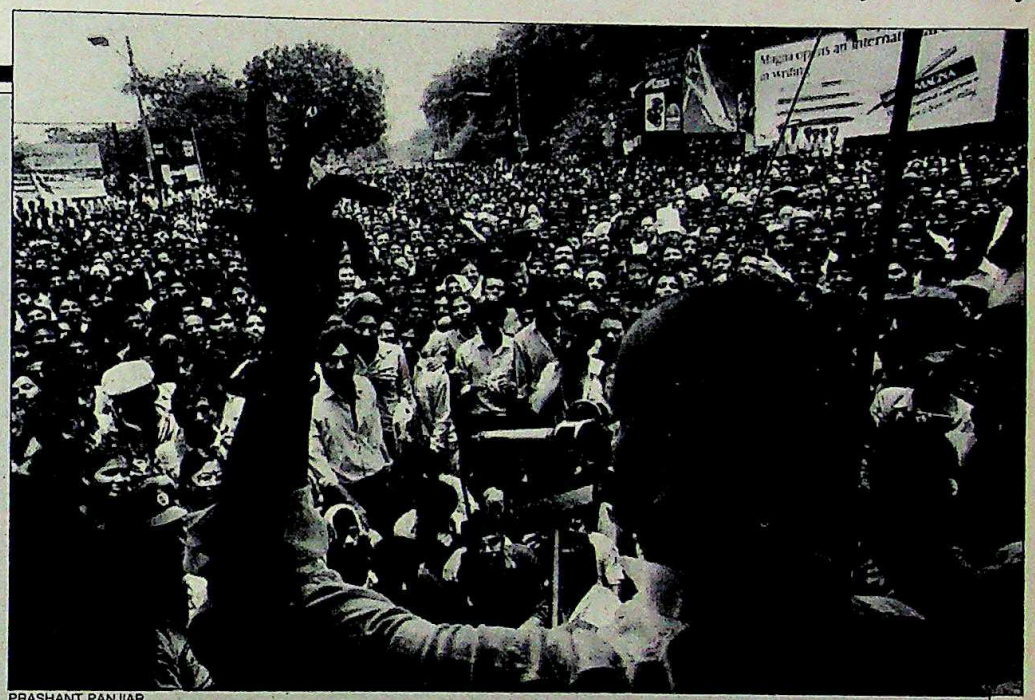
SAID its president and Rajya Sabha member, M.A. Baby: "All of us have been jointly holding agitations. The lowering of the voting age will give a specific thrust to our overall struggle against the Congress(I) Government because now our members will actually vote in the coming elections." But it is difficult to identify Janata Dal youth leaders in the absence of a Yuva Janata Dal. Because of this, a joint convention of opposition parties' youth wings has been postponed from March to May.

The biggest offensive is of course being launched by the Congress(I). While piloting the bill to lower the voting age, Union Law Minister B. Shankaranand had made the party's intention to walk off with the laurels for the move clear. Evoking protests from the Opposition, he deliberately said that the voting age had been lowered because the IYC and the NSUI had been demanding it. This issue has become a bone of contention as other parties too are claiming credit for its initiation. And opposition governments in West Bengal, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh are on a sound wicket since they have already lowered the age for local elections. On the other hand, Central Minister Priya Ranjan Das Munshi had opposed in court the lowering of voting age by West Bengal's Left Front Government.

The IYC—which had launched both Sanjay Gandhi and Rajiv in the national political arena—is all set for glitzy months ahead. With the help of Congress(I) governments in the states it is confident of putting up a good show of its youth might. The IYC's effusive President, Mukul Wasnik, has been given the task of revitalising the sagging and faction-ridden organisation. At the headquarters in New Delhi, youth from various states mill around him to ensure a berth in the state units. Professional designers are preparing the slogans and leaflets. Part of the strategy includes roping in film stars; Dara Singh, for instance, is frequently seen at the office.

During the Uttar Pradesh state convention in March end, Wasnik made a veiled attempt to extract a pound of flesh

The Congress(I) has launched a massive offensive to harness the support of young voters. But the Janata Dal is yet to form a youth wing.



PRASHANT PANJIAR

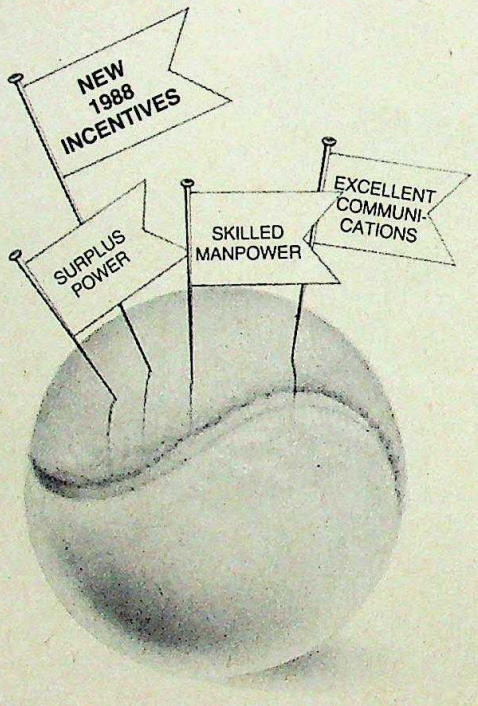
V.P. Singh addressing a gathering of Delhi University students

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEW INCENTIVES | SURPLUS POWER | SKILLED MANPOWER | EXCELLENT COMMUNICATIONS

•THAT'S ADVANTAGE MAHARASHTRA•



WHEN YOU THINK OF INDUSTRIES

Set up your industry in Maharashtra. And avail of the new 1988 package of incentives. Super incentives you would have hardly imagined any State would give.

Extraordinary features:

Substantial increase in Sales Tax incentives and Special Capital Incentive. Incentive periods raised upto 10 years. Sales tax exemption/ deferral made available where expansion/diversification is undertaken with minimum Rs. one crore investment. Extra incentives provided for energy saving devices, pollution control measures and for local employment. For power intensive units, there will be refund of electricity duty. Resource-based industries get incentives on par with other industries. You get these incentives practically all over Maharashtra except Bombay/Pune and some nearby areas.

For details contact:
The General Manager – Business Development

SICOM

THE STATE INDUSTRIAL AND INVESTMENT CORPORATION OF MAHARASHTRA LIMITED
Nirmal, 1st floor, Nariman Point, Bombay-400 021.
Phone: 2023018, 2021855 Telex: 011-3066
FAX: (022) 2023008

SICOM

The ingredients for success

Besides, Maharashtra offers your industry everything it needs to thrive. Unrestricted power. Abundant water. A readymade communications network. Infrastructure complete with modern amenities in the Growth Centres. A ready market and most of all, an industrial culture that provides skilled productive labour.

SICOM – to top it all

Whatever the size of your unit – medium or large – you can depend on SICOM for plant location, technical guidance, finance and escort services. Everything you need to get your industry off to a flying start.

CLARION/DSM/ST/305

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for the youth. He told AICC(I) General Secretary Oscar Fernandes from the dais: "Though we are not hankering for tickets, the party has to keep in mind the youth energy while fielding candidates for the next elections." The pandal roared its approval.

Like a cool-headed business executive, Wasnik talks about his strategy to win youth votes. Says he: "Our thrust will be to highlight the good work done by the Congress(I) Government under Rajivji's leadership. We will not opt for a negative campaign". To achieve this, slick leaflets are being designed to be distributed door-to-door in a block-level programme named *Tarunabhinandan* (welcoming the youth). It aims at identifying new voters, inducting them as members, raising funds and choosing booth committees across the country. This exercise begins in May.

Also on the anvil is a massive IYC national convention towards the end of April. Before that, by mid-April, state-level conventions will be completed to brief district functionaries. This will be followed by district-level meetings attended by young members of municipal committees, village sarpanchs and booth committee heads. Simultaneously, women's conventions will be held by the state units. Says the IYC Joint Secretary in charge of Uttar Pradesh, Anita Verma: "We cannot ignore young women. They make half of the new voters." Adds Wasnik: "Our effort will be to reach every youth on the ground."

On the ground though, the situation is not all that rosy. Near revolts are brewing in the Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Gujarat and Maharashtra units. Rebels are mounting pressure for the ouster of state unit chiefs. But the biggest problem is the erosion in Rajiv's image as 'the young prime minister'. Laments a party MP: "When we came to power, we were riding a wave created by a young prime minister. Now the scene will shift to the universities."

THOUGH the Congress(I) has a university apparatus in the NSUI, it had become something of a liability after the infamous Nagpur convention where the delegates went on a rampage. Though Tewari insists that the organisation has tried to regain respectability by inducting new members, he cannot deny that it is deep in a morass.

Still, the NSUI too is gearing up. After a gap of four years, it held the Delhi convention. There speakers claimed that the Rs-500 crore Jawahar Rozgar Yojna announced in the Union budget is actually aimed at helping the 3 crore unemployed educated youth registered with the employment exchanges. In fact, the day the Central budget was to be presented in Parliament, Rajiv took time off in the morning to attend the IYC national council. When asked whether the budget would have anything for the youth, he smiled and said: "We have taken care of the youth. You will know it in the evening." His words were soon proven true. Clearly, the Congress(I) and its youth organisations will be extracting the maximum political mileage from employment schemes.

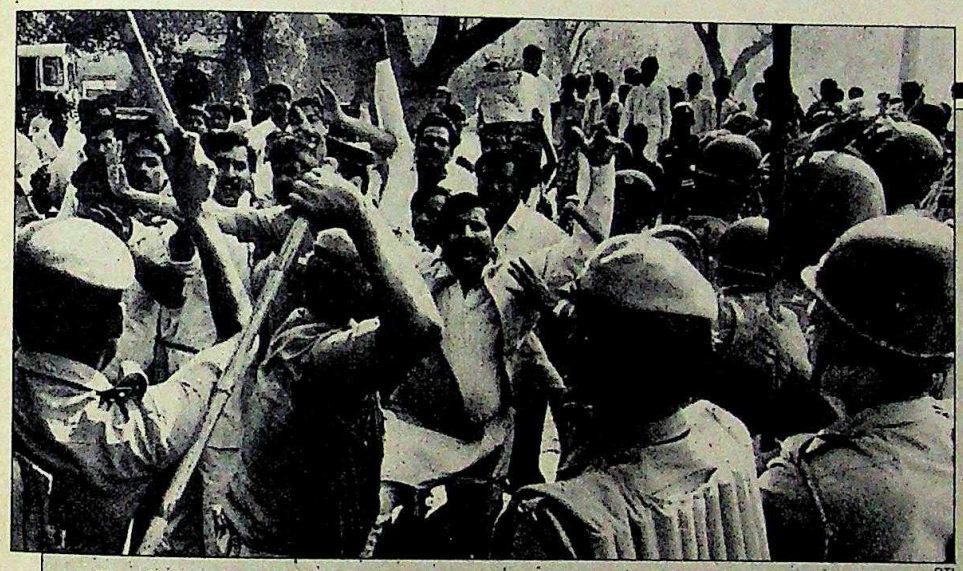
Meanwhile, the NSUI has also adopted a new slogan: 'Education and employment for all'. The overzealous leaders have overlooked the fact that the same slogan has been used by the SFI for the last 10 years on every campus. And interestingly, though the NSUI demands universal literacy, it had to drop its demand for more allocation for education after the Government refused to do so in the recent budget. Still, NSUI leaders harped on the 'better education' theme during the Delhi convention.

The BJP is in a dilemma. Though its official youth wing, the Bharatiya Yuva Janata Morcha (BYJM), openly identifies with it, the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) has stoutly maintained an independent identity despite its links with the party. But with elections in the offing there is rethinking on. Admitted BJP President L.K. Advani: "Since the ABVP is ideologically close to us, it might join hands with us in the coming elections besides the BYJM."

The BJP youth organisations' road-show has already got under way. In Bombay, 30,000 volunteers of the Morcha clogged city roads while the parent party engineered a walk-out in the state Assembly. Their common demand: jobs for the educated unemployed. The Parishad too is adopting a tough line. As soon as the bill to lower the voting age was moved in Parliament, it warned the Government not to use it as a ruse to postpone polls. Says ABVP Vice-President R.K. Bhatia: "Our main concern will be to ensure that students use their votes." To ensure this, it has activated its cadres on campuses to get new voters enlisted on the electoral rolls.

The enthusiastic young voter could be unpredictable but not gullible. And it will certainly not prove easy to buy this votebank. So political parties—and their ageing leaders—are desperately trying to shed their grey hair and don a youthful image. That spectacle in itself should make the ninth general elections worth watching.

—PANKAJ PACHAURI



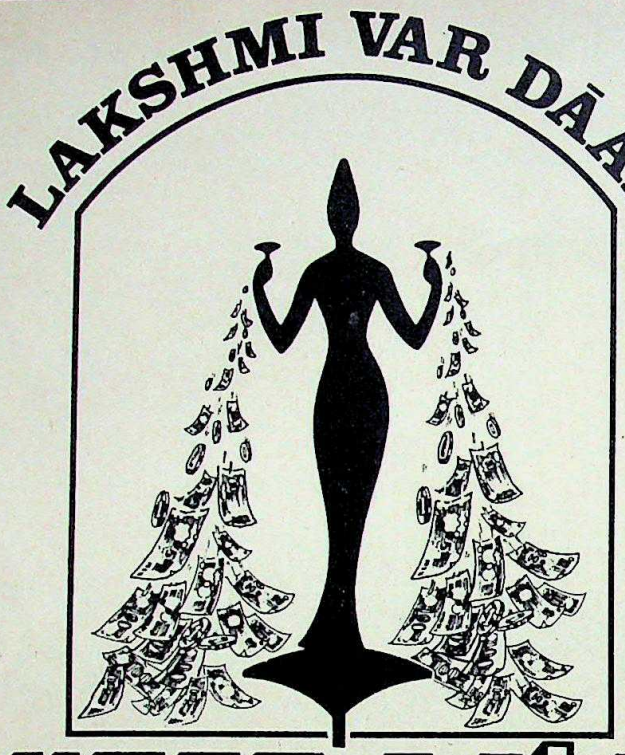
PTI

Youth Congress(I) men demonstrating outside Jethmalani's New Delhi house

Even Congress(I) leaders fear that for lack of a concrete strategy, their youth might become mere stormtroopers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



SUPER SALES
Agencies Limited

a premium issue.

THE PERFECT TRACK RECORD

Super Sales is a profit earning dividend paying company that has an astonishing record of result oriented performance.

In the first six years since inception Super Sales has declared cumulative dividends of 128%. And two bonus issues. Consistent profits have reflected the sound management and entrepreneurial capabilities of the company.

THE DOUBLE EDGE FOR PROFITS

The ideal mix of manufacturing and marketing keeps profitability consistently high.

• Spinning profits — and yarn

Super Sales has a 32,000 spindle unit for the flexible manufacture of a wide range of synthetic cotton and blended yarns. A unit that has a record of high capacity utilisation and peak performance.

Now the company is ready to take another progressive step, with an ambitious expansion-cum-modernisation programme. A move that will add a new dimension to returns.

• Marketing — another money spinner

Super Sales markets, leases and services textile machinery for Lakshmi Machine Works — one of the top five producers of textile machinery in the world. And the largest in India.

In addition they market LMW's sophisticated CNC Machines another profitable line of activity.

SUPER SALES — LAKSHMI VARDAAN

And now you too can share super returns, super growth and super performance. Super Sales offer you a premium opportunity to share its spiralling growth.

Where Lakshmi goes, prosperity follows.

Highlights

- A premium issue
- 128% cumulative dividends and two bonus issues in its first six years.
- Consistent profits and free reserves of Rs.135 lakhs
- A double edge to profits
  - — Manufacturing: a variety of yarns and blends from a 32,000 spindle unit.
  - — Marketing: Lakshmi Machine Works Textile Machinery and CNC Machines.
- Experienced and competent board
- Listing on Madras and Bombay Stock Exchanges

Public Issue of 9,00,000 Equity Shares of Rs.10/- each at a premium of Rs.10/- per share

MANAGERS TO THE ISSUE

Grindlays Bank

ANZ
Member ANZ Group
Merchant Banking Division
Bangalore.

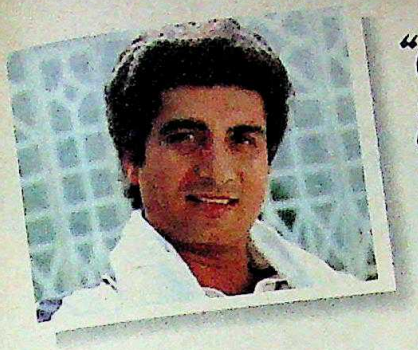
CORPORATE VOICE IS SSA 489A

SUPER SALES
Agencies Limited
Regd. Office: No. 695, Avanashi Road, Coimbatore-641 018.

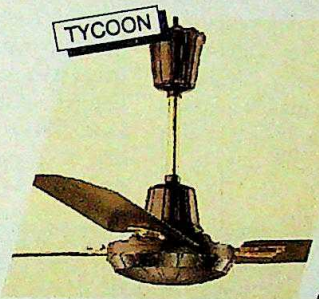
Issue Opens 27th April 1989.

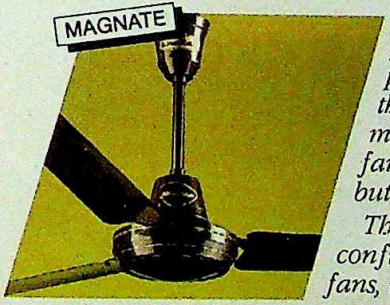
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



"Only one name is confident enough to offer the Replacement Bond— Khaitan"



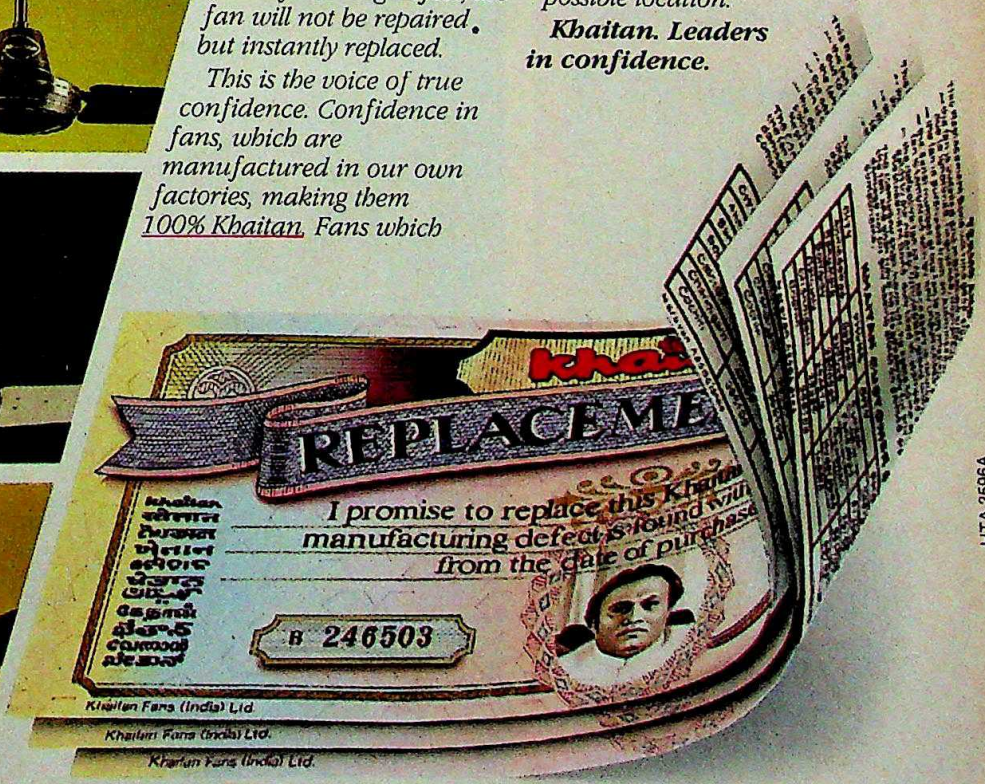


The Replacement Bond is not an ordinary guarantee or warranty. It is a commitment to all Khaitan ceiling or freshair fan buyers from no less a person than the Company Chairman—"I promise to replace this Khaitan fan, if any manufacturing defect is found within one year from the date of purchase." This means if there is the slightest manufacturing defect, the fan will not be repaired, but instantly replaced.

This is the voice of true confidence. Confidence in fans, which are manufactured in our own factories, making them 100% Khaitan. Fans which have the matchless stamp of Khaitan quality.

Quality that is reflected in the Khaitan range—the widest in the country. Over 135 varieties, comprising ceiling, table, wall, cabin, pedestal, freshair, exhaust, air circulator, axial flow and many more in various models, colours and sizes. In fact, there is a Khaitan fan for every conceivable use, every possible location.

Khaitan. Leaders in confidence.



HTA 3596A

khaitan—the name is enough

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

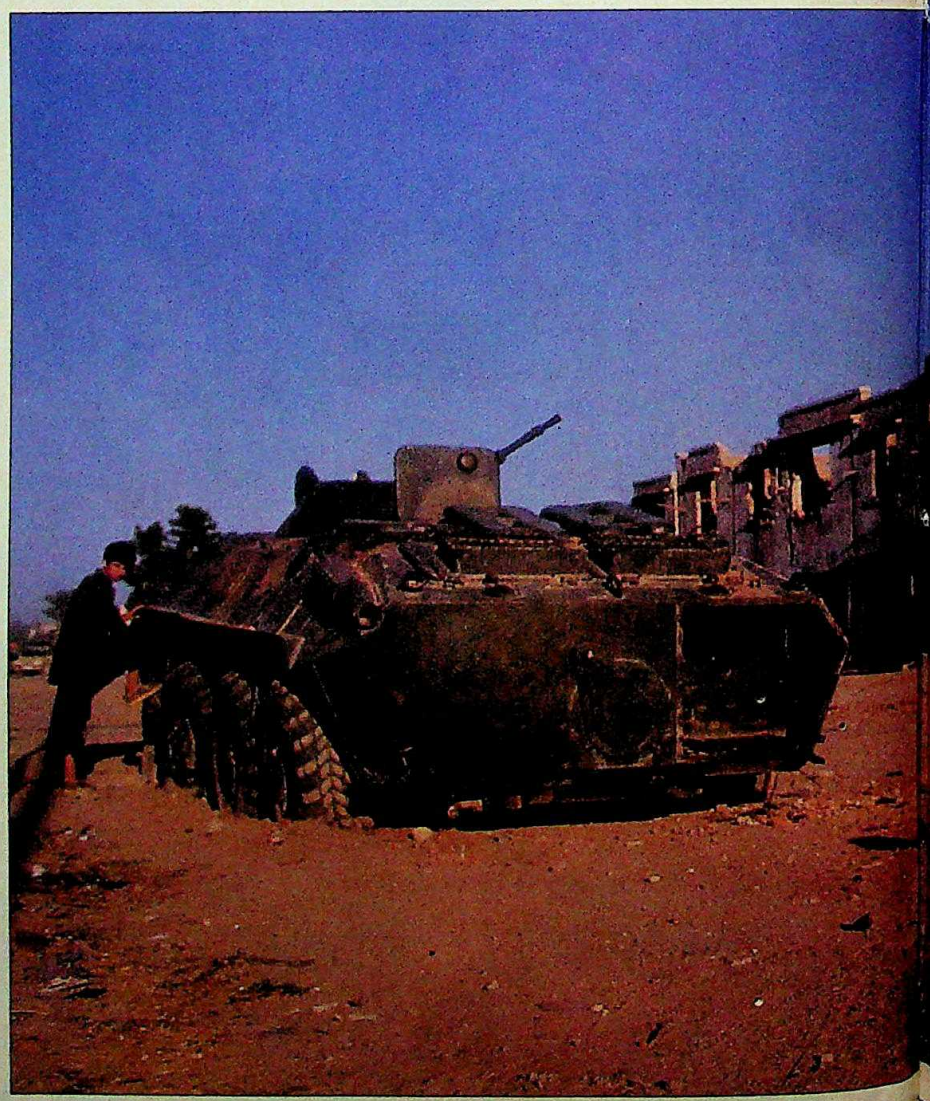
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

AFGHANISTAN

Portrait of a

ISMATULLAH Muslim, honorary general but self-styled field marshal, seems an unlikely victim of war. On Fridays he comes for the dog-fights in Kabul in an armoured Mercedes Benz, followed by two Range Rovers bristling with armed men, led by a deaf and dumb loyalist, his version of Gabbar Singh's immortal Samba. If the owner of a dog refuses to fight, "Samba" waves his Kalikov, a short-barrelled, high-velocity variant of the Kalashnikov. Muslim makes a V sign with his fingers and proceeds to pat a fearsome mastiff on the head, only to be bitten on the index finger. "Ha. Ha, ha. Means nothing to me," he shakes away the blood. Beyond dogs, vodka and hashish, Muslim likes women. "More than being a leader of men, he is a follower of women," whispers a detractor.

The former rebel commander of Kandahar who decided to join the Najibullah Government leads a charmed life. As he entered Kabul city to attend a government-sponsored *Loya Jirgah*, a national tribal assembly, his bodyguards accompanied him, machine-guns, rocket-launchers et al. The soldiers asked them to deposit arms, they said no, shots were fired and as the fighters from Kandahar



MANGAL & SAMIRA
victims of two rocket attacks

Fifteen years ago, the Tadzhik trader had come to Kabul in search of a better life. Today, he is a wreck. His house, situated at the foot of Bala Hissar Fort where the Presidential Guard is based, has twice stopped rebel rockets meant for the fort.

The first time the toll was six, all relatives, and the second time eight, this time mostly children of neighbours. His six-year-old daughter Samira barely survived. Now back from the United Nations hospital, her mangled legs are a stark reminder of the tragedy of what was once a happy family.

"Why did Allah do it to me twice? No one helped me. We are finished. And just look at my poor little girl."

Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

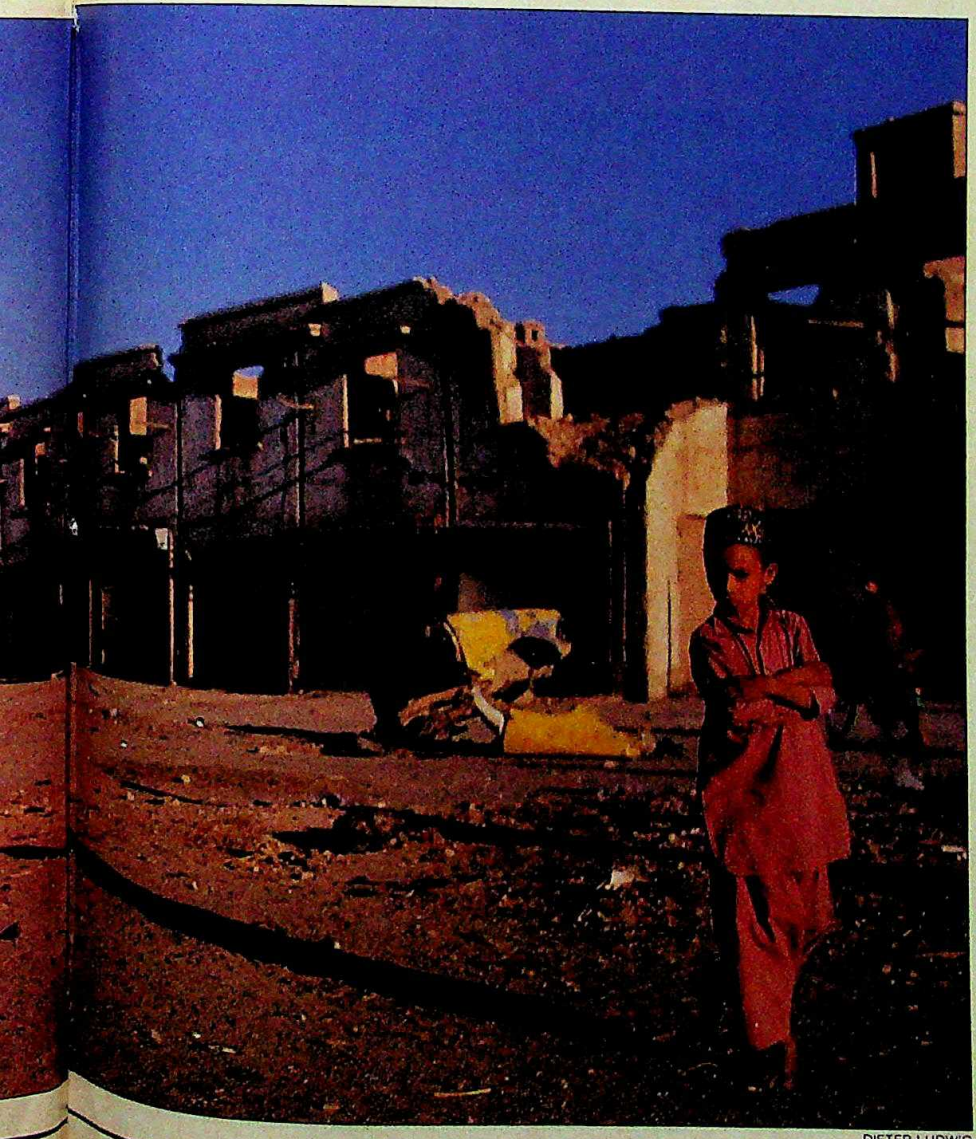
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

f a Tragedy

fled with their wounded commander, 23 men lay dead. Yet the Government made him an honorary general in the army. He put another pip on his shoulder and proclaimed himself field marshal.

Last month his band appeared at the holy city of Mazar-i-Sharif for the *navroze* celebrations, commandeered the best rooms in the only hotel and held a grand *navroze*-eve celebration in the dining hall. The *mujra* girls danced till four in the morning stopping once in a while to let "Marshal" Muslim speak his nuggets of wisdom. "The Pakistanis and the mujahedin are like two homosexuals sleeping in the same bed with their backs turned towards each other." The more eloquent gems are tougher to translate and impossible to print.

But behind the bluster and the chutzpah of fighting an Islamic war and yet tossing thousands of rupees on nautch girls, endless claims to sexual and military conquests, stands the real Ismatullah Muslim. His bullet-peppered body is a wreck. And if bullets couldn't kill him it is being done by the stuff he puts in his cigarettes. At 52, he already bites into the



Ravages of war in Herat

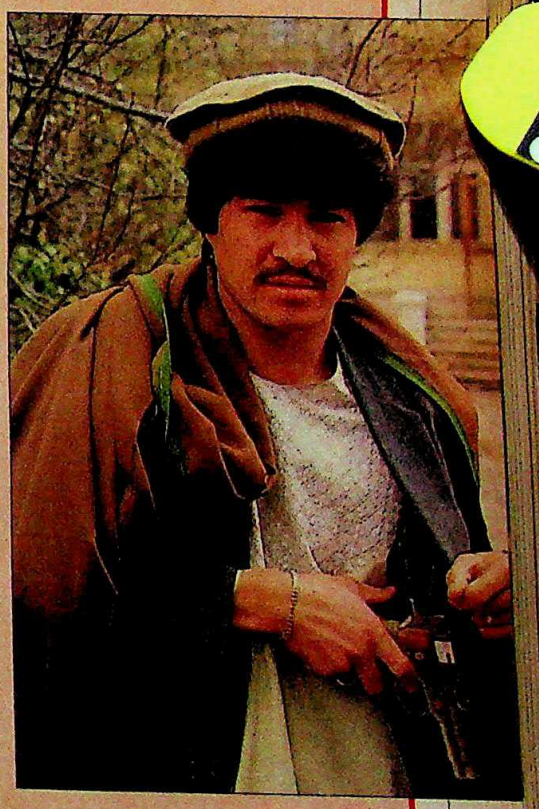
DIETER LUDWIG

NAEEM ANSARI
former mujahedin fighter

A regular at lunchtime in the Kabul Hotel, the 23-year-old warrior is rarely alone. Rarer still when his friends are not carrying Kalashnikovs. He has a Smith and Wesson. The proud scion of the Hazara tribe raided an army post at 15.

The baptism was quick and bloody. He killed his first soldier and also came back with a bullet in his thigh. By now his body has 13 bullet marks: eight fighting for the mujahedin and five against them. "One really troubles me," he says touching the base of his left kidney where a bullet is lodged.

"The funny thing about bullets is you take a long time discovering you've been shot."



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

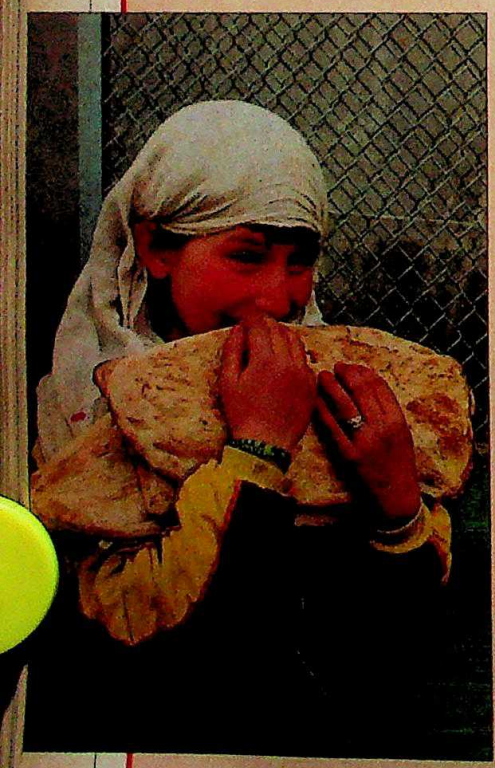
TAMANNA
Breadwinner at 11

Her jubilation at finally getting her quota of six naans wipes out the pain of the scratches on her forehead: the result of her morning adventure. Kabul's children have invented a new device: a slab of wood tied to a rope which is tossed across a thin tree branch. Children then jerk it down till the branch snaps.

A thorny branch fell on Tamanna. But her parents have no time to nurse her scratches.

Nor does she. At 11 she is one of a new generation of Afghans brought up under the shadow of Kalashnikovs.

"I am so happy. But I have to return and wait. They give only six naans to each person. We need many more."



kebabs with artificial dentures. "Pain. Too much pain. How long will I live?" he asks, but turns around again to make the best of the limited time he has got.

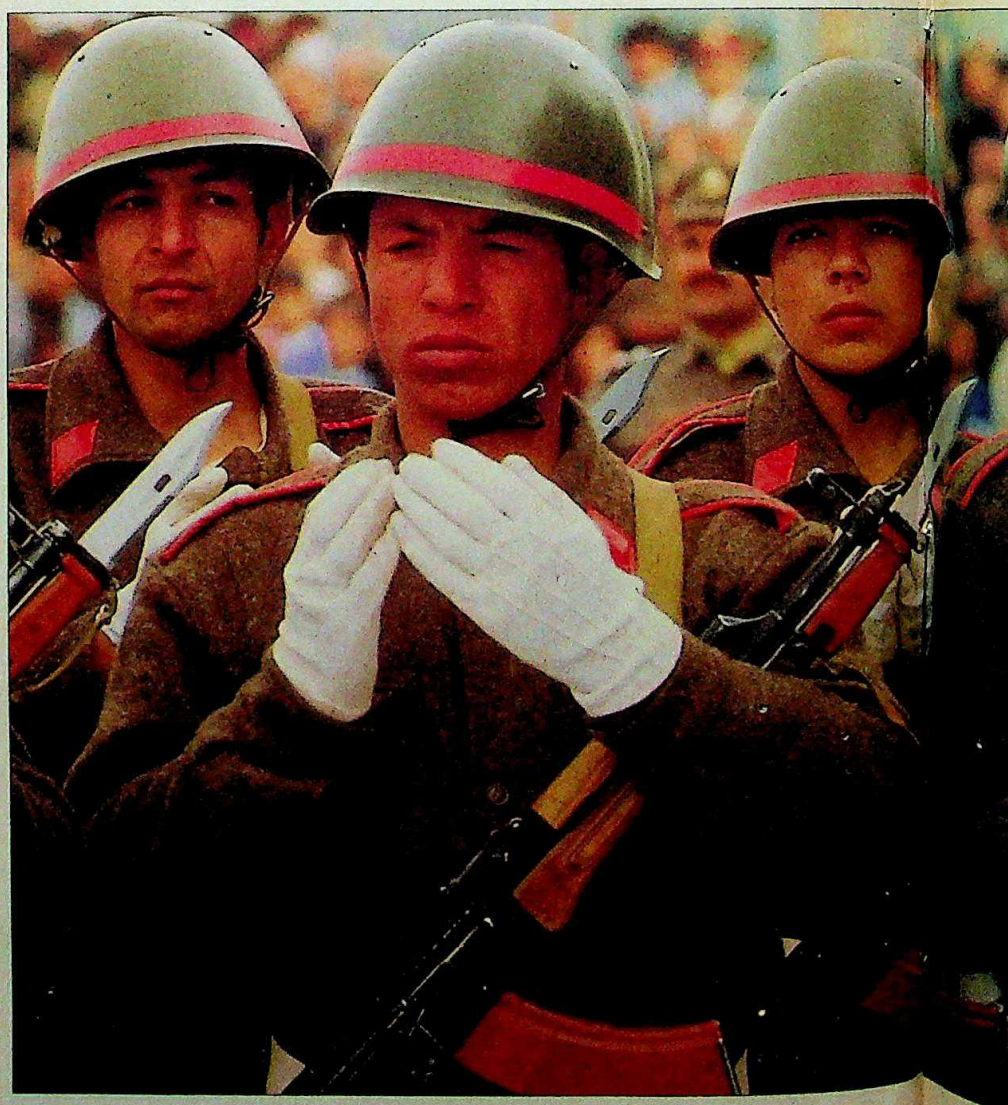
If Muslim personifies the spirit of Afghanistan, he also represents its tragedy and the curse that his nation has inherited from history. A fighter with no choice but to go on fighting till his life ends. Yet living it up. He is after all the scion of a society that has been tempered by centuries of war and cruelty of man and nature.

The first marauder came more than 2,000 years ago, the cholera bacillus. Within months, the Bactrian civilisation that flourished in the north was ground to dust. Then came others for whom Afghanistan just happened to be a convenient transit stop on way to the conquest of India. From the pre-Christ Cyrus and Darius I to Alexander the Great and the Parthians, from the cruel Sakas to Kusanas and the bloodthirsty Huns; from the Ghaznavis, Ghoris and Timur to Nadir Shah and now finally to the modern conquerors, the British, and the Soviets.

Afghanistan is the world's favourite battleground. Some invaders left cultural influences, many just left their genes as they moved on for further conquests. Together they left a legacy of violence.

From the matchlock to the Kalashnikov, the gun has always been the final arbiter here. But just the level of destructive power left behind by the superpowers today—Stingers and helicopter gunships, Scuds and Sakar-30s—make the situation different. Ten years of war have already left a million dead, four million refugees in Pakistan and Iran, two million internal refugees and half-a-million maimed. Yet the ordinary Afghan has retained his legendary stoicism and spirit.

So even when food and fuel prices have shot up five times in a year and rockets kill innocent passers-by routinely, the streets don't reflect the anxieties of



The prime minister's guard of honour breaks into prayer

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Nanking of 1949 or Saigon of 1973. Despite the ravages of war, Afghan society continues to be what it always was: a mix of reasonable devotion to Islam, some barbarism and hedonism.

ON the streets pin-ups of Sridevi and Mithun Chakraborty win more attention than Michael Jackson, Madonna, and government propaganda posters. And last month when the Afghan television showed *Silsila*, curfew seemed to have begun an hour ahead of the scheduled time at 10 p.m.

Afghans can even laugh at the Russians, the authors of their history's most tragic chapter. The all-time favourite:

"The engines of the Aeroflot jet failed. The pilot asked the passengers to throw out their excess baggage.

"The American traveller threw out the suitcase full of blue jeans as they have so many of them.

"The Briton heaved out his case of Scotch. They make so much of it, anyway.

"The Russian sighed but hurled his box of Stolichnaya ruing the loss of money he would have made in the Kabul black market. There is so much vodka in Russia.

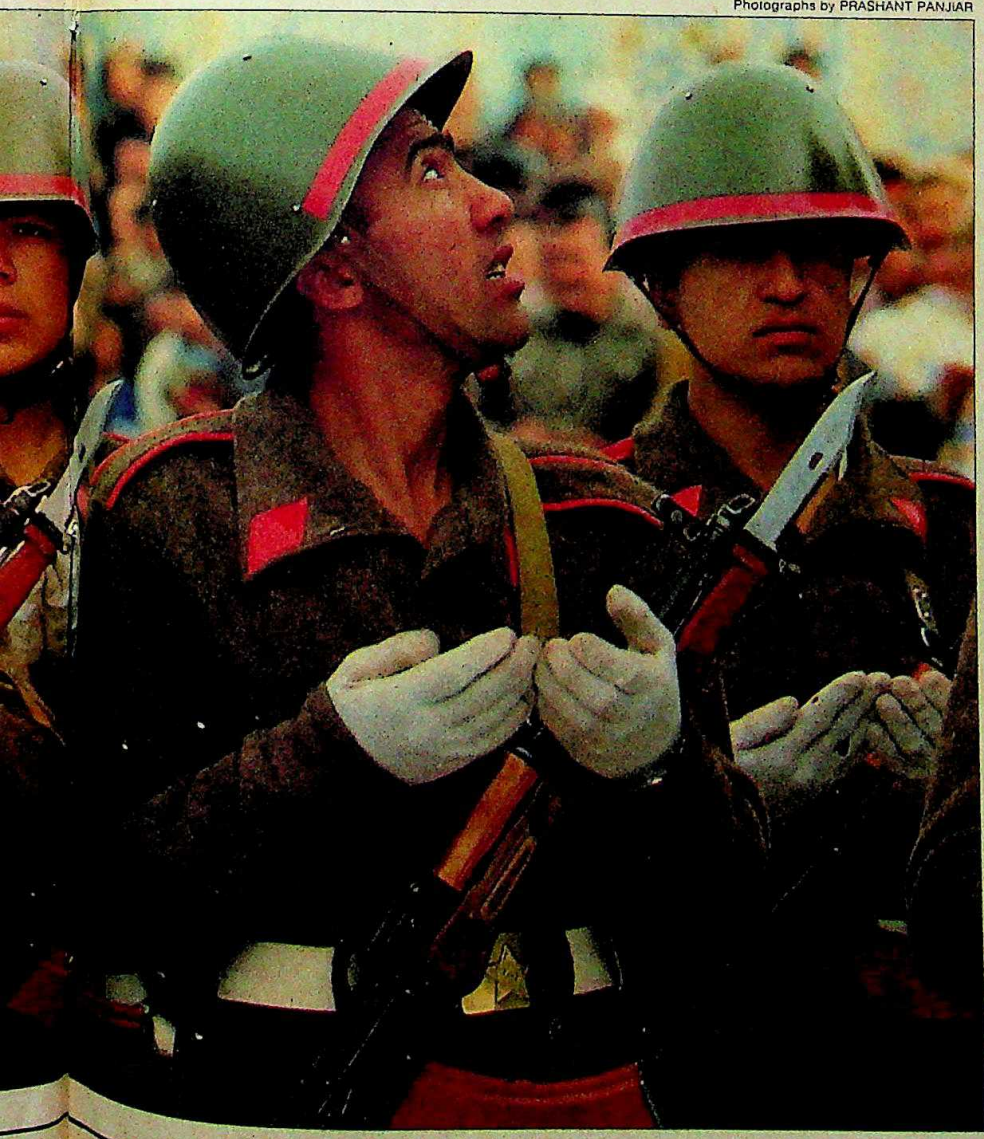
"The poor Afghan looked around. He had no belongings. He chucked the Russian out saying, 'We have too many Russians already in Afghanistan. One less will make no difference.' "

A decade ago the same story was still told. But with one difference. The poor Afghan threw out a Briton instead of a Russian, a throw-back of the 90-year history of Anglo-Afghan wars.

Xenophobia. Feudal loyalties, tribalism, Islamic zeal, communist commitment are all secondary to that one prejudice. An Afghan bureaucrat sums it up: "We Afghans don't accept domination by our parents. Foreigners, we love to kill. Let the Pakistanis come."

The Russians were last in the long list of invaders to try and occupy Afghanistan. Finally, after losing 16,000 soldiers, they retreated, cutting their losses much

Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR



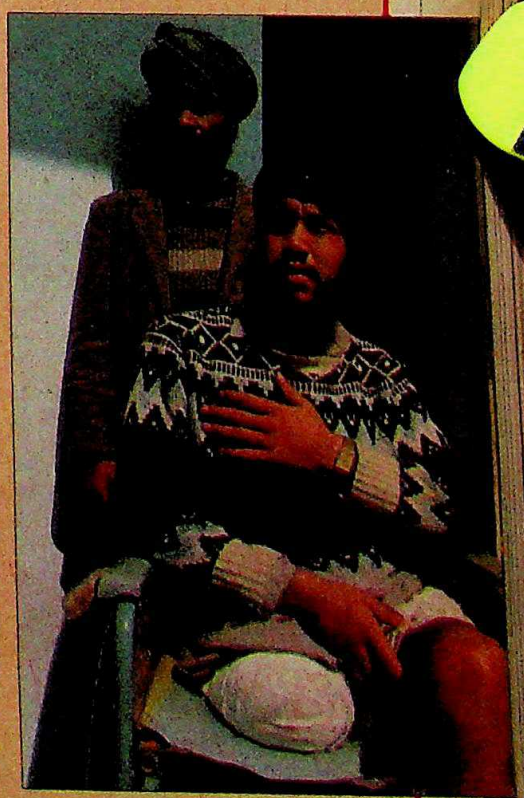
RAGHUBIR SINGH

Afghan Sikh shopkeeper

He was walking back from the shop when the bomb went off. "The next I woke up was in the hospital, in the hands of Dr Najibullah," he says, pointing to the bespectacled chief orthopaedist of Kabul's Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital, whose benign mustachioed face has much in contrast with that of his doughty namesake in the presidential palace in Pashtunistan Square.

"He is my God," says Raghubir, grateful that the Soviet-educated surgeon cut his leg to "save me from gangrene". Now, he wants to try the Jaipur foot.

"With Waheguru's grace, at least I am alive. If only someone in India could give me an artificial leg."



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

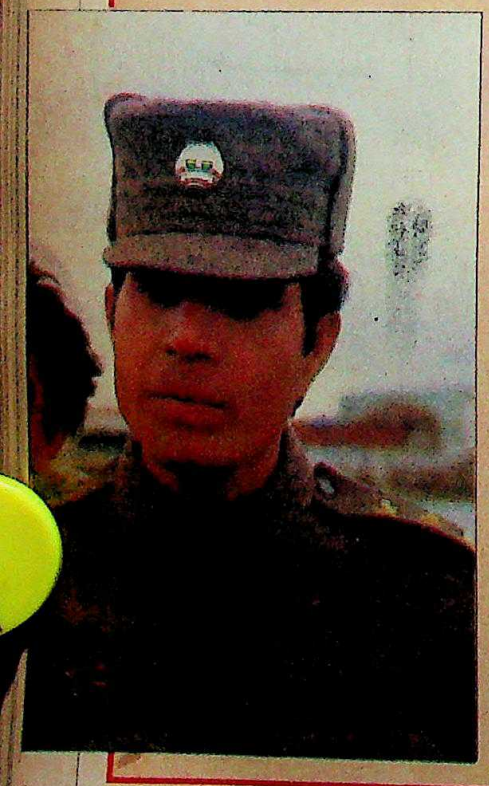
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

QADIR GUL
Afghan Army paracommando

He walks in front of Kabul's Idgah mosque wearing the badge of his elite unit, the specialised parachute commandos, with a faraway look in his eyes. Just 24, he has seen battle no less than 26 times, has been wounded thrice and has just returned from the desperate battle in Jalalabad. But soon his unit will be off on an even more important and dangerous mission.

He killed his first rebel six years ago, "with a bayonet, just like this", he says, thrusting forward in a mock bayonet charge and laughing heartily.

"Each time a battle begins you are scared. The day I put on this uniform, I had accepted death. So why worry."



better than the Americans did in Vietnam. But they have left behind a nation of endless graveyards, orphanages and refugee camps to house the enormous Afghan Diaspora which replenishes the mujahedin ranks as they are depleted with each suicidal assault.

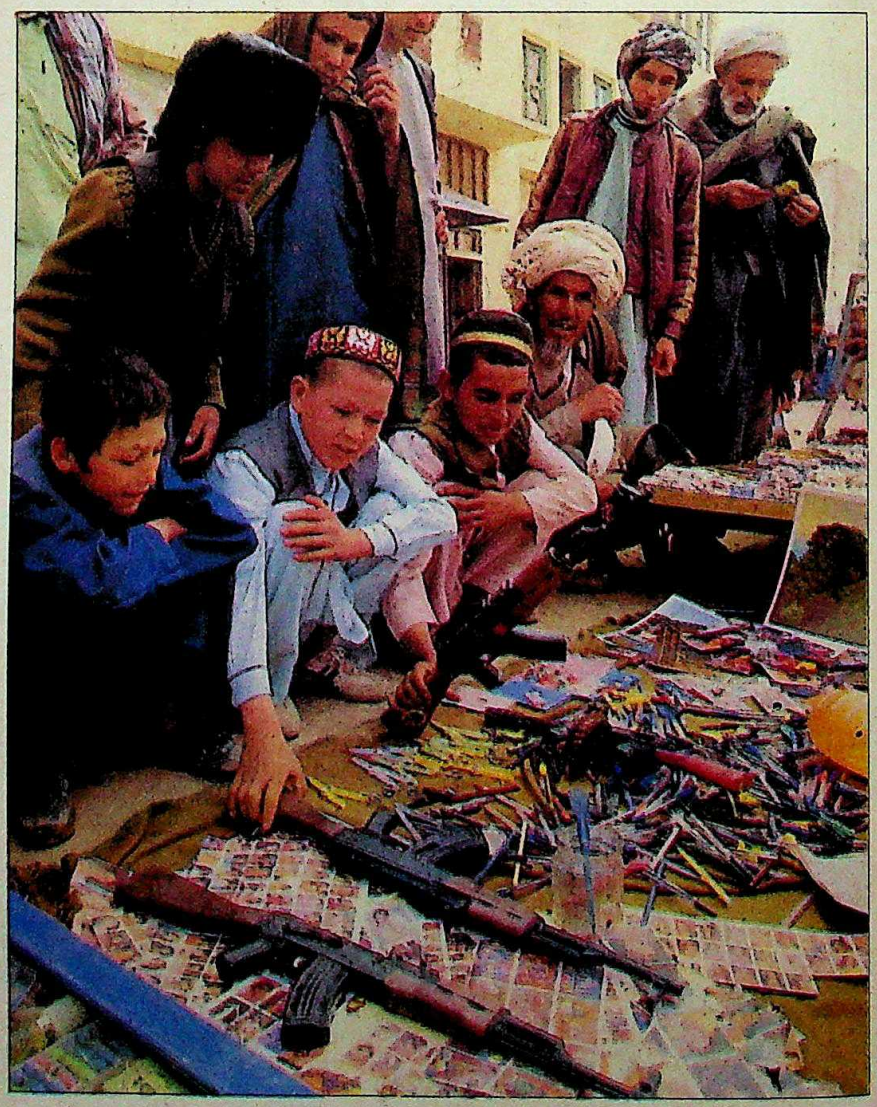
The price is paid by the likes of Babahi, 35, lying in a ward of Kabul's Wazir Akbar Khan Hospital. She turns her shrapnel-shredded body in great agony and talks of the day the rocket came. She lived in the wrong place, on the periphery of the Bagram airfield, a major airbase and thus a favourite rebel target. "Why should my sons and brothers fight now? Please ask them," she pleads.

Ironically, the problem for the ordinary civilian is that the rebel rockets are so wayward. The launchers are much too heavy to be hauled to mountains from where the rebels fire them. "They just leave rockets inclined against the rocks facing Kabul and press the button on the remote-controlled detonator," explained an officer of KHAD, the secret police.

Today even children know what to do with rockets. "There are two kinds of rockets. Ones that whistle and the others that come doing pit-pit. The whistlers give you a few seconds to find a ditch for hiding. The pit-pit is quick. You just hit the ground," the wisdom comes from Mehfouz, 11, already a veteran of three rocket attacks. First, when rocket attacks started he was made to stay indoors all day. Today, nobody bothers. Mehfouz is one of Afghanistan's children of war whose favourite toys are plastic Kalashnikovs and whose school-hours are spent collecting firewood or food if not in running the petrol black market.

Next to the airport, the rebels' favourite target is the Bala Hissar Fort that dominates the Kabul skyline from its perch atop a jagged mountain. The fort is home to the elite, camouflage-fatigue-clad Presidential Guard whose 10,000

Toy Kalashnikovs in Mazar-i-Sharif



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

men and a few hundred women could end up fighting the last battle for Najib even if everything else fell apart.

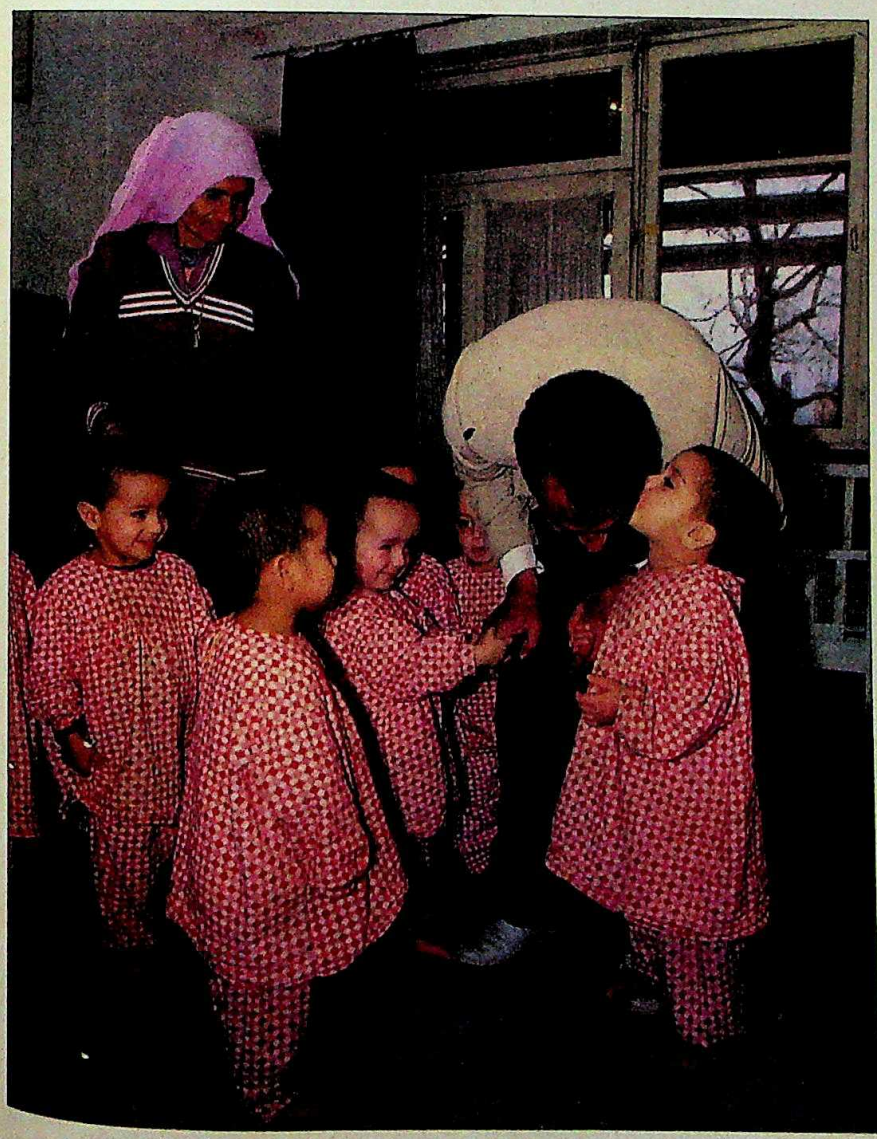
Shafeeqa,33 and Mangal, 38, came to Kabul 15 years ago, as a dreamy couple and soon settled down happily. Mangal's timber business was good and his grocery shop outside the house at the foot of the fort attracted a steady trickle of buyers. But then his house was hit twice by rockets meant for the fort, killing six family members, eight neighbours and maiming his six-year-old daughter Samira.

NOW there is no timber or firewood to sell. His grocery shop is a ghastly mass of splintered wood and debris. He does make some money running a small petrol black market business, but sub-zero winds cut into the bare, mangled limbs of Samira, just back from the UN hospital and Mangal cannot buy proper woollens for her. Yet an offer of some cash pricks his Tadzhik pride: "No brother, we'll manage. We were people of means."

Winter in Afghanistan is always cruel. It was particularly bad this year as poor Afghans shivered under minus 17 degrees Celsius temperature with no firewood or kerosene for heating. The twin menace of avalanches and rebel ambushes blocked the Salang highway and prices of essential commodities sky-rocketed: petrol from Rs 12 per gallon to Rs 160, and wheat flour from Rs 2 to Rs 10 a kg. The one-litre Stolichnaya vodka, a visible symbol of Russian influence, has jumped from Rs 48 to Rs 150.

The shortage of meat has led to the eerie spectacle of heaps of sparrows being sold in the market by the kilo, like apples or oranges. But in the market-place the most important question is: "Is fresh *gulphi* (cauliflower) available or not?" If it is, it means Jalalabad is still under government control and that the trucks have come in with fresh loads today. If it isn't, things must be bad. Which other society can

Orphans in Watan Nursery

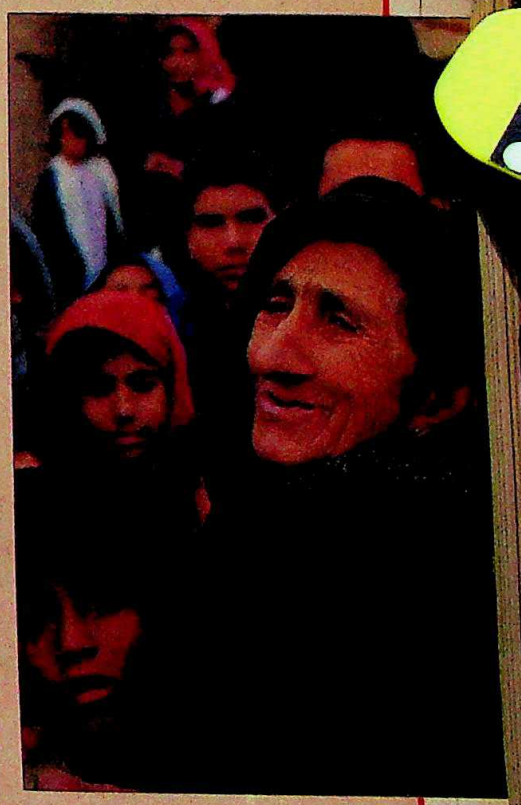


AZIZA
Kabul widow

She jostles desperately in a crowd of more than a hundred in the bread queue. Her wait, as is usual each day, began at seven in the morning, in biting cold. But she must get the bread. The state subsidised bakery sells the 220 gm naan for just six Afghanis (40 paise) and unless the 65-year-old matriarch collects her quota of six, she could starve for the day.

But struggling in the queue is cruel on her frail frame. On just the 17th of the month she has only 300 Afghanis (Rs 24) left, not enough to buy her naans and tea for the rest of the month.

"My one son is fighting in Kandahar, the other on the Salang road. I don't know if they are dead or alive?"



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kirloskar Neoplan...

The comfort and speed of air-travel, on land

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kirloskar Cummins Limited

Kothrud, Pune 411 029 (INDIA)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

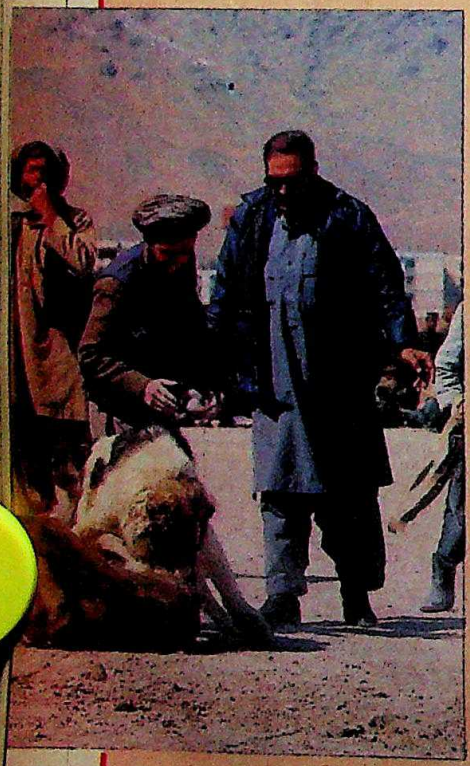
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ISMATULLAH MUSLIM
former rebel commander

He walks *a la* Gabbar Singh, the Mauser dangling from his kurta and his deaf-and-dumb bodyguard in tow, to the venue of the weekly, high-stakes dog-fights where he is the master of ceremonies. "Man! No love man. I love dogs," he says. For eight years his Achakzai tribesmen held Kandahar to ransom.

Seeing through the "Pakistani designs to swallow Afghanistan", he joined the Government. But it is evident that deep down, the "Marshal", who says he has been wounded 72 times, is a man in acute pain which never leaves him.

"My body is battered. It hurts so much when the cold breeze blows. It cuts into my broken bones."



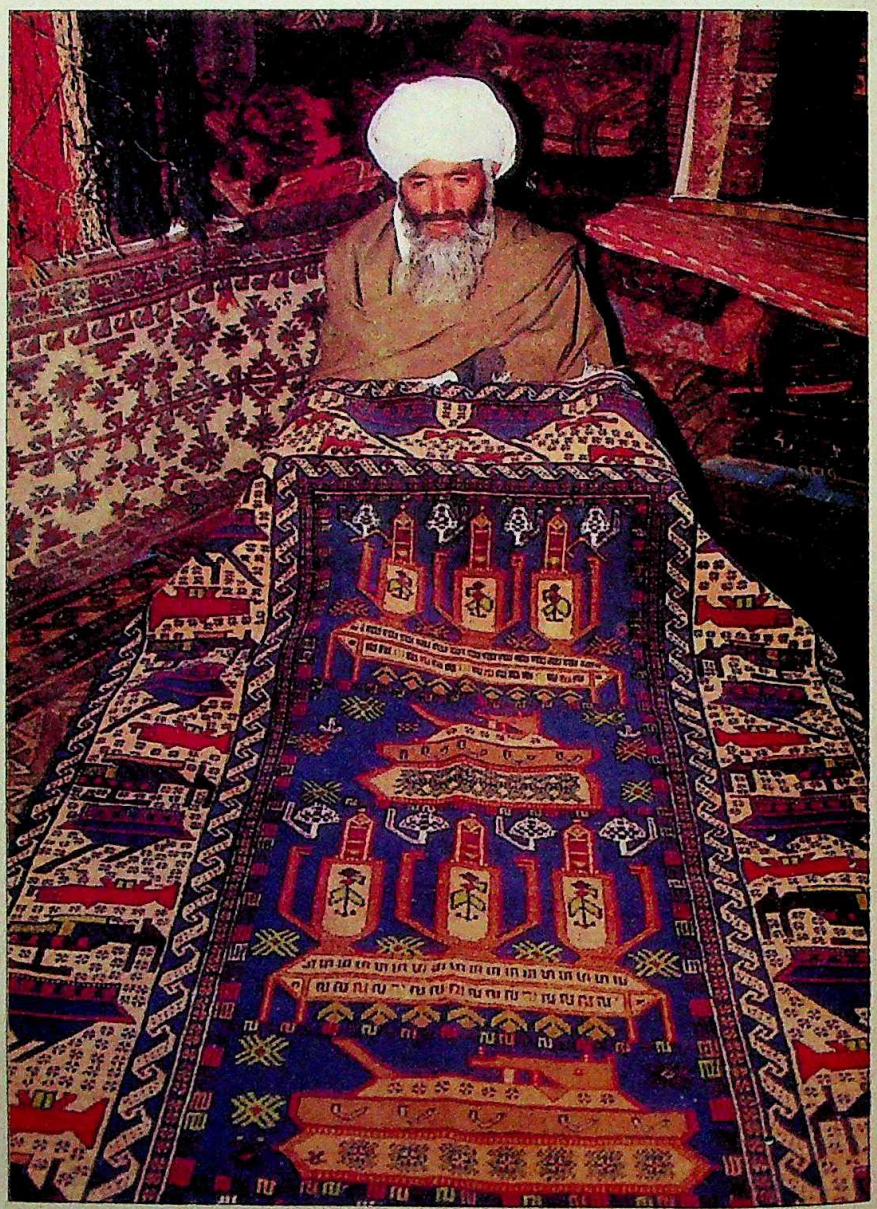
trivialise the most important battle in a 10-year war like the Afghans?

War has changed everything, even the motifs on the famous Bokhara carpets. Shops in Chicken Street or *Kucha-i-Murgha*, Kabul's old tourist trap, now sell a new Bokhara, called *tanky*. This one has tanks, Kalashnikovs, helicopters and Stingers as motifs, a painful but accurate statement of the tragedy woven with silk in 368 knots per square inch.

In such times of adversity all that keeps the Afghan going is his enormous faith in Islam. What Islam means to Afghans is obvious from a strange happening at a press conference arranged by the Government to introduce Brigadier Mohammed Youssuf Salangi, commander of the 554th Brigade assigned to guard the Salang highway, the umbilical cord connecting Afghanistan with the Soviet Union. Salangi had brought along a dozen elders from villages along the highway with whom he had signed a peace agreement. But midway through the press conference, one of them abruptly realised it was time for the evening *namaz*, rushed to the western corner of the chandeliered room, unrolled his rug and sprawled in prayer. Others quickly followed. The press conference was thrown into utter confusion. The government spokesman was not complaining: "See, who can say now that Islam is in danger in Afghanistan?"

Nor is such devotion confined to the old patriarchs. A week later at the inauguration of Mela-i-gul-i-surkh-i-Mazar, the festival of red tulips, the beginning of the Persian new year at Mazar-i-Sharif,

New 'Tanky' design carpet



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

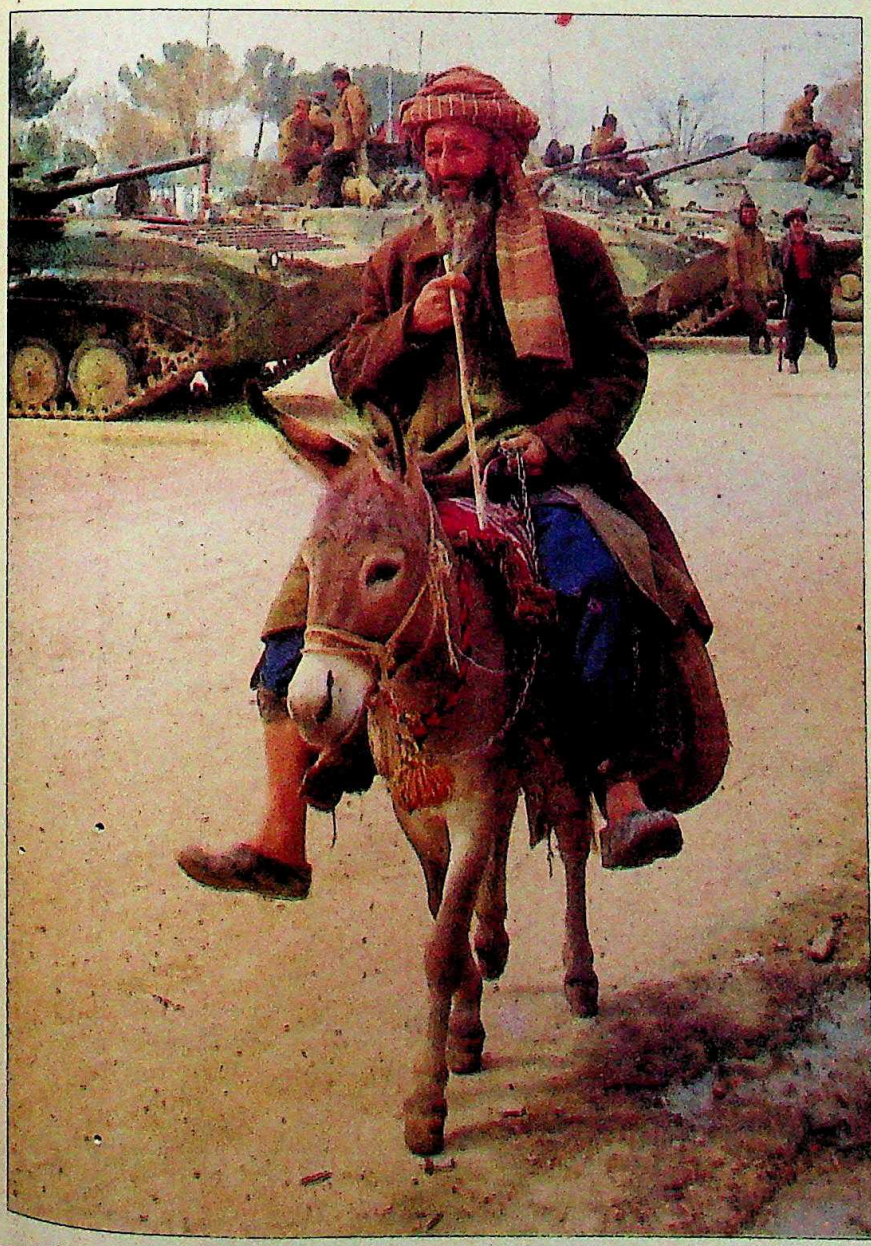
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a ceremonially-dressed Afghan Army guard-of-honour for Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand suddenly forgot discipline drilled into them through the years. Several of the soldiers looked heavenwards, their palms unfolded in prayer as the mullah read out from the Koran. This is called a Communist army.

IN the heart of Kabul's exclusive Shar-i-Naw locality is the city's only surviving watering hole: the UN Staff House. For a thousand Afghanis (Rs 80) a foreign journalist can become a temporary member and enter the privileged portals of the bar and the dining hall. Every foreigner of consequence comes here to exchange gossip: diplomats, journalists and, of course, the UN officials. The food is not unfit for human consumption and at $1.25 (Rs 19) per bottle, Yugoslav white wine tastes good. But you live here with a Cinderella complex. The curfew begins at 10 p.m. and afterwards they shoot people before asking questions. At 15 minutes to 10 there is a rush to the cars. The rain, the cold and the slush be damned. But Afghans even laugh at the curfew, a routine part of their lives: A soldier shot someone at 9.30 p.m. His officer asked why did he fire when the curfew begins at 10 p.m. His defence: "He was my neighbour. There was no way he was going to be back before 10 p.m."

Perhaps the only section of the Afghan society not able to learn to live with war and the thought of the future are the younger women. The last few decades had seen many of them go to school, abandon the veil and turn westernised to

Street scene in Northern Balkh province

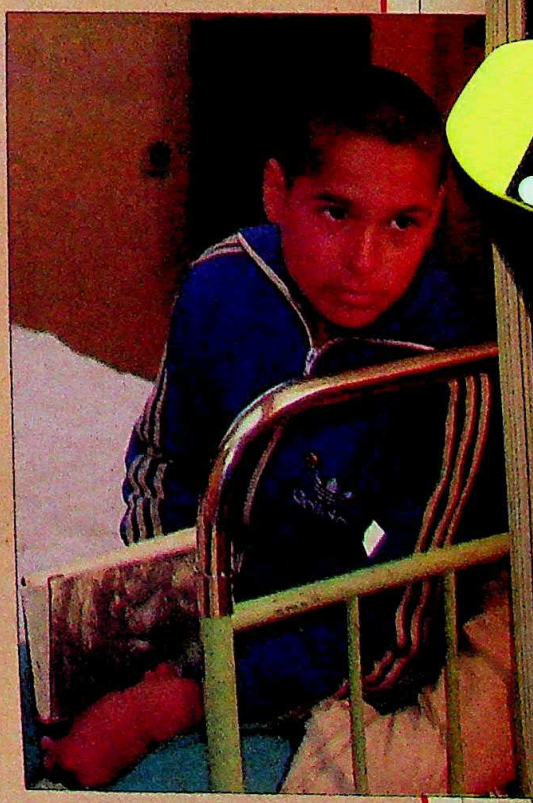


MOHAMMED DEEN
orphan from Balkh

His father died defending Kandahar. His mother decided to leave him alone in the spartan house in Mazar-i-Sharif and go to Kabul to meet officials to expedite her dead husband's pension. The private bus she was riding drove straight into a mine planted by the rebels on the Salang highway. Deen, 12, has a lament. He never got to see their bodies.

He was just six then. Now after spending half his life in the state-run Watan nursery, he is just another ideologically indoctrinated clone. He wants to go to war as well.

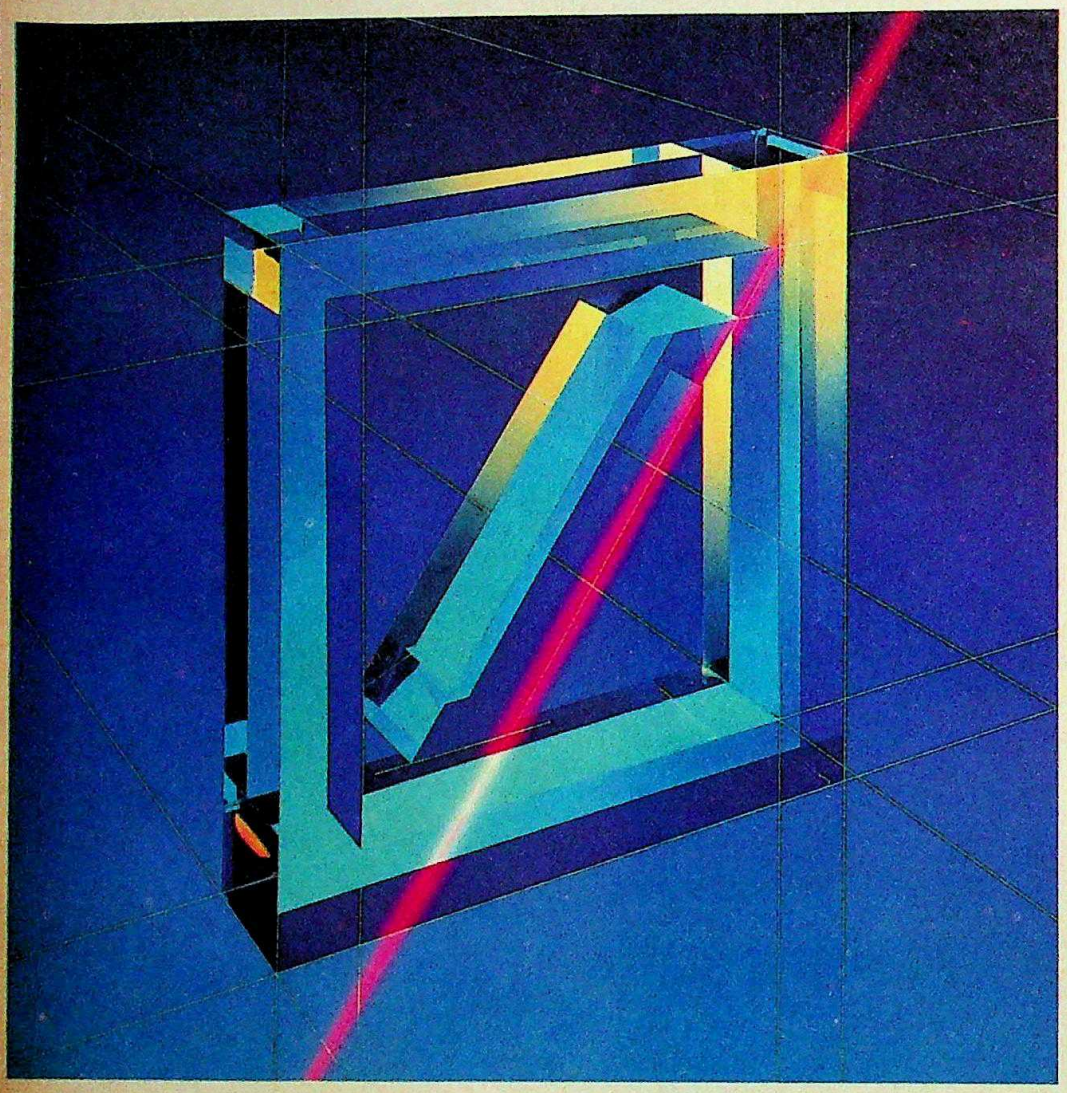
"I will join the Presidential Guard. I want to kill all those counter-revolutionaries."



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Germany's leading bank is now in Bombay and New Delhi.



Visit us at our
new branch:
Tolstoy House
15 – 17 Tolstoy Marg
New Delhi 110001

The successful introduction of products to worldwide markets requires a bank with international resources. Deutsche Bank, with offices in more than 40 countries around the globe, is such a bank.

First-hand information, international know-how and professional advice on business trends and prospects are but a few of the advantages Deutsche Bank offers.

Because ultimately all business is local business, ask the bank that is at home wherever your business may take you.

Ask Deutsche Bank.

Deutsche Bank

Deutsche Bank AG
Head Office
Taunusanlage 12
D-6000 Frankfurt/M.1
Tel: (69) 7150-0

Deutsche Bank AG
Bombay Branch, Tulsiani Chambers
Nariman Point,
Bombay 400021
Tel: 22/223262, 22/223292

Deutsche Bank AG
New Delhi Branch, Tolstoy House
15 – 17 Tolstoy Marg,
New Delhi 110001
Tel: 11/3316237, 11/3324079

Deutsche Bank's presence in the Asia/Pacific region: Bangkok, Beijing, Colombo, Hong Kong, Jakarta, Karachi, Kuala Lumpur, Lahore, Macau, Manila, Melbourne, Nagoya, Osaka, Pusan, Seoul, Singapore, Sydney, Taipei, Tokyo

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

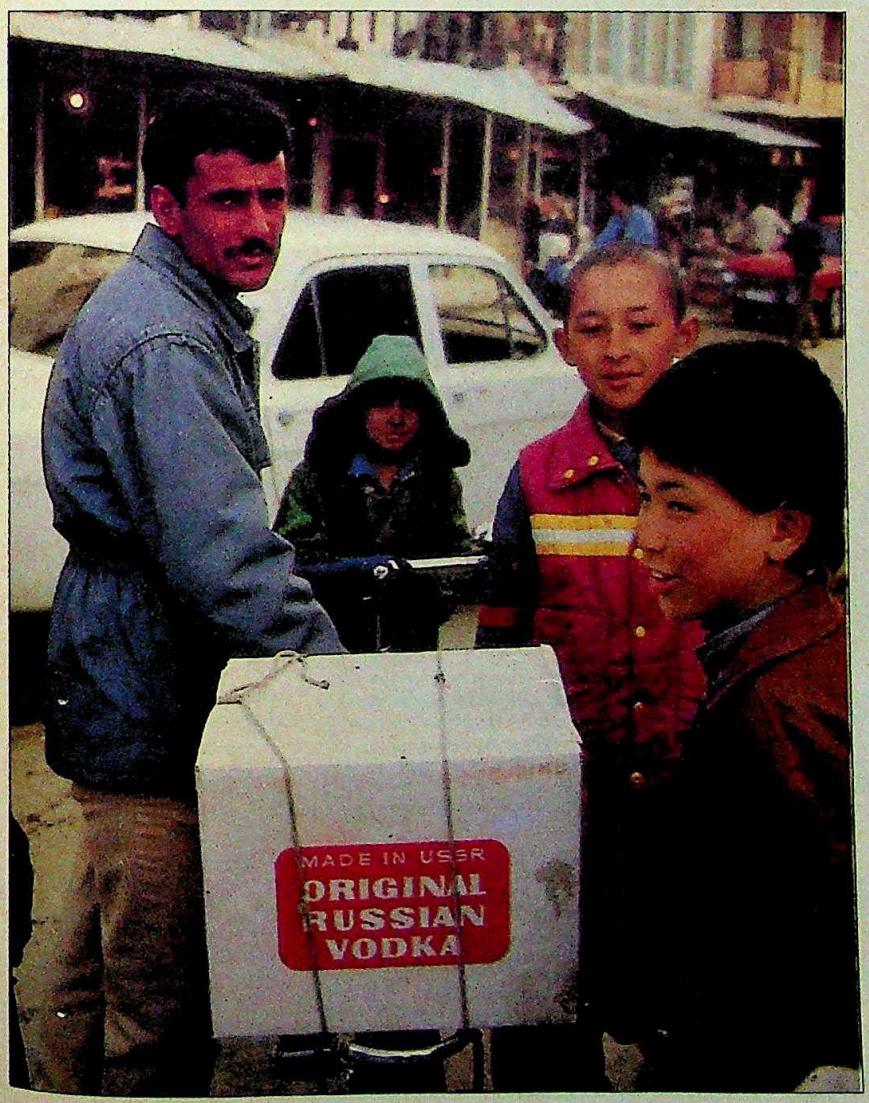
a degree—black lace stockings are a rage in Kabul. What could the mujahedin do to them? The answer comes from Laila Yalda, a comely 25-year-old journalist with *Akhbar-i-Hafta*, a local weekly: "To begin with, you won't be able to sit across the table and talk to me, a woman. Life will never be the same."

LAILA'S words are prophetic. It is unlikely that life will ever return to the halcyon days when Afghanistan was the ultimate tourist dream, an exotic, ancient nation that had stood at the crossroads of the world's richest cultures when Boston was a swampland. But perhaps there was also a sense of inevitability about Afghanistan's fall into the abyss of superpower rivalries.

Several decades ago, Afghanistan was the setting for the Great Game as the wily British soldier-diplomats fought to preserve it as a buffer state between Tsarist Russia and the Empire. Britain and Russia had even redrawn the boundaries to suit their interests. Today, the superpowers have sealed its fate.

The Soviets insist on the continuation of the post-1921 arrangement, implying a "friendly" regime in Kabul. For the Americans it is a golden chance to secure a foothold next to the USSR's soft Asiatic underbelly. For the Saudis it is an opportunity to enforce their version of orthodox Wahhabi Islam. Iran hopes to export the Shi'ite revolution to the neighbouring state. And for Pakistan, the stakes are the highest. In 1947, only one nation had voted at the UN against the formation of Pakistan: Afghanistan. Also, as a friend of India as well as the Soviet Union, Afghanistan has been a thorn in Pakistan's side, harbouring a border dispute and Pakistani secessionist groups. With all these interests converging in the landlocked nation, Afghanistan's is indeed a hopeless battle against history and global politics.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA in Afghanistan



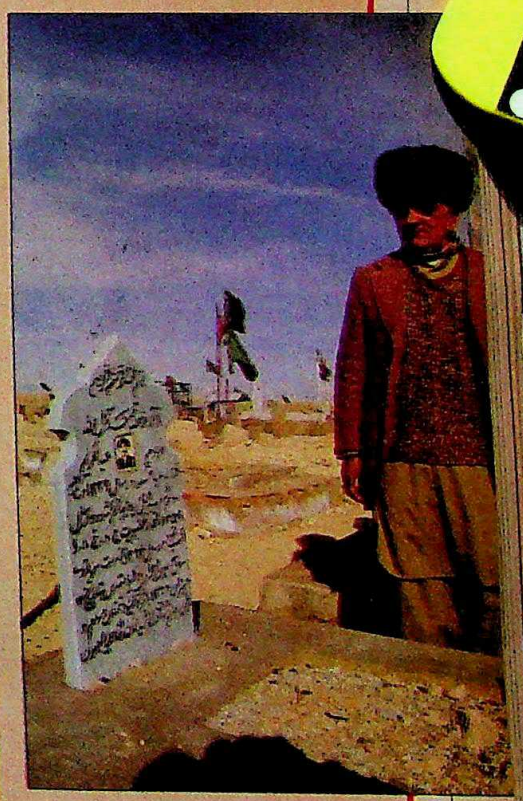
Kabul's favourite drink in Chicken Street

ABDUL SHAQOOR
Afghan government officer

His eyes scan the rolling hills. More than 25,000 men are buried on Tapa-i-Shuhadan, the Martyrs' Hill overlooking Kabul's Bala Hissar Fort. His two young sons are among them. One, the commander of a tank that he drove over a mine, the other the driver of a minister's car that was booby-trapped.

Now he searches the graveyard with a pathetic sense of loss. Six months ago, he had placed the granite slab on his second son's grave. Now he cannot find it. The graveyard has grown around it.

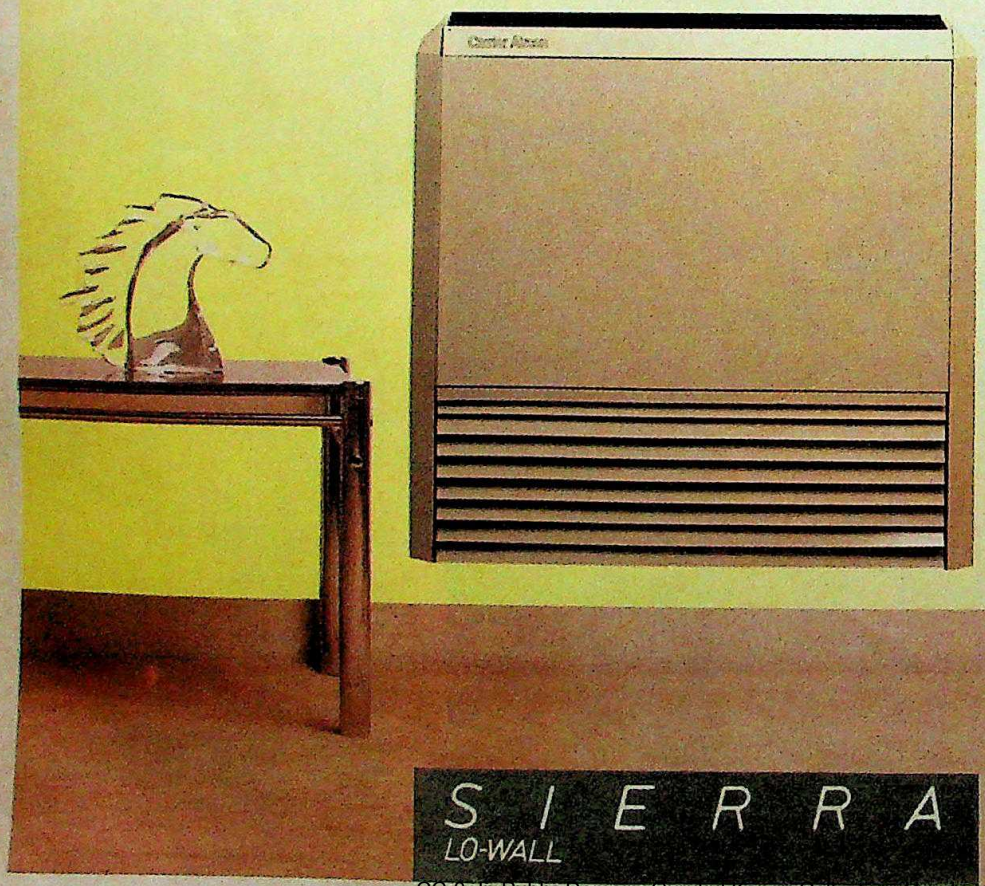
"Everybody who lies here is my son. But everybody dying on the other side is also Afghan."



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

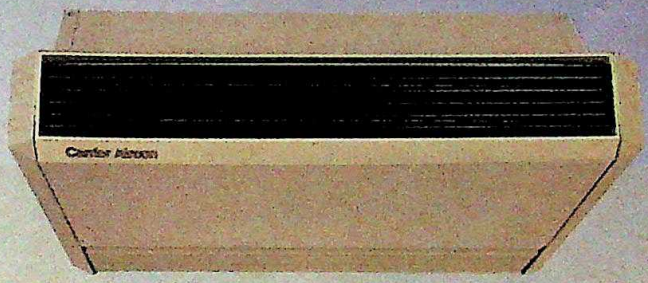
International split air co
Just where you w



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SIERRA
UNDER-CEILING



r conditioning comfort.
u want it to be.

International split air conditioning comfort. Just where you want it to be.

Cool comfort has never been so elegant. And split air conditioning has never come with such thoughtful, contemporary options.

Sierra—sleek, compact, light, split room air conditioner. Brought to you by Carrier Aircon, the company promoted by Carrier Corporation, USA—world leaders in climate control.

The Sierra Choice—First Class. World Class.

Created in the tradition of Carrier innovation, Sierra brings to you a cool, new experience with an exclusive choice.

Sierra Under-Ceiling: designed specifically for under-ceiling mounting. A great space-saver for tightly planned, modern interiors.

Sierra Lo-Wall: compactly designed to fit beautifully anywhere. Enhances the decor of any interior.

The Sierra Advantage.

- Comfort inside, noise outside.
- No breaking or defacing of walls.
- Up to 35% more compact.
- Delivers designated 1.5 tons cooling—even under extreme ambient conditions.
- Sleek, electronic remote control—first in India.
- Coils with lanced sine wave fins for efficient heat transfer.
- Carrier Aircon's power-saving NE Series compressor.
- 3-speed fan option for three levels of 'comfort-cooling'.
- Countrywide after-sales service.

Carrier
AIRCON

The Name Makes You Comfortable

Carrier Aircon Limited : Sales Offices : DELHI : Ph : 676285/676308 LUCKNOW : Ph : 72733. CHANDIGARH : Ph : 27447. JAIPUR : Ph : 61069. CALCUTTA : Ph : 443631/444767/290080. BOMBAY : Ph : 2020398/2020595. AHMEDABAD : Ph : 448877/449369. MADRAS : Ph : 861382/861391. HYDERABAD : Ph : 843129. BANGALORE : Ph : 564557/363733.

CA 20805

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ADVERTISING

Bare Facts

Male models shed clothes

MOVE over Eve. Adam's taking over, and pretty much in his original fig-leafed glory. Suddenly, the male body is showing up everywhere—and not just underwear—as advertising agencies unveil their latest lure: the Indian male as an object of desire. Taking the brief from women, he now pouts, looks seductively at the camera, and exposes more and more flesh. Are we witnessing what adman Sylvester da Cunha calls "The Peeping Jane Syndrome"?

Take the Lintas campaign for Amadeus, a new range of fabrics for men launched this year. A man in Adam-apparel drifts from the left of the screen against a surreal, primal background. Leaves waft to Mozart's music. And then, a piece of cloth comes and wraps itself around him. Instantly, it becomes a suit. In the print version, now clothes do not make the man: they are strung on a violin while the nude male raises his arms in abandon.

The well-made but startling ad which has become something of a conversation piece in advertising circles is not the only one using male semi-nudity or the male as an object to sell products. Park Avenue fabrics has a nude man covered with balloons—the male version of the bimbo emerging out of a cake.

And there are a score of underwear ads with men in various stages of undress. Male underwear ads with only the bare necessities are not new. But in the new ads a macho self-image is on offer: "Only our wearunders recognise the many roles a man plays. Not every man can separate these roles. But remember, every woman can."

Admen are also feeding male narcissism by associating their products with such brand-images of power as Mercedes Benz or intimations of *la dolce vita* in Champs-Elysees underwear which perhaps, as Dennis Joseph, creative director, Hindustan Thompson Associates, says "strokes the Indian male fantasy".

What triggered the clothes shedding? Says Joseph: "It is ad for ad's sake. Or shock value for shock value's sake." These ads might also reflect more basic changes taking place in society, an openness; a certain devil-may-care attitude. *Debonair* in its current issue has a three page feature on male "beefcake". Interestingly, the semi-nude men have been photographed by model Malavika Tiwari.

Ads using men as an object of desire

For C.Y. Gopinath, the creative director of the Amadeus campaign, their intention was "not to show the nude male but the classic male". "The starting point was the Renaissance. The kind of imagery used was Greek." Gopinath does, however, admit that they needed a strong image which could compete with the Vareli and Vimal campaigns.

Does it work? Many of the admen do not see the semi-nude male in advertising as a trend but an experiment. Yet the real question is the "creative relevance" of the advertisement. Sudhir Lal, vice-president, Clarion, believes that the "upper torso of the man" can only be relevant for a limited number of categories. "It can sell ghee, as Dara Singh does. Or an after-shave or male toiletories." But the real test would be if it worked with unrelated products like turbines.

Certainly, the Indian male has come a long way from the macho, moustached man who sold Lipton tea: he stands in front of the tiger and the tiger slinks away. Or the well-dressed Raymonds man with the lion's head: "I love the lion in him."

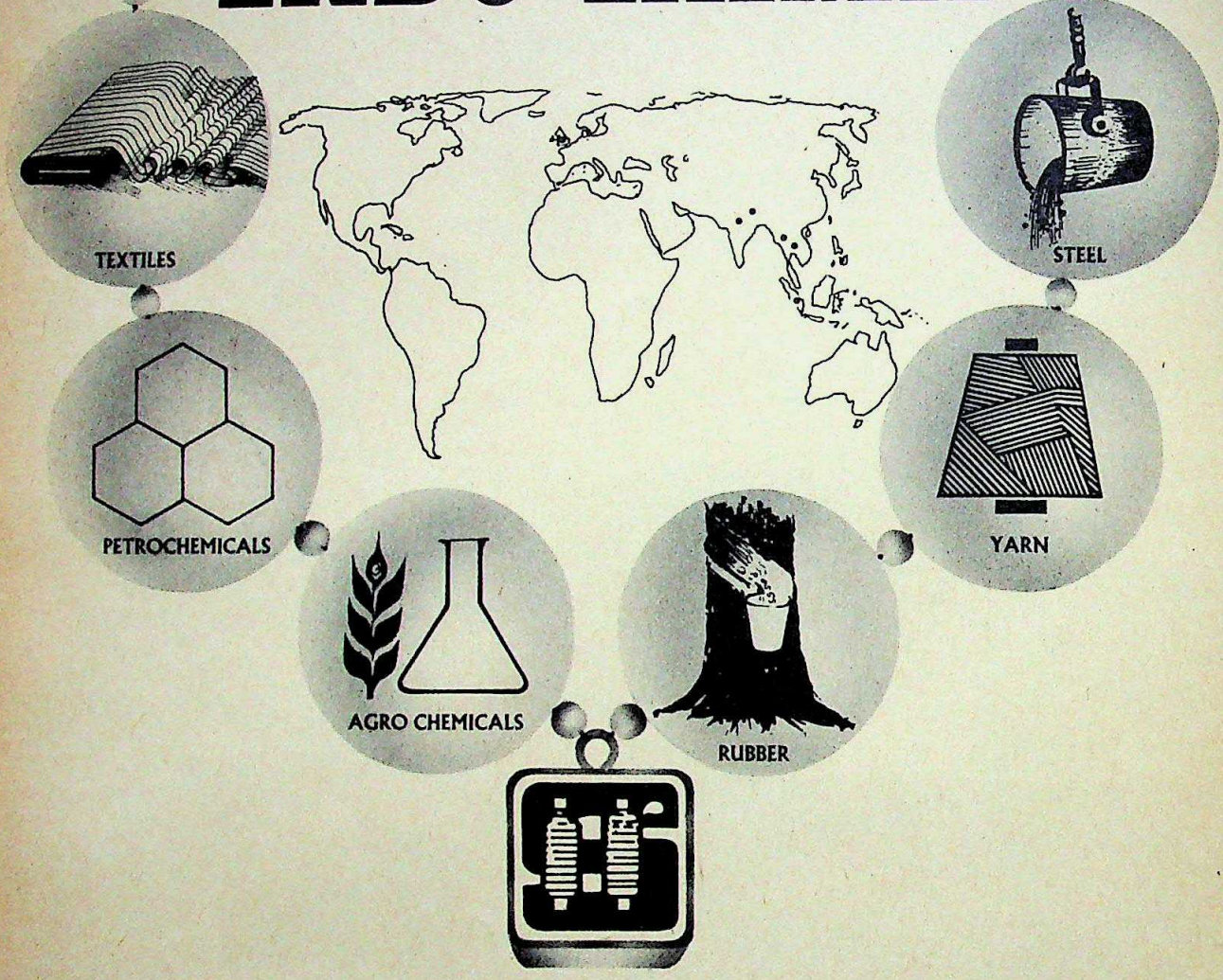
Traditionally, the male model was accompanied by props—women looking at him adoringly, low-slung sports cars or galloping stallions. Now he stands alone. Lal says this can be misinterpreted: "In a cigarette ad in the UK, people thought the man striking a pose next to a street lamp was gay. When I look at Amadeus, I wonder if the man is gay because he looks slightly sissy." Another executive says that he'd be embarrassed to ask for a product advertised by a semi-nude male: "I feel they would be stripping me with their eyes."

It seems unlikely, however, that semi-nude males are going to muscle in on the modelling scene in large numbers. The new ads are more a case of testing the waters than a precursor to a major trend. For most admen know cheesecake sells better than beefcake. —MADHU JAIN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDO RAMA



The sparkling success

INDO RAMA. A multidiscipline complex. With diverse manufacturing operations in S.E. Asia... and huge export markets the world over.

Promoted by the Lohias — with 40 years industrial experience in Burma, Indonesia, Thailand and Nepal — the Indo Rama group comprises many hi-tech, high growth companies including :

P.T. Indorama Synthetics : Indonesia's largest manufacturer and exporter of synthetic/blended yarn.

P.T. Ispat Indo : Indonesia's largest steel mill in the private sector.

Indo Rama Synthetics (India) Ltd. Now the Lohias bring their proven expertise and experience to India — with Indo Rama Synthetics (I) Ltd, a Rs. 21.36 crore project located at Pithampur, Dhar — a No Industry District of Madhya Pradesh. Indo Rama Synthetics will manufacture 100% Knotless synthetic/blended yarn for the expanding, quality conscious textile industries in India and abroad.

Ashok Textile Industries : Nepal's largest manufacturer of synthetic textiles.

P.T. Irama Dinamika Latex : A Rs. 11 crore state-of-the-art venture in Indonesia producing latex concentrate and crumb rubber.

Indorama Chemicals (Thailand) Ltd. : A Rs. 40 crore project in Thailand to manufacture vital chemicals.

P.T. Indorama Polymers : A Rs. 80 crore project in Indonesia to produce polyester staple fibre and POY.

INDO RAMA SYNTHETICS (INDIA) LTD.

903, Mohandev Building, 13, Tolstoy Marg, New Delhi-110 001

Sobhagya/127/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BAN ON DDT

THE Government has decided to freeze dichloro diphenyl trichloroethane (DDT) production capacities. The Ministry of Agriculture is expected to issue a formal order on this under the Insecticides Act by April-end. Moves are also afoot to peg production capacities for another pesticide, benzene hexa-chloride (BHC). Both steps are the outcome of an official committee's recommendations four years ago. Voluntary organisations have long argued that the indiscriminate use of DDT creates more problems than it solves, because it leaves poisonous residues in water, soil and food. The Government evidently agrees, but is reluctant to ban DDT on the ground that it is needed to eradicate malaria. The main loser now will be the public sector Hindustan Insecticides Ltd, the country's sole DDT manufacturer. BHC is produced by several private companies, including Tata Chemicals and Kanoria Chemicals. They will obviously be affected if BHC production capacities are frozen.

SPARE TYRES

COMPETITION in the tyre industry will only hot up. Nearly everyone in the industry plans on expanding production capacities. The Ludhiana-based Metro Tyres is setting up a Rs 150-crore automobile tyre project near Ludhiana with Soviet know-how. The plant will have the capacity to roll out 1.5 million automotive tyres a year. Apollo Tyres hopes to establish a 1 million automotive tyres and tubes plant in Gujarat at a cost of Rs 144 crore. At the same time, tyre manufacturers have been complaining that the Government has licensed excess production capacities. If so, why are companies going in for modernisation and expansion? About 1 lakh excess automotive tyres are produced a month, but much of this is exported. Manufacturers also believe that the surplus is temporary, and that production has to go up by 60 per cent to meet tyre requirements in the next five years. Nevertheless, that common perception could encourage more businessmen to enter the industry.

AMBITIOUS PLANS

THE Mittals of the Ispat group are on a diversification spree and expect to spend over Rs 1,200 crore on new ventures. After taking a million-tonne steel plant on lease in Port of Spain, Tobago, the group has finalised plans to set up a steel unit in Thailand. Talks are on with the Soviet Union on launching a steel plant there, as well as in Vietnam, Philippines and Malaysia. At home too the group has ambitious projects up its sleeves. It is seeking government permission to put up a Rs 100-crore float glass project, a Rs 300-crore seamless pipes plant and a Rs 300-crore sponge iron venture. A Rs 700-crore petrochemicals venture to produce poly vinyl chloride (PVC) is also on the cards. Clearly, the Mittals are gearing up for the fast growth track.

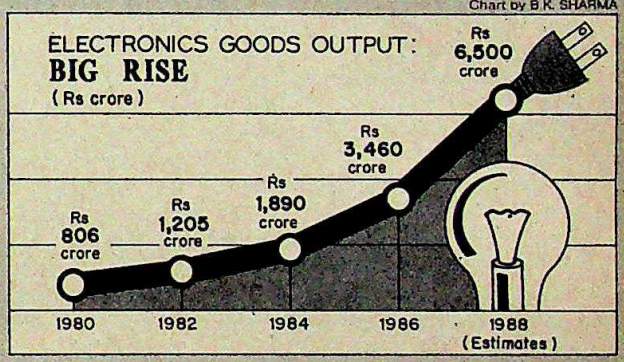
FRESH PASTURES

AFTER cutting a swathe in the instant coffee market, Indodan Industries is eyeing fresh pastures: ceramic tiles, designer sanitaryware, porcelain tableware, anti-wrinkle creams, cosmetics, and even biscuits. A Rs 40-crore project to manufacture ceramic tiles is coming up in Uttar Pradesh with Italian know-how. The designer sanitaryware venture is aimed at up-market buyers as products will be seven times as expensive as those available in the market now. Talks are also on with an unnamed German company to produce anti-wrinkle creams.

BOOMING BUSINESS

WITH every other major league businessman leaping into the electronics goods business, it's not surprising that production of electronics wares has soared this decade. On an average, the production of electronics goods has grown by an impressive 35 per cent a year (*see chart*) in the

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



'80s. Strikingly too, inflation seems to have bypassed electronics goods. Official price indices suggest that radio and TV prices grew at an annual rate of just 1.7 per cent. Whether the good times will continue is the big question. Citing the hefty levies imposed in the budget on electronic products, manufacturers are forecasting a slow-down in growth rates.

COMPETITIVE SURGE

AFTER the initial excitement generated by Central Arecanut and Cocoa Marketing and Processing Cooperative's (CAMPCO) entry into the chocolate market, there was quite a lull. CAMPCO, it seems, had not made much of a dent on chocolate industry supremo Hindustan Cocoa's markets. All the same, CAMPCO officials claim that the Karnataka Government-backed company's products have fared well in the north and south. They do, however, concede that CAMPCO has been unable to make a mark in west India, Hindustan Cocoa's home ground.

In any event, CAMPCO will soon be flexing its muscles again by launching a Re 1 chocolate-covered rusk and its equivalent of Gems chocolates. Whether CAMPCO succeeds or not this time round, fresh action on the chocolate front seems inevitable. The industry grape-vine is abuzz with talk of a three-way tie up among Nestle's of Switzerland, Food Specialities and a Delhi-based businessman to introduce chocolates in the market. While this may not be true, Parry's did launch chocolates in the south a few months ago.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ITC

Talking Marriage

The pros and cons of a merger are discussed

THE smoke hasn't yet cleared over ITC's headline-hitting excise dispute with the Government, but the tobacco giant is talking about a sweeping restructuring exercise. On the cards are a merger of ITC, its high-flying subsidiary Bhadrachalam Paperboards and speciality papers company Tribeni Tissues. That's just one option, and ITC Chairman Jagdish Narain Sapru cautions that "several options are being looked at".

But if it does go through, the outcome will be a Rs 1,800-crore mega corporation with interests in tobacco, paperboard and paper, edible oils and a spectrum of other agri-businesses.

ITC is also dusting off an old proposal to hive off its Welcomgroup hotels division to an associated company called ITC Hotels (which now owns just one hotel in Bangalore). The idea is to hawk the Welcomgroup hotels to the company while retaining management control. While this would largely be a book transaction, transferring hotel assets at current market rates would bolster ITC's bottomline. Earlier, the Government declined to clear the proposal, and insisted that ITC unload 60 per cent of the new company's shares to the public. It's not clear whether official permission is still required, but such problems as the premium at which the shares should be issued persist.

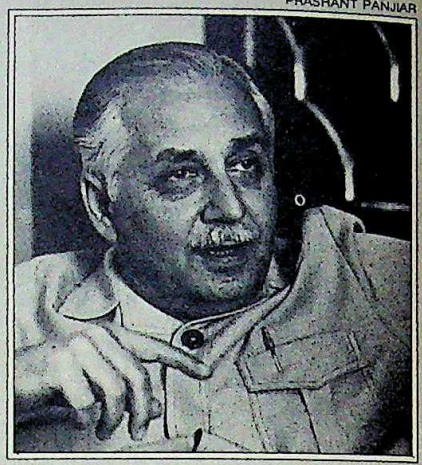
While these are a long way from being sorted out, Virginia House, ITC's head office in Calcutta, is increasingly focusing attention on a merger. Things are still iffy, however, and precisely when the merger will take place is yet to be determined. Chairman Sapru says the company is in no hurry. But the pace could be quickened if the Government clears a gargantuan tree plantation and pulp project. Confirms K.L. Chugh, managing director of the Rs 120-crore Bhadrachalam Paperboards: "If we get land and put up a 3-lakh-tonne pulp project, there will be some urgency about the merger."

In a bid to lease 40,000 hectares of waste land to grow trees through the biotechnology route, Bhadrachalam has gone into a huddle with the governments of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, West Bengal and Orissa. The trees are meant to provide raw material for a giant pulp mill—and cash will have to be raised for the project. The solution: pool the resources of all the group companies by merging them.

Cash is but one reason for the merger, however. The other is an offshore deal which took place in the middle of last year. ITC, Bhadrachalam, Tribeni Tissues and Hyderabad-based cigarette manufacturer VST Industries have a common overseas shareholder in British American Tobacco (BAT) Industries (*see chart*). One arm of the global conglomerate is Wiggins Teape, a British paper company with interests in Europe. Another arm is tobacco subsidiary British American Tobacco Company (BATCO). While Wiggins Teape held 51 per cent of Tribeni Tissues' equity through Middleton Investments, a shell company, BATCO has a 32 per cent stake in ITC and VST (the two cigarette companies, however, do not have a stake in each other's equity). Anxious to concentrate on its European interests, Wiggins Teape put Middleton on the auction block. And when several buyers showed up, including a non-resident Indian, ITC urged its parent company, BATCO, to buy out Wiggins Teape. BATCO obliged. Result: Along with ITC and Bhadrachalam, Tribeni has come under the BATCO umbrella.

As Sapru tells it, BATCO asked ITC's advice on the best way of managing the three Indian concerns. "BATCO has suggested combining all three, but what will ultimately come has to be seen," says he.

PRASHANT PANJIAR

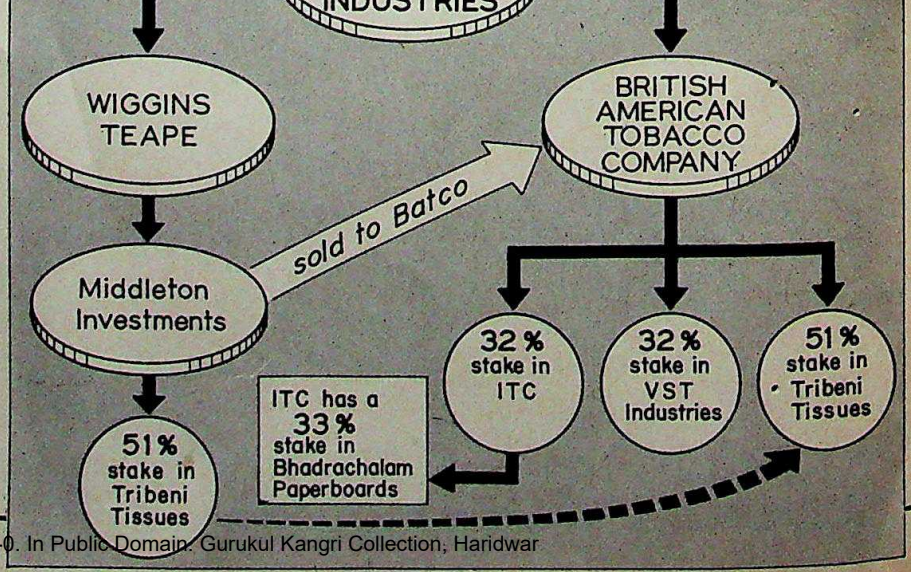


J.N. SAPRU
chairman, ITC

"A merger has been suggested, but what will ultimately come has to be seen."

From BATCO's point of view, a merger is advantageous because it would deal with one corporate entity instead of three. Then, Tribeni was not high on Wiggins Teape's list of priorities. The Rs 38-crore company was too small for overseas executives to visit frequently. This problem won't exist if it's a division of a bigger Indian conglomerate.

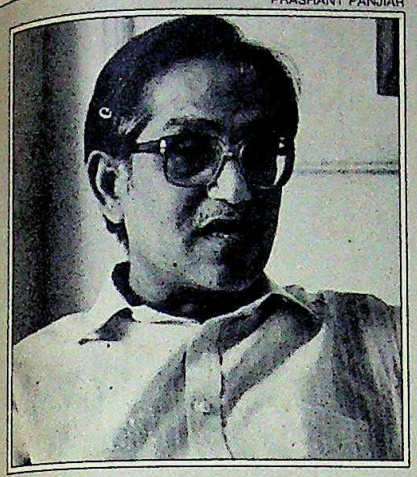
Chart by B.K. SHARMA

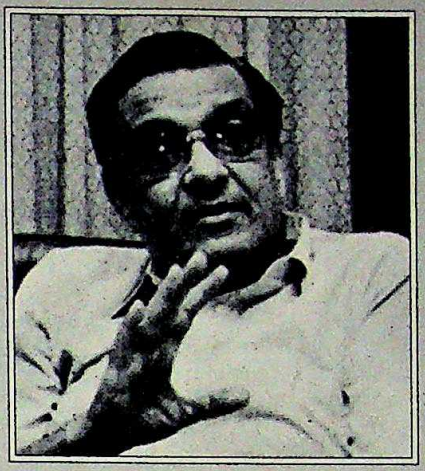


CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRASHANT PANJIAR





K.L. CHUGH
managing director
Bhadrachalam Paperboards

R.P. AGRAWAL
managing director
Tribeni Tissues

"If we get land and put up a pulp plant, there will be urgency about the merger."

"A merger will bring down the foreign equity stake in Tribeni Tissues."

A merger may prove beneficial for Tribeni and Bhadrachalam too. Till last year, Tribeni was in bad shape, partly because it could not stand up against competition. Following the offshore deal, ITC and Bhadrachalam executives—including Tribeni's current Managing Director R.P. Agrawal—moved into the company in August last year. Since then, Tribeni has successfully attempted to segment the market by launching several new products. Bhadrachalam also has diversified from packaging boards into coated and special papers, as well as into writing and printing papers. "Tribeni and Bhadrachalam together cover a wide range of papers. So there's a synergy in the market-place," argues one group executive. More crucially, a merger will enable Tribeni to escape the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act net and diversify more easily. "By combining the share capital, the foreign stake will go down to 38 per cent if shares are exchanged at par value," explains Tribeni's R.P. Agrawal.

Indeed, Tribeni and Bhadrachalam would together command barely 6 per cent of the paper market. So, any marriage between them would not attract the restrictive provisions of the country's monopoly laws. But confining the merger to the paper duo would make far less business sense. For one, even together, they would not have the financial muscle to fund ambitious new projects. For another, new, capital-intensive ventures carry high depreciation and interest charges. These would chew into profits. This, in fact, is precisely what happened to Bhadrachalam. Despite high productivity, it made a profit only three years after it was launched. "We wouldn't like to repeat that," says Chugh ruefully. "So a merger makes sense."

At one stage, there was talk of roping the Rs 275-crore VST into the merger, but the idea was quickly given up—again because of the monopoly laws. In combine, ITC and VST would control about 65 per cent of the country's Rs 2,500-crore cigarette market—and the Government would not permit this.

If these proposals have a pattern, it is founded on the overseas parent's structure. BATCO started off as a tobacco company but moved into paper and financial services. ITC too is eager to change its business profile. Tobacco now accounts for nearly 90 per cent of its Rs 1,400-crore sales, but ITC wants to prune this to 40 per cent. This makes sense because cigarette sales have not grown significantly in the last couple of years. So it has scouted for other business opportunities.

Over a decade ago, ITC went into hotels, then paper (by promoting Bhadrachalam) and packaging. It also moved into garment exports and fishing, but burnt its fingers. Like BATCO abroad, it probably would have leaped into financial services such as banking and insurance had these not been the Government's preserve (ITC has, however, helped promote a leasing company). "We even looked at petrochemicals," says Sapru, "but this was not our area of strength." Of late, the tobacco giant has turned its attention to agro-businesses.

Drawing on years of experience in growing leaf tobacco in Andhra Pradesh, it has moved into hybrid seeds, oilseeds and biotechnology. The company is busy developing high-yielding varieties of sunflower, safflower, castor and cotton on three seed farms in Andhra Pradesh. More farms are to be acquired in Karnataka. The ultimate goal is to develop pest-resistant oilseeds and cereals.

VST Industries too may diversify into agriculture-related businesses. Chugh, who doubles as VST chairman, says that the cigarette company will perhaps take to growing and processing fruits and vegetables.

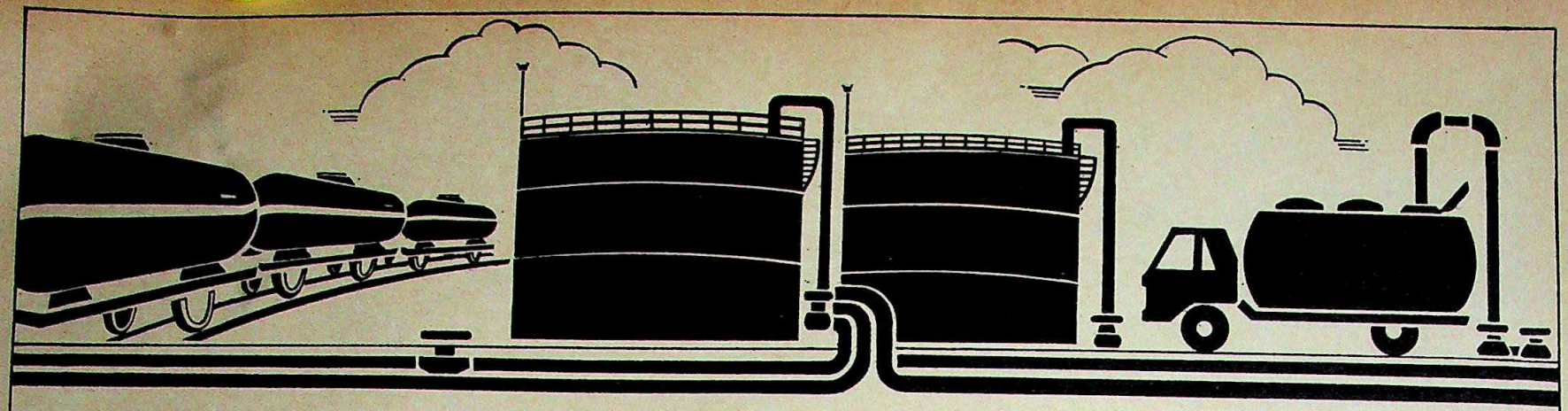
In this context, Bhadrachalam's ambitious foray into tree plantations and a pulp mill is a logical extension of the agri-business thrust. A paper famine is expected by the turn of the century. While supply may not top 32 lakh tonnes, the country's annual demand for paper is estimated to soar from today's 17 lakh tonnes to 42 lakh tonnes. What Bhadrachalam wants to do is grab a 10 per cent slice of the market. It therefore intends to set up a pulp mill that has the capacity to feed three Bhadrachalams. In turn, this involves sewing up the raw materials. "We're really thinking of a Rs 1,000-crore unit," says Chugh. "It's in that context that we're looking at the place of Bhadrachalam and Tribeni."

If the pulp project comes through, paper will contribute most to sales in a couple of years, not tobacco. Still, such plans call for mega resources—and a merger. The one barrier to a merger is the Government. Will it permit ITC to acquire muscle power of the order that a merger will enable it? No one really knows.

The second problem is the Rs 1,000-crore excise case itself. If the company is ultimately called upon to fork out the disputed sum, it will obviously go under. Right now, ITC rules out that option altogether. Evidently, it's confident enough that all its big plans won't have to be stubbed out.

—PALAKUNNATHU G. MATHAI in Calcutta

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar



OIL FOR ALL

Based on a track record of successful projects in handling and storage of petroleum products for Mathura Refinery, Bharat Petroleum Corporation Ltd. and Hindustan Petroleum Corporation Ltd., FEDO has been selected to establish oil depots for Indian Oil Corporation at Dhule, Indore, Chandrapur and Rajahmundry as part of a nationwide network of essential oil stock-points. Once again proving FEDO's expertise in this specialised field of engineering design and project construction.

FEDO will provide all technical and professional services needed for the project. From systems design and detail engineering to construction and project management. The project work includes storage tanks, pipelines, railway wagon unloading systems, rail sidings, truck filling systems, etc., for petroleum products like motor spirit, kerosene and fuel oil.

This project is yet another contribution from FEDO to the economic progress and industrial development of India.

FEDO to set up vital terminals in IOC's national network

FEDO

FACT ENGINEERING AND DESIGN ORGANISATION

A Division of:
The Fertilisers and Chemicals Travancore Limited.
(A Government of India Enterprise)
Udyogamandal 683 501

Parade/FEDO/8801

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

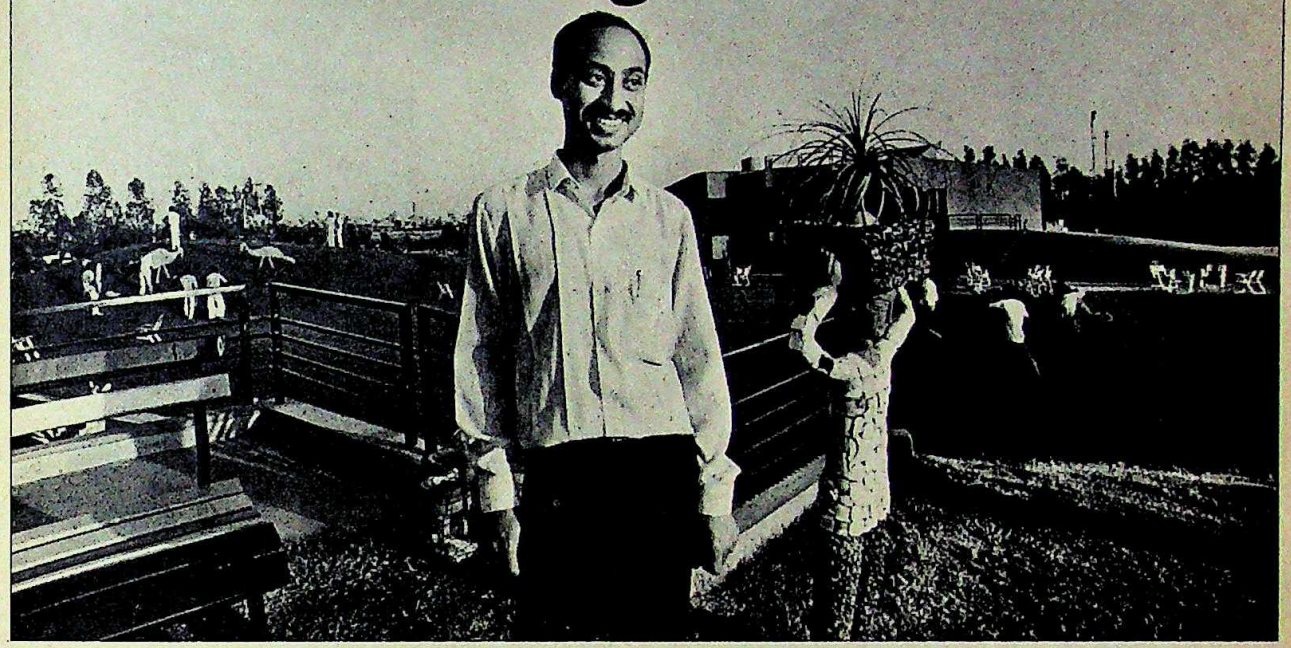
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Photographs by PRASHANT PANJIAR

ASHWANI KHURANA

A Taxing Honour



Ashwani on his family estate

SCENE: a birthday celebration. Venue: a farmhouse on the outskirts of the capital. A few hundred guests wander among bird and animal figurines made of marigold garlands. At the entrance, a pair of elephants raise their trunks in salute. A camel stands by awkwardly while a decked-up mule-drawn buggy waits for passengers near the tall and imposing wrought-iron gates.

Just another party thrown by one of New Delhi's countless glitterati? Not quite. Ashwani Khurana, the diminutive 28-year-old host, is someone very special. He has topped the list of individual income taxpayers in the country. And when Union Revenue Secretary Nitish Sengupta wrote him a letter congratulating him on his achievement last fortnight, the publicity-shy Ashwani suddenly found himself in the limelight.

Lounging in one of his well-appointed offices in south Delhi, Ashwani says: "I was sure I was one of the highest taxpayers over the last five years but I had no idea I was the highest." For assessment year 1988-89, he paid an income tax of almost Rs 2 crore on a personal income of just over Rs 4 crore.

Ashwani's father Iqbal Chand Khurana, 64, too figures among the top 25 taxpayers in the country. It is a motley crew. Behind Ashwani come celluloid superstars Jeetendra, Dharmendra and Mithun Chakraborty. Well-known lawyer Fali S. Nariman comes 23rd, way below four partners of a beedi-making firm in Mysore and a couple of chartered accountants. The names of the individuals are zealously guarded by the Finance Ministry. Curiously, not a single Tata, Birla, Ambani or member of any other big business family finds a place in the list.

Iqbal Chand: lottery of success

Ashwani's family controls over 20 per cent of the country's Rs 1,600-crore lottery business. Last year, for instance, the turnover of the Khuraras' companies exceeded Rs 300 crore. Besides, Ashwani also runs a clutch of small advertising, real estate and share and security trading companies in the capital. Still, that does not explain how he beat the Ambanis, the Tatas and the Birlas to the top of the taxpayers' list.

Unlike them, Ashwani has apparently not taken advantage of the Government's numerous tax-saving schemes. Nor have the family's proprietary and partnership concerns been sought to be converted into widely-held limited companies to reduce their tax burden. Funds have not been used to set up charitable trusts—another way of legally avoiding taxes. Why? Ashwani simply says: "To me, peace of mind is most important. I am more than happy with what I have."

That's quite a lot. The family estate boasts of three houses, a swimming pool, a tennis court, a children's playground, and a standby power generator, besides two menacing Dobermann Pinschers. The estate's undulating gardens, velvety as a billiard board, have been landscaped by Nek Chand, who created the famed Rock Garden of Chandigarh.

A typical day for Ashwani begins

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

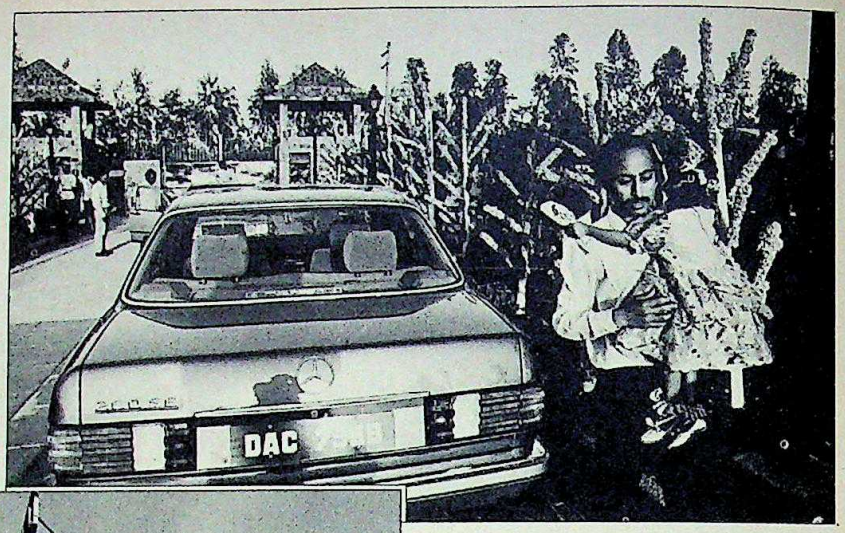
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

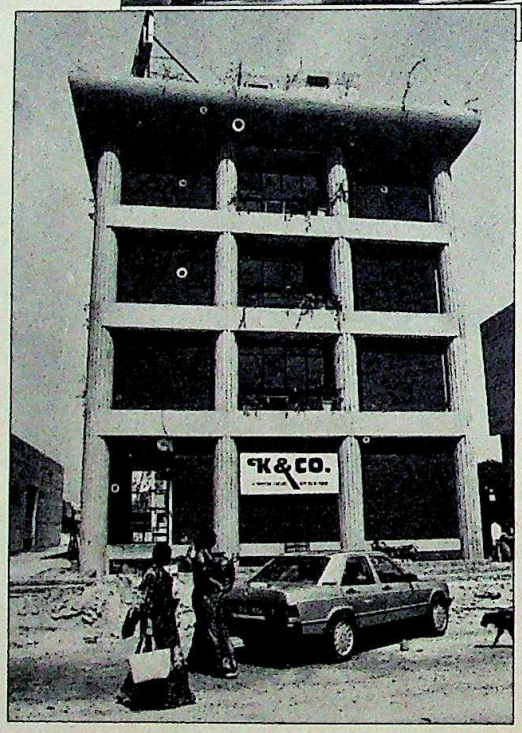
with a horse-riding session at the President's Estate Polo Club. After breakfast, he rides to office in one of the family's stable of Mercedes Benz cars. He returns home early and has a work-out in a health club at a five-star hotel. Then it's back to the family (he has two daughters, aged three and one).

It's a close family. The lottery business is run as a family venture and was first started by Ashwani's father, Iqbal Chand Khurana. Iqbal Chand came to Delhi as a refugee from Manthumri in Pakistan and set up a small shop in the Sadar Bazar area. In 1950, the shop was gutted in a fire and it seemed as if the world had again collapsed around him.

Then six years later, the municipal corporation held a lottery to allot new shops to stall-holders affected by the fire. Iqbal Chand landed one of the best shops. The lottery gave him ideas. Recalling that his father occasionally used to buy tickets of the Derby raffle organised from London, Iqbal Chand decided to sink the few hundred rupees he then possessed into a lottery ticket venture.

He has not looked back since then. By the late '50s, he was stocking tickets of private lotteries run out of Calcutta, Ganjam and Gangtok. And thanks to the reputation he had built up, he was appointed the leading agent of the Barabati lottery (which was floated to raise funds to build a stadium of the same name in Cuttack, Orissa). Reminisces Iqbal Chand: "When I married in 1957, I was overjoyed by the fact that I had Rs10,000 in my bank balance."





Ashwani with daughter; and (left) the head office of K & Co: lucky draw

FROM 1967 onwards, various state governments began organising lotteries and business grew. In 1971, Iqbal Chand was asked to organise the Nagaland Government's lottery and three years later, the Manipur lottery fell into his lap. It was boom-time all the way. From being quarterly and monthly affairs, lottery draws came to be conducted every week. Predictably, sales sky-rocketed.

Over the last 19 years, the annual turnover of M/s Iqbal Chand Khurana has increased more than a thousandfold—from barely Rs 10 lakh in 1970 to over Rs 100 crore now. Ashwani, a commerce graduate from New Delhi's Venkateshwara College, entered the family business in his first year in college. K & Co., which he now heads, organises a dozen lotteries, including the ones conducted by the Government of Sikkim and the Union Territory of Chandigarh. This partnership firm, which is arguably the biggest concern of its kind in the country today, has a turnover exceeding Rs 160 crore. The third lottery firm in the Khurana fold is Anu Agencies, named after Ashwani's 27-year-old sister. Together, the family concerns employ a hundred people.

Iqbal Chand says that the profit margin in the business is very low—only around 2 per cent, and that too if all the tickets are sold. A sizeable part of the proceeds—65 per cent—goes as prize money. Stockists and agents get around 23 per cent. The rest is expenditure on paper, printing, air-freight, royalty to state governments and advertising costs. Occasionally, a lottery may yield a 5 per cent return to the organiser.

The Khurana family claims it has always been scrupulously honest in its dealings. Says Iqbal Chand: "We don't have any No. 2 money." Ashwani complains that the business has got a bad name after the Churhat lottery scandal.

He also says that the Indian tax system does not encourage people to be honest. For instance, he points out, most of the partnerships in the country are really proprietary concerns which have been registered as partnerships to avoid paying taxes. His own firm, he quickly adds, is a "genuine" partnership which paid income and wealth tax that was close to 65 per cent of its income.

A rival organiser of lotteries is sceptical of the family's claims. The Khuranas, he says, had to cough up large amounts as taxes only because the Income Tax Department raided them twice in the last three years. Ashwani points out that the raids did not yield anything incriminating: "We had nothing to declare except some silver utensils which had been gifted to us some time before the last raid."

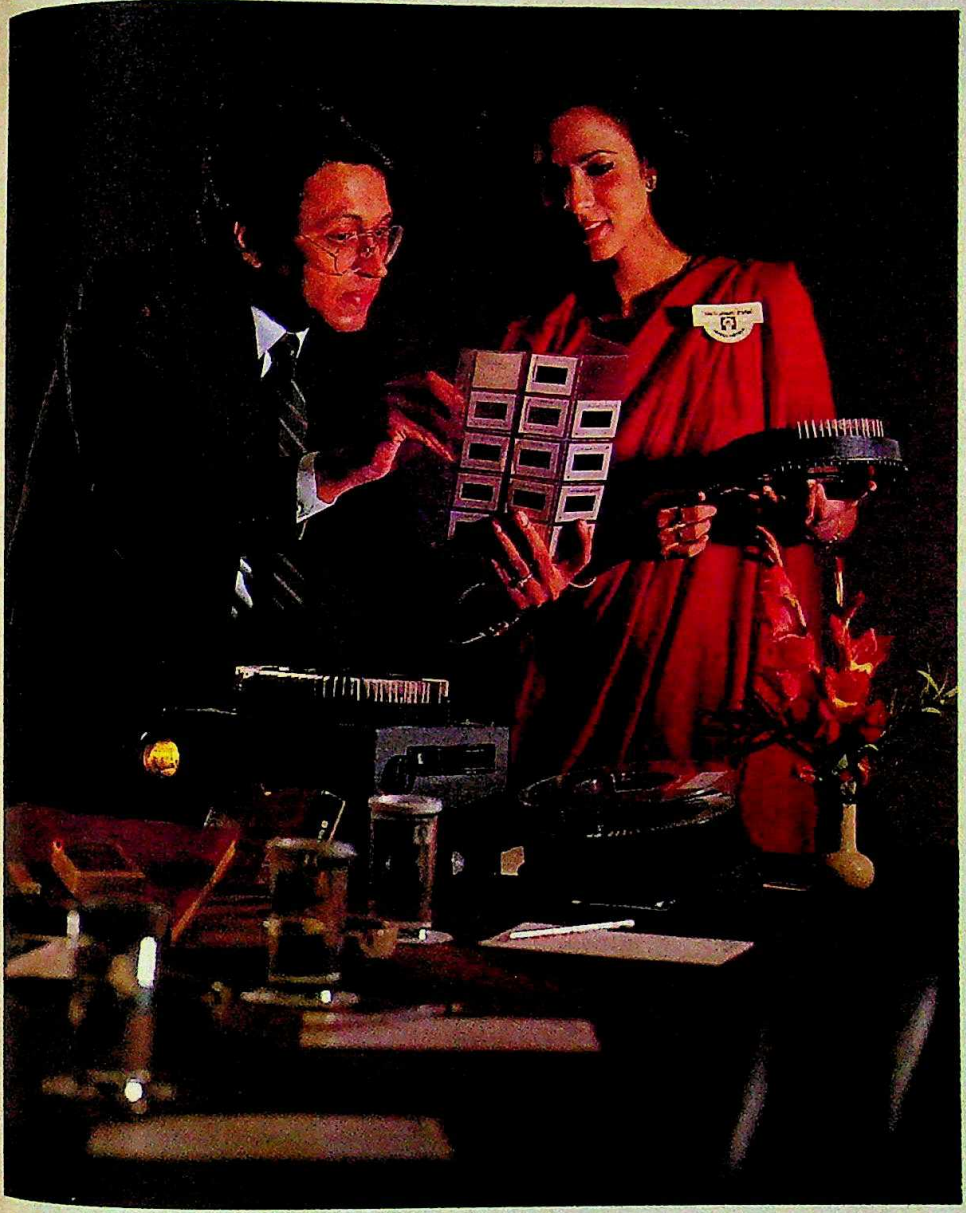
In 1987-88, Ashwani's father paid around Rs 2.75 crore as personal income tax. The year before, the figure was nearly Rs 2 crore. For 1988-89, Iqbal Chand paid an "advance tax" of Rs 1.8 crore, marginally lower than the amount Ashwani paid. But this figure may go up after the assessment is finalised later in the year. If that happens, father may well pip his son to become the country's highest taxpayer—so making it a truly family affair.

—PARANJOY GUHA THAKURTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Perhaps, Peter Drucker should have come to India to write this chapter

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



'Business grow with closeness'

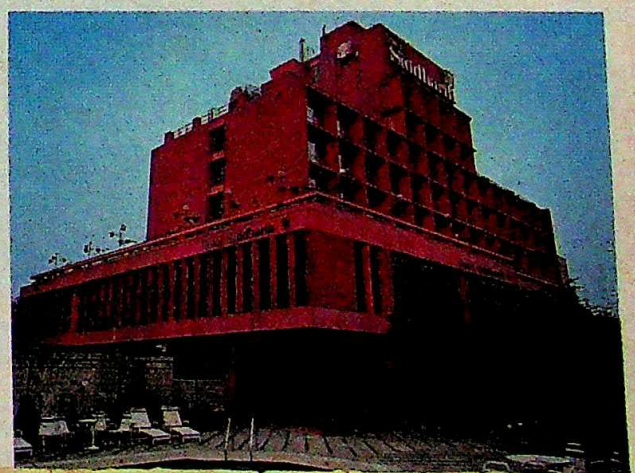
Why only Peter Drucker, anyone can learn from the 'Practice of Management'. It's a chapter that we've constantly opened to keep pace with your business and travel needs.

At Hotel Siddharth, exclusive 5 sta service is capsuled in a winning smile.

From our multi-faceted spread of restaurants, recreation and conferencing facilities to the people who make your dreams come true.

Take a spot check into a warm new world. Because that's the essence of this small hotel with a big heart!

For reservations, contact:
Bombay: 494 5255-58, 233606.
Madras: 479440.
Bangalore: 77351, 77263, 77287.
Calcutta: 440808, 432189.



You're among friends

JAYPEE HOTELS

Hotel Siddharth

3, Rajendra Place, New Delhi-110 008.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BIRLA WHITE GIVES YOU TO SWITCH FROM

Birla White Cement offers you amazing benefits, unmatched by Grey Cement and other white cements in India. It is stronger, whiter, brighter, sets faster and is far more affordable than other cements. So you can get never-before results, economically. With Birla White.

Purer, Brighter Colours

Birla White's pure whiteness produces bright fade-resistant true-to-life colours, that cannot be achieved with Grey Cement.

Faster Application

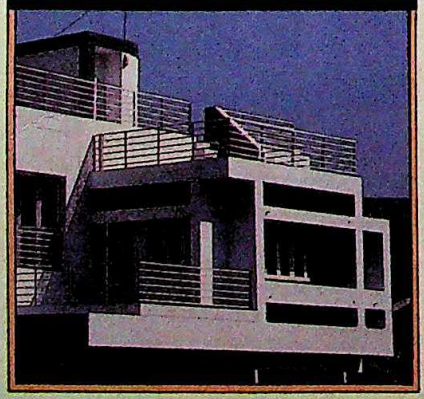
Birla White is noticeably finer and sets faster, thereby reducing construction time.

Highly Cost-Effective

PRICE (RANGE)	BIRLA WHITE CEMENT Rs.	GREY CEMENT Rs.
a) Mosaic Tiles	3.75 to 6.00 per sq.ft.	2.25 to 4.00 per sq.ft.
b) Terrazzo In-situ	6.00 to 8.00 per sq.ft.	4.50 to 6.50 per sq.ft.
c) Interiors & Exteriors		
i) Tyrolean finish	4.00 to 5.50 per sq.ft.	2.00 to 3.50 per sq.ft. + additional expenditure for painting, varying from 3.52 to 7.12
ii) Coloured cement plaster	3.00 to 4.00 per sq.ft.	2.00 to 3.00 per sq.ft. + additional expenditure as above
d) Swimming Pools	5.00 to 7.00 per sq.m.	3.00 to 4.00 per sq.m. + additional expenditure for tiling or painting.
e) Garden and Pavement Blocks	1.50 to 2.50 per block.	1.00 to 2.00 per block.

Birla White is surprisingly economical and outshines others in looks and durability.

Long Lasting Exterior Finishes



Birla White easily lends itself to various textures and does not require additional finishes, unlike Grey Cement.

World Wide Preference

White Cement is preferred by users all over the world, and is now rapidly gaining popularity in India, because of its many benefits.

So switch to Birla White today. For truly creative applications for interiors and exteriors.

Birla White is easily available in the remotest parts of the country.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

6 POWERFUL REASONS GREY CEMENTS.

Total Versatility

Applications	Birla White Cement	Grey Cement
Mosaic Tiles/ Terrazzo In-situ	Vivid range of colours. Pastel shades for floors possible.	Limited to dark, drab colours only.
	Fade resistant. Retains gloss and stays attractive. No carpeting needed.	Light and heat absorbent. Becomes dull within short time. May require carpeting.
Interior & Exterior Wall Finishes	Gives unlimited scope to Architects and Interior Designers.	Limited to conventional, dull finishes.
	Versatile - can be easily shaped.	
	Stunning white and pastel shades possible. Fade resistant.	Requires a coat of primer or paint.
	Minimum maintenance cost.	Recurring maintenance cost.
	Construction period gets reduced.	Requires additional finishes.

Birla White

A unique process makes it whiter, stronger, economical.

Please send me more details on the applications of White Cement.

Name : _____

Address: _____

_____

Profession: _____

Designation: _____

Tel. No: _____

Indian Rayon And Industries Ltd.
T.A.S.C. 309, World Trade Centre, Barakhamba Road
New Delhi 110 001. Tel.No. 3311991/3315335

IT

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SPEER 04 133 89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEWSPAPER INDUSTRY

Heavy Burden

Price hikes threaten viability

FIRST, the bad news. Newspaper prices are poised to rise again, this time from Rs 1.50 to Rs 2 or more. They'd been marginally raised a few months ago. Popular magazines too will cost more. *The Week* published by the Malayala Manorama group has already steeply raised its price from Rs 3 to Rs 5, and other magazines are expected to follow suit.

The good news? Most newspaper managements will probably defer their price increases till the Government accepts the recommendations of a newspaper industry wage tribunal later this year—which will further up their bills.

The present hikes flow from a stiff increase in newsprint import duties. Newsprint accounts for well over half the newspaper industry's costs. And 35 per cent of the newsprint that newspapers use is imported. Imports are canalised through the State Trading Corporation (STC). Last fortnight, the Government increased prices by 8 per cent. Already, the budget had slapped a 30 per cent customs duty on glazed newsprint, which is used by popular magazines.

Together, the two increases will add nearly Rs 30 crore to industry costs. Says Pravinchandra V. Gandhi, president of the Indian Newspapers Society: "The rise is going to cripple the industry, especially medium and small newspapers." Yet that might only have been the prologue: local newsprint manufacturers, pleading higher costs, have been lobbying the Government for an increase of Rs 3,000 per tonne in the current price.

While most publishers are all set to raise prices, others like *The Times of India* and *The Hindustan Times* increased advertising rates last fortnight by an average of 15 per cent. *The Times* proposes to raise rates further. Part of a highly competitive industry, publishers were worried. Higher cover prices are likely to trim circulation or slow down growth. Adhip Sarkar of the Calcutta-based Ananda Bazar group echoes the point: "An increase in news-stand prices will arrest growth in circulation."

Unquestionably, price increases do not go down well with the reading public—as Mammen Mathew, chief editor of *The Week* has discovered. Of late, he's been replying to the letters sent by irate readers complaining about the weekly's stiff price increase.

Higher advertising rates could make other media, especially the Government-controlled television, more attractive to advertisers. As N. Ram, associate editor of *The Hindu* points out: "Even now, magazines face severe competition from television as an advertising medium, especially for consumer products. Higher ad rates will inevitably weaken their competitive position. Television will certainly benefit."

Certainly, advertisers are already reviewing their media options. Said an official at the Madras-based EID Parry: "When ad rates are low, we advertise in as many publications as possible. When rates go up, this discretion vanishes." V.K. Suri, marketing manager of the Delhi-based Indodan Industries, puts the advertisers' case more bluntly: "We cannot increase our ad budget as we are a small company. So we have to advertise less in newspapers and magazines." Indodan plans to cut print media advertising by 15 per cent in view of the higher advertisement rates.

Still, magazines will probably face the crunch far sooner than newspapers. Argues Shobhana Bhartia, Executive Director of *The Hindustan Times*: "A large volume of advertisements in daily newspapers consists of classifieds like tender notices, court notices, sales items and appointments. These ads are destined to remain in the newsprint media only."

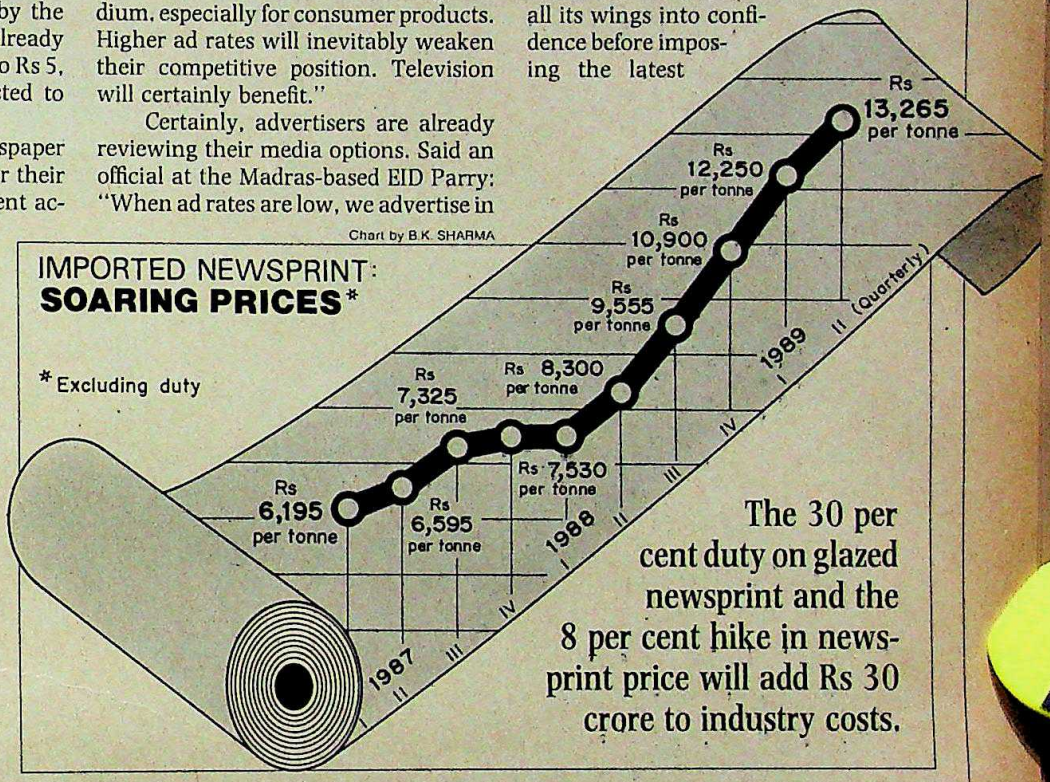
Regardless of who bears the brunt first, the Government's moves seem calculated to financially undermine an aggressive press in an election year. There is little doubt too that they go against the larger social objective of encouraging a free press. Some years ago the Supreme Court had asked the Government to re-examine the continuance of the import duty on newsprint, a request the Government has blithely ignored so far.

Worse, the Government is maintaining a studied silence on the whole affair. Officials of the Industry Ministry, within whose ambit newsprint falls, decline to comment. Nor did the Government take all its wings into confidence before imposing the latest duty increases. A senior Information and Broadcasting Ministry functionary says his ministry had not been consulted on the duty increases.

The Government can also be faulted for the way in which it has dealt with the report of an official committee on newsprint policy, headed by Bureau of Industrial Costs and Prices Chairman Vijay Kelkar. The committee had recommended less restrictive imports of glazed and standard newsprint by placing them on Open General Licence with duties of 55 per cent and 40 per cent. While the Government imposed the higher duties recommended, newsprint imports are still canalised through the STC.

The higher duties could lead to fresh legal battles. Newspaper magnates have gone to court before and are readying to do so again. But with the Government maintaining its unbending stand, there are few signs of any relief for either newspaper barons or the consumer.

—SURAJEET DAS GUPTA with bureau reports



The 30 per cent duty on glazed newsprint and the 8 per cent hike in newsprint price will add Rs 30 crore to industry costs.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOUTHERN AGRIFURANE

Taken Over

Muthiah replaced as chairman

THE take-over of a small losing company is rarely the stuff of headlines. But when the company is run by one of Tamil Nadu's biggest industrial groups, it's enough to create ripples in business circles. In a dramatic development last month, the Tamil Nadu Government removed industrialist A.C. Muthiah from the chairmanship of the joint sector Southern Agrifurane Industries Ltd (SAFL), took control of the Rs 10-crore company's management—and stymied Muthiah's chances of merging the company with the Rs 800-crore Southern Petrochemical Industries Corporation Ltd (SPIC), of which he is also the chairman.

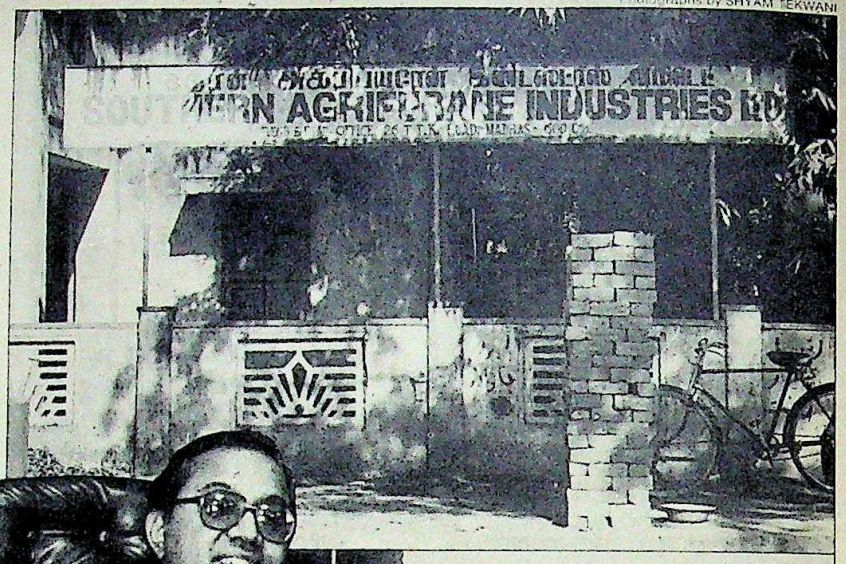
Muthiah was replaced by K. Venkatesan, chairman of the Tamil Nadu Industries Development Corporation (TIDCO), while S. Ramasundaram, an IAS officer, was appointed managing director of the company.

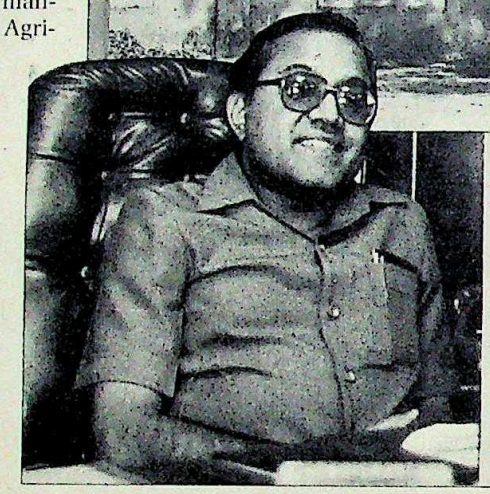
The company—which had piled up a staggering Rs 85-crore loss by 1987—was set up in 1971 to manufacture furfural, which is used as a solvent in some petroleum refining processes. But it soon became clear that furfural alone could not sustain SAFL. So it set up a distillery and an Indian Made Foreign Spirits (IMFS) bottling plant. Had it not been for the distillery and the bottling plant, the company would have been in an even greater financial mess.

It is precisely these two units that caught the DMK Government's eye, however. During MGR's reign, only five bottlers were permitted in the state. And SAFL, the bottlers for Shaw Wallace, was one of the fortunate five. But in the aftermath of the recent liquor scandal (INDIA TODAY, March 15), the state Government announced that the IMFS trade would gradually be taken over. Southern Agrifrane was the obvious first target. Through TIDCO, the Government holds 26 per cent of the equity; SPIC has a 25 per cent stake. The remaining equity is held by the public and the financial institutions, principally the Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI).

The sequence of events leading to the take-over have not been made public. According to a senior bureaucrat, the state Government sought IDBI's clearance to nominate the new chairman and managing director. Not wanting to cross swords with the DMK regime, IDBI agreed.

Photographs by SHYAM TEKWANI





Muthiah's ouster has stymied his chances of merging SAFL with the Rs 800-crore Southern Petrochemicals.

Southern Agrifurane office (top); and Muthiah: change of guard

Muthiah also apparently did not resist the move as he was in the midst of negotiations with the state Government to acquire land for a Rs 842-crore aromatics project which SPIC and the public sector Madras Refineries Limited are setting up jointly. All the same, Muthiah—who declined comment—must be a worried man, since SPIC is a joint sector firm and could also be taken over by the state Government. And Muthiah, who has influential friends in the Congress(I), is not exactly the DMK's favourite industrialist.

A senior official, however, denies that the state Government intends to take over SPIC. "We do not intend to victimise anyone," he said. "All that we are interested in is the progressive take-over of liquor bottling."

Meanwhile, SAFL's case is before the Board for Industrial Finance and Reconstruction (BIFR), the official doctor for sick enterprises. BIFR had asked IDBI to work out a rehabilitation package for the company. The financial institution recommended the company's merger with SPIC, but the prospects of this now seem dim. The state Government is dead set against the move and will soon be submitting a note to BIFR saying just that. Said a government functionary: "As it is, IMFS operations are profitable. So there is no need for any merger. In any case, what are the synergies between SAFL and SPIC?"

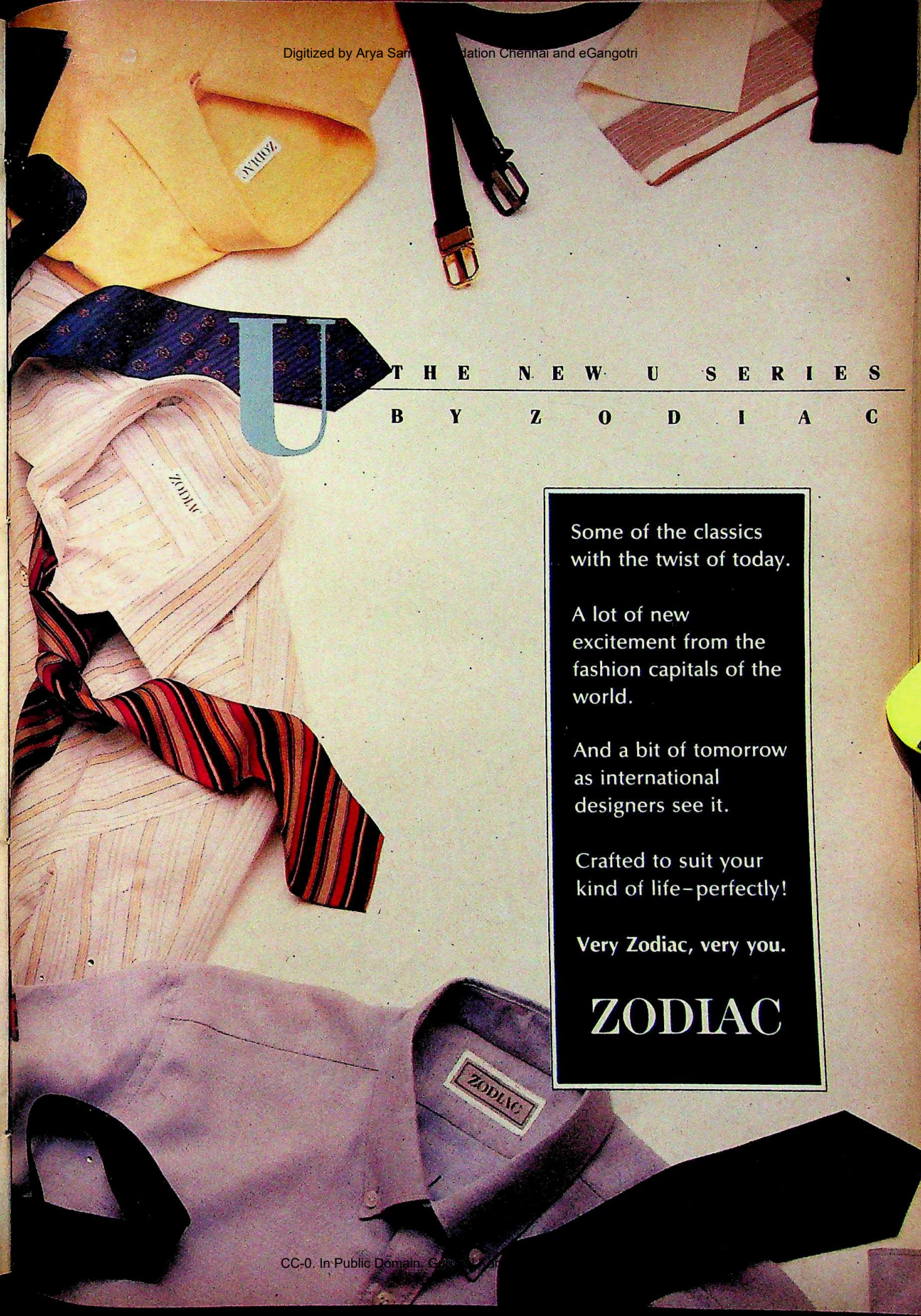
The Government has other plans for getting SAFL out of the red. Though it is the country's sole producer of furfural, it has been unable to prop up its price because the product is on the open general licence (OGL) list and can be easily imported. Compounding the problem is the fact that the market for furfural is rather limited: only two refineries in the country can use it. So the company has operated at a third of its production capacities.

Now, the DMK Government hopes that New Delhi will remove furfural from the OGL list and restrict its import. Said a government official: "Furfural now sells for Rs 20,000 per tonne. If we can triple the price, we should be able to survive." While not everyone is as sanguine, the moral of the story seems to be that politics and business are not such strange bedfellows after all.

—GUHA PRASAD

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Sam[illegible]dation Chennai and eGangotri



U

THE NEW U SERIES

BY ZODIAC

Some of the classics with the twist of today.

A lot of new excitement from the fashion capitals of the world.

And a bit of tomorrow as international designers see it.

Crafted to suit your kind of life–perfectly!

Very Zodiac, very you.

ZODIAC

CC-0. In Public Domain. [illegible]

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

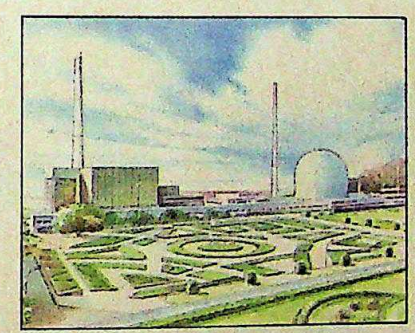
How Blue Star offered BARC a solution that didn't cost them a bomb.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BLUE STAR
the hi-technology Company

By supplying a very low power consumption 1800-ton refrigeration system with single stage open compressors for the Kalpakkam Atomic Reprocessing Plant.



It was a specialised job. Providing three 600-ton centrifugal chillers, circulating pumps, piping and wiring for the Kalpakkam Atomic Reprocessing Plant.

BARC had played it cool by turning on the heat of a thorough technical scrutiny. Contrary to what they had believed, we convinced them that a single-stage compressor with advanced heat-transfer technology tubes would result in higher efficiency and lower power consumption compared to a two stage outdated design. There was also our excellent reputation and record for cost-efficient project management and adherence to delivery schedules.

For BARC it only reaffirmed the faith and confidence they've had in us for the past 25 years.

For us it was yet another triumph in technology and expertise. Successes such as these have made us the leaders in air conditioning and refrigeration for over 40 years. With some of the most complex and prestigious projects to our name.

Manufacturing collaboration with world-famous YORK

Our manufacturing collaboration with York International, USA, a world leader in the field,now puts the finest technology to work in India.

Enabling us to engineer, custom-build and install energy-conserving, performance-efficient systems that perfectly match each client's specific requirements.

BLUE STAR AC & R PROJECTS GROUP

Manufacturing Collaborations

York International, USA

Philips Industries Inc, USA

New Product Launches

Blue Star-York Centrifugal Packaged Chillers

Blue Star-York Reciprocating Packaged Chillers

Blue Star-York Air Handling Units

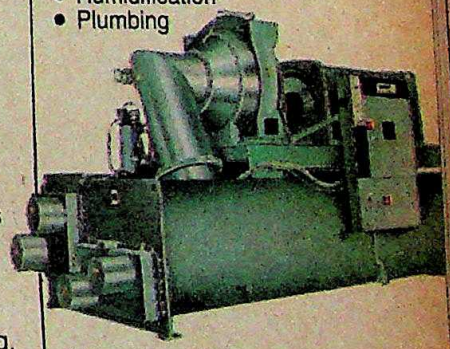
Blue Star-York Finned Coils

Blue Star Packaged & Split-type Air Conditioners

Contracting

Central Plants and Systems for:

- Air Conditioning
- Refrigeration
- Heating
- Ventilation
- Evaporative Cooling
- Humidification
- Plumbing



Blue Star – YORK the energy-saving centrifugal chiller.

The way we put it all together, is what sets us apart.

BLUE STAR-YORK
AIR CONDITIONING • REFRIGERATIO

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA CEMENTS

Building Anew

Change of guard imminent

IT'S been the hottest of topics among many corporate watchers in Madras for months. And now it finally looks as if a change of guard at one of the biggest cement companies in south India is imminent.

Last month, India Cements' 13-member board resolved to convene an emergency shareholders' meeting on April 21. If all goes well N. Sankar and N. Srinivasan, both descendants of the Rs 135-crore company's original promoters, will be inducted on to the board. Says N. Sankar, who's also managing director of the Madras-based Chemplast: "We have had discussions with the financial institutions, and I am hopeful the two of us will be voted on to the board."

Their return to the helm of the Tamil Nadu-based company will top a decade-long bid by the family to regain control, an effort the financial institutions had stymied till now. Exercising their 52 per cent equity muscle, the institutions had in 1979 ousted K.S. Narayanan and N. Srinivasan—sons of the two India Cements founders. Narayanan and Srinivasan, who together held just over 1 per cent of the equity, had fallen out. Narayanan stepped down as managing director (though he continued on the board), while Srinivasan was removed from the board. In 1983, the institutions made an abortive bid to hand over the company to tobacco giant ITC. Since then, the company has been run by professional managers. The current Managing Director P.V. Rajaraman, however, is from the IAS.

Last year, the two branches of the family patched up their differences. Confirms Sankar: "In the past 10 years, neither of us could get back into India Cements. Perhaps it was the family feud that kept us out. Now that we have got together, that obstacle is gone." The family started buying shares from the market, and launched a fresh bid for the company. It now controls 12 per cent of the shares (11 per cent are held by Narayanan—who is Chemplast chairman—and by son Sankar).

This time round, their success is virtually assured. Once Rajaraman goes back to the Government after three months, Sankar is likely to take over as chairman and Srinivasan as managing director of India Cements.

Quite clearly, the institutions have had a change of heart. One reason: the company has not flourished in the last two years. Sales fell marginally and net profits dropped steeply from a high of Rs 6.36 crore in 1986 to Rs 1.78 crore last year. Worse, the company is expected to be in the red by Rs 5 crore this year. A management source explained that while cement prices had tumbled, production costs had soared. India Cements' problems are common to the industry. As the source put it: "Since the partial decontrol of cement in 1982, the return on net worth of cement companies has dropped. It was 36 per cent in 1983 and declined to minus 12 per cent in 1988. This year will be even worse."

Yet its financial plight is not the company's only problem. Notes a stock broker: "Its middle and top management levels are almost bare. Unless top talent is recruited, the company will go under."

What's more, with 5,500 employees, the company is overmanned. So, it is now offering its employees voluntary retirement schemes. The company has also faced major labour problems, especially at its Sankarapuram unit. A company executive was killed during a violent demonstration not long ago. Quite predictably, a source close to the promoters' family argued: "There are several loyalists among the employees who respect the original founders. India Cements' workers will adopt a more reasonable stand when they talk to Narayanan or Srinivasan."

While that remains to be seen, labour militancy is clearly not the only reason for the institutional somersault. There's speculation that the institutions were miffed with former Chairman A.L. Mudaliar; an institutional source maintained that he didn't consult them before approaching Blue Circle of the UK for aid in modernising India Cements' two plants. This may or may not be true: the head of a financial institution said that he didn't think this was the case, and Mudaliar was unavailable for comment.

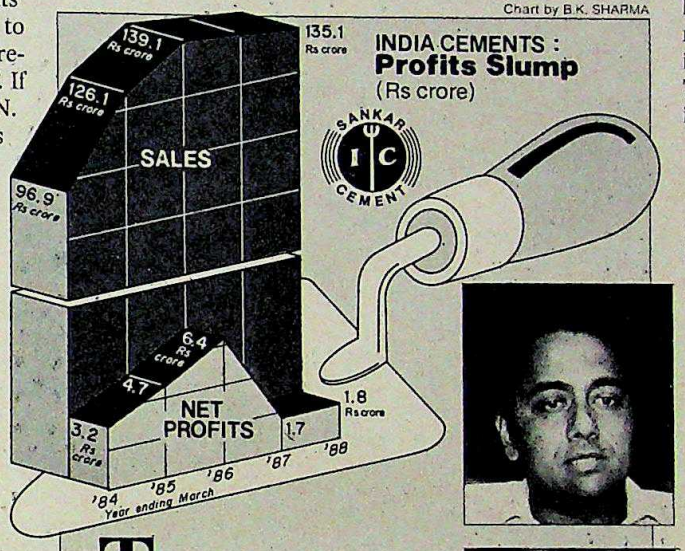
What's plain, however, is that the political climate has undergone a sea change after the DMK's return to power in January. Srinivasan is said to be close to Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi, and the institutions may not want to antagonise the state Government by continuing to back the present management made up of professionals. Equally important, the institutions have an interest in safeguarding the company's lime supplies (for which a mining lease has to be obtained every year from the state Government), and their planned investment of almost Rs 100 crore in modernising the company's two plants.

Managing Director Rajaraman will probably oversee the transition to a Sankar-Srinivasan team. And the institutions may ask the duo to meet part of the Rs 100-crore modernisation bill. Sources close to the family say Sankar and Srinivasan are willing to put up 10 per cent of the Rs 100-crore tag.

If so, it will further cement the family's once tattered relationship with the financial institutions—and quicken its return to a giant cement enterprise.

—GUHA PRASAD

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



The family which has patched up, now owns 12 per cent of the equity. Their bid for control is bound to succeed.

Sankar (top) and Srinivasan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Raymond

Raymond Cement Works, J.K. Building, Ballard Estate, Bombay 400 038.
Tel: 268321. Tlx: 11-73395 JKBB IN. Gram: Rayolagram.

Dear friends,

Without the single-minded devotion, hard work and loyalty of each one of you at Raymond Cement Works, this award would not have been possible. That we should have garnered this award in the 6th year of our operations, is an outstanding achievement.

I take this opportunity to also thank all the distributors, dealers, and retailers of Raymond Cement.

Finally, to the millions of consumers who have invested their faith in the quality of Raymond Cement, my heartfelt gratitude.

Thank You.

Chairman.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The National Productivity Award for 1987-88
was presented to Raymond Cement Works.

Raymond
Cement Works

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PHARMACEUTICALS

Export Surge

New markets for bulk drugs

SHIPPING and air cargo agents in Bombay are in a tizzy. Until four years ago, their export cargo consisted largely of garments, leather, gems and jewellery. The growth in cargo traffic was steady, but far from spectacular. Today, all that has dramatically changed. Agents are furiously shipping out a new item: bulk drugs.

Bulk or base drugs are items such as ampicillin or iboprufen from which the more common pharmaceutical formulations are manufactured downstream. And they're poised to become the new star on the export firmament. In the four years between 1985-86 and 1988-89, exports have soared by a hefty 700 per cent (*see chart*), from Rs 33.4 crore to Rs 240 crore. Says Ramu Deora, chairman of the Basic Chemicals, Cosmetics and Pharmaceuticals Export Promotion Council (CHEMEXCIL): "It's a great success story. A decade ago, we were still finding our feet in the international bulk drugs market. Today, we are walking tall."

Certainly, there have been sweeping changes in bulk drug exports. India is now perhaps the largest manufacturer in the world of drugs like ethambutol, methyldopa and iboprufen. Indeed, Indian bulk drugs are eagerly sought after in Hamburg and London, principal centres of the global pharmaceutical trade, since they are marginally cheaper than other competing countries' products. This is partly because of the rupee's depreciation against other foreign currencies. Also, many manufacturers have consciously tried to keep prices down in order to gain a foothold in new markets.

The Soviet Union has always been a large buyer of Indian bulk drugs (it still accounts for 33 per cent of the export basket), but Europe (16 per cent) and the US (14 per cent) are catching up. Last year, Ranbaxy Laboratories shipped about Rs 28 crore worth of bulk drugs to such diverse markets as Canada, the US and the Far East. Says Pervinder Singh, Ranbaxy's vice-chairman and managing director: "About 90 per cent of our exports are to hard currency areas."

Strikingly, India's bulk drug czars are not the multinationals, but a bevy of wholly Indian-owned companies—Ranbaxy Laboratories, Lupin Laboratories, Gujarat Lyka, Cipla, Standard Organics, Dr Reddy's Laboratories, Cadila, Unichem and J.B. Pharmaceuticals. Lupin and its associated companies hope to close the year with Rs 24 crore worth of bulk drug exports. Deora's G. Amphrays notched up Rs 11 crore.

Their success is largely due to the liberal Indian patent law of 1970. "Indian patent laws have played a crucial role. They have ensured a reasonable price to the consumer and given companies the incentive to export," says Yusuf K. Hamied, managing director of Cipla. Under the law, a drug patent is valid in India for between five and seven years. In contrast, the Paris Convention—an international patent agreement which India has declined to sign—specifies a 20-year patent life. So Indian companies have been able to launch drugs here soon after they were introduced abroad. Example: Ranitidine was launched in the world market in 1983, and the Indian version followed in 1985.

Still, as Pervinder Singh points out: "It took at least six years for Indian companies to understand the significance of the Patents Act. After that followed a process of updating technology." Bulk drug manufacture is capital intensive and calls for fairly sophisticated knowhow.

Basically, however, exports have been fuelled by surplus domestic production capacities, rather than by any overwhelming desire to chip in to the national export effort. A senior pharmaceutical company executive cites the example of ampicillin: "The demand here is about 400 tonnes, but the capacity is about 500 tonnes." This is the big reason for the export surge; profits are only an ancillary reason. Manufacturers are cagey about profits, with most insisting that the margins are thin.

It's also true that the companies have been spurred by the vacuum in

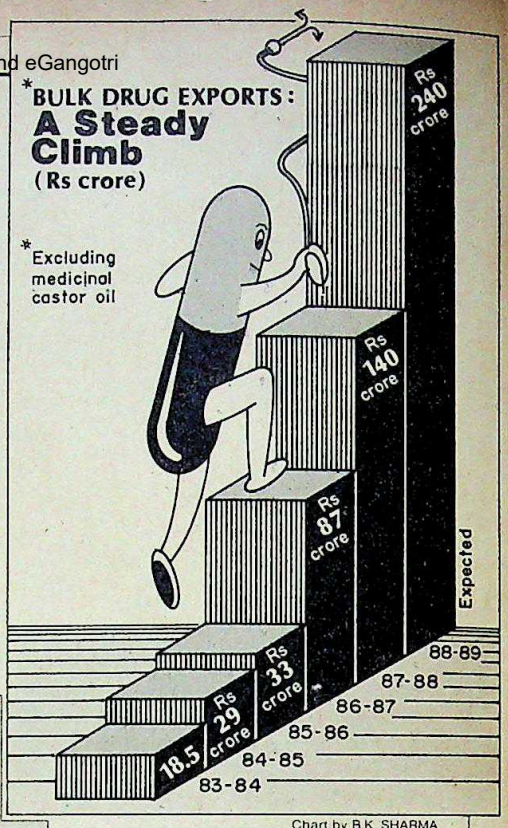


Chart by B.K. SHARMA

Bulk drugs godown: success story

NAMAS BHOJANI

"A decade ago, we were finding our feet....Today, we are walking tall."

RAMU DEORA
chairman, CHEMEXCIL

"It took six years for the industry to understand the Patents Act."

PERVINDER SINGH
managing director, Ranbaxy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHARAT ELECTRONICS

ENABLING THE MANY VOICES OF INDIA TO BE HEARD FAR AND WIDE.

When you wake up to the soothing strains of "Vande Matharam" every morning, something special happens: we renew our daily contact with you. Through the equipment supplied by us to All India Radio.

Our Medium Wave, Short Wave & FM transmitters, consoles, portable tape decks and heavy duty tape recorders help All India Radio to inform, educate and entertain millions of people. In the farthest corners of the country and beyond.

Bharat Electronics: A many-sided role

We've had a big hand in Doordarshan's successful campaign to extend TV coverage to over 70% of India's population. Our sophisticated defence electronics equipment act as the eyes and ears of our armed forces. Our meteorological radars prevent you from being taken by storm. We are also actively involved in law enforcement, medicare, forest and wildlife conservation, overseas communications, India's space programme and the radio and TV receiver manufacturing industries ... to name just a few areas of our commitment to the country's well-being.

जवाहरलाल नेहरू जन्मशती
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU CENTENARY
1889 1989

R K SWAMY/BE/3987

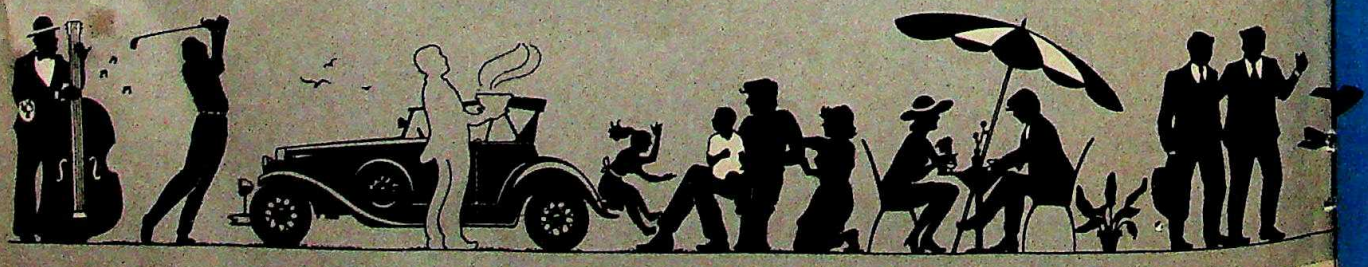
Bharat Electronics Limited
(A Government of India Enterprise)
Registered Office: 'Trade Centre'
116/2, Race Course Road
Bangalore 560 001.

भारत इलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स
BHARAT ELECTRONICS

QUALITY, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



GRINDLAYS VISA CLASSIC CARD. TO CELEBRATE YOUR SPECIAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Grindlays Visa Classic Card Services – offices at: 41 Chowringhee Road, Calcutta Tel: 299960 • Mount Road, Madras Tel: 861168, 867684 • 5-9-234 M.G. Road, Mission Road, Bangalore Tel: 220300 • 90 M.G. Road, Bombay Tel: 270007, 270162

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Grindlays and Visa introduce a credit card to celebrate the glory of kingdoms past, the growth of civilization and the poetry of nostalgia.

Introducing the Grindlays Visa Classic Card. The world's most trusted credit card and India's largest international bank, add a few special advantages to your special way of life.

First let's celebrate its lineage. Impeccable. One half is Grindlays. International and efficient. The other half is Visa with the patronage of 175 million people worldwide.

Now let's celebrate a few of the Card's advantages.

Membership is not by a fee.

The credit facility is arranged to suit your individual lifestyle. You can draw instant cash on the card from any Grindlays branch. The Grindlays Visa Classic Card is versatile enough to allow your entire family to use it through additional add-on cards. Isn't that splendid?

Now go out and celebrate life and its miracles.

For more information about the Grindlays Visa Classic Card and its conveniences, contact your nearest Grindlays branch or call/write to your nearest Grindlays Visa Card Service office.

Grindlays. Such a pleasure.

WAY OF LIFE.

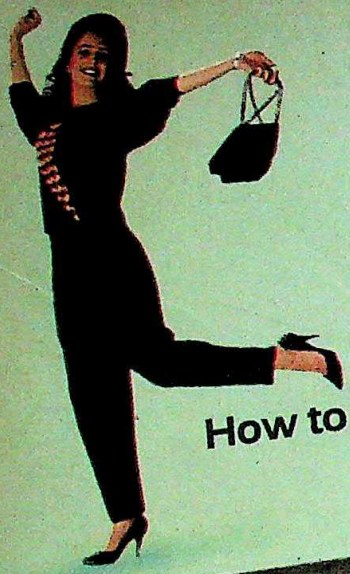
Grindlays Bank
Member ANZ Group

Hyderabad Tel: 237506, 237507 • Bristow Road, Cochin Tel: 69076 • 10 Sansad Marg, New Delhi Tel: 310761, 311091 • Sherwani Road, Srinagar Tel: 74092

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Contract GB.69.8

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



How to make hot, sizzling Murg Musallam

...while keeping your kitchen as cool as a cucumber

The hot, sizzling Murg Musallam

Grind to paste: 6 cloves garlic, ginger, 1 green chilli, ½ tsp haldi. Roast. Grind to paste with ginger, cardamom, cinnamon, dessicated coconut piece, 1 tsp almonds, 1 dry red chilli, 1 tsp coriander seeds.

Clean chicken. Prick all over with fork. Marinate for 2 hours with garam masala, ½ cup curd, salt.

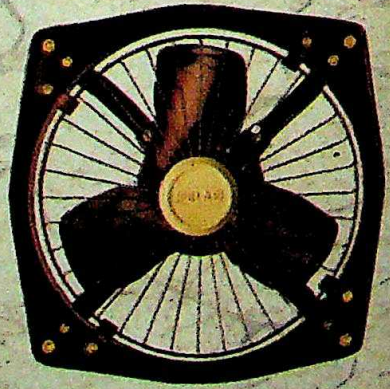
Brown chicken. Add masala paste. Cover. Cook till tender. Cover with gravy. Sprinkle coriander. Serve hot.

The cool, smokefree kitchen

Take 4 tbsp of butter, 3 tsp vanilla essence. Add an ounce of flattery. Massage onto husband's mind.

As he begins to smile, loosen his purse strings. Softly, ask for a Polar Clean Air Exhaust Fan. Which will leave your kitchen fresh, cool and smokefree.

Go ahead, try it ! What's one great recipe without the other ?



POLAR

Drive out the stale air. Bring in the smiles.

CLEAN AIR EXHAUST FAN

CC-0. Public Domain. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection, Haridwar

UNTAS/CALI/CAF/2/2822

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

foreign markets. Several foreign manufacturers have moved out of the production of bulk drugs after patents expired. CHEMEXCIL Secretary K.C. Menon says: "Multinationals now find it cheaper to import several bulk drugs." Lupin's Deputy General Manager D.B. Kapadia adds with pride: "We are now exporting bulk drugs to the original patent holder."

Manufacturers are also quick to acknowledge the Government's role in pushing exports. In 1985, it introduced the so-called advance licensing scheme, and followed it up with cash and other incentives to export.

Nonetheless, exporters would not have been so successful had their products not met international quality standards. "Importers insist on quality," says Menon. The US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) perhaps imposes the stiffest quality standards in the world, and has certified the products of 10 Indian companies. In each case, FDA inspectors flew into India at US government expense and inspected the company's plant. Says Hamied: "FDA norms are rigorous. Several Indian companies have received certification. This proves our credentials."

There is, however, a fly in the export ointment. Some US drug manufacturers have charged Indian companies with selling bulk drugs at throwaway prices in the US—and called for higher import duties on Indian drugs. Pushed by the US Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association, the US Department of Commerce in early March listed India, Thailand, Argentina and Brazil as countries that resort to "unfair trade practices".

In a sidelight to the affair, an American legal firm, O'Connor and Hannan, has offered to represent the interests of Indian companies in the US. In a 14-page proposal to the Indian Drug Manufacturers' Association (IDMA), which represents wholly Indian-owned drug companies, the firm has said that India should recognise the "substantial threat to its direct economic interests" and institute "defensive" measures. The tab: almost Rs45 lakh. IDMA is yet to consider the proposal.

Drug manufacturers do not take the US protectionist moves lightly, but are quite sure that they can ride the coming storm. Many of them are also eyeing markets elsewhere. A few such as Lupin are confident enough of the future to consider setting up wholly export-oriented production capacities. Plainly, Indian manufacturers are convinced that their future is rosy enough, US pressures notwithstanding.

—S.N. VASUKI with bureau reports

BUSINESSPEAK

DINESH SINGH

Export Boost Needed

COMMERCE Minister Dinesh Singh, 63, is no newcomer to the Government. In the '60s, he put in two stints at the Ministry of External Affairs, first as a deputy minister and then as a minister of state. Later, he moved to industrial development. After more than a decade in the political wilderness, Singh returned to the Government last year. Last fortnight, the commerce minister talked to Assistant Editor PALAKUNNATHU G. MATHAI *on exports, on the performance of big business, on forming an economic bloc for Asia, and on liberalising the free trade zone and 100 per cent export-oriented unit schemes.*

Exports cannot be viewed in isolation. First of all, you have to have not merely surplus production but production in terms of preferences abroad. If you make a million *dhotis*, you can't sell them abroad. Then, you must have the infrastructure. We have a lot of problems. Goods are lying at airports and at ports. Enough plane and ship capacity is not available, and the ports are congested. So unless there's a total, holistic approach, exports cannot go up. If despite these constraints exports have gone up by 25 per cent last year and are likely to grow by 30 per cent this year, it is a great achievement.

The small sector has contributed the most to this growth. I've been saying this to give credit to it, as well as to send a message to the large sector: this sector is the largest importer, and unless it becomes export-conscious a time will come when we will not have foreign exchange to import items. I'm asking large houses to prepare their export strategies in the next three months so that we can sit down and see whether there are any difficulties and how these can be removed. It's an obligation, a duty to earn money for the country and for themselves. If the response is inadequate, the policy of liberalisation will have to be curtailed and export obligations will have to be fixed.

As for overall export strategy, we have to look at the changing global environment. Two powerful movements are at work. One is towards liberalisation, as symbolised by the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff's Uruguay Round. The other is a move towards building powerful economic blocs. The European Community is planning to become one market in a few years. Some countries are talking of a Pacific rim economic organisation. We have to see where we fit in all this. We could think of an economic association of Asia with the Soviet Union, China, the SAARC countries and with the ASEAN. This would be the world's largest economic unit, with the largest market.

But irrespective of blocs, we have to look for markets where we can establish ourselves. So far, we've been looking to the developed countries. But there are large markets like the Soviet Union, China, South East Asia and Africa. I would like to encourage private organisations to penetrate markets which might become restrictive later, by setting up companies there. If we can have joint ventures in manufacturing, why can't we have joint ventures in trade?

One problem is that we've not had strong marketing organisations. We are going to establish India Trade Centres in a number of countries, to provide information on the opportunities there and about our goods to buyers. The Trade Development Authority of India will have to be restructured and integrated with the trade centres.

We'll also have to take a second look at 100 per cent export-oriented units and the free trade zones. These schemes exist in a number of countries, but their procedures are simpler. Companies are allowed to bring in machinery free of tax. We tend to get tied to the hang-ups of the past. Here, they have to acquire licences more or less on the lines of companies in the domestic market. There are restrictions on their entering the domestic tariff area. We could stick to them, and foreign companies would still come. But if we want to expand, more facilities will have to be provided.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PERSONAL

MAN.
Earth's original human being.
Sweats to succeed. Plays to unwind. And to meet the world, he uses his confident shoulders. And his shoulder garment.

His shirt.

Vimal equips this garment with additional speaking power.

It begins with the Recron fibre. Spun to a perfected yarn.

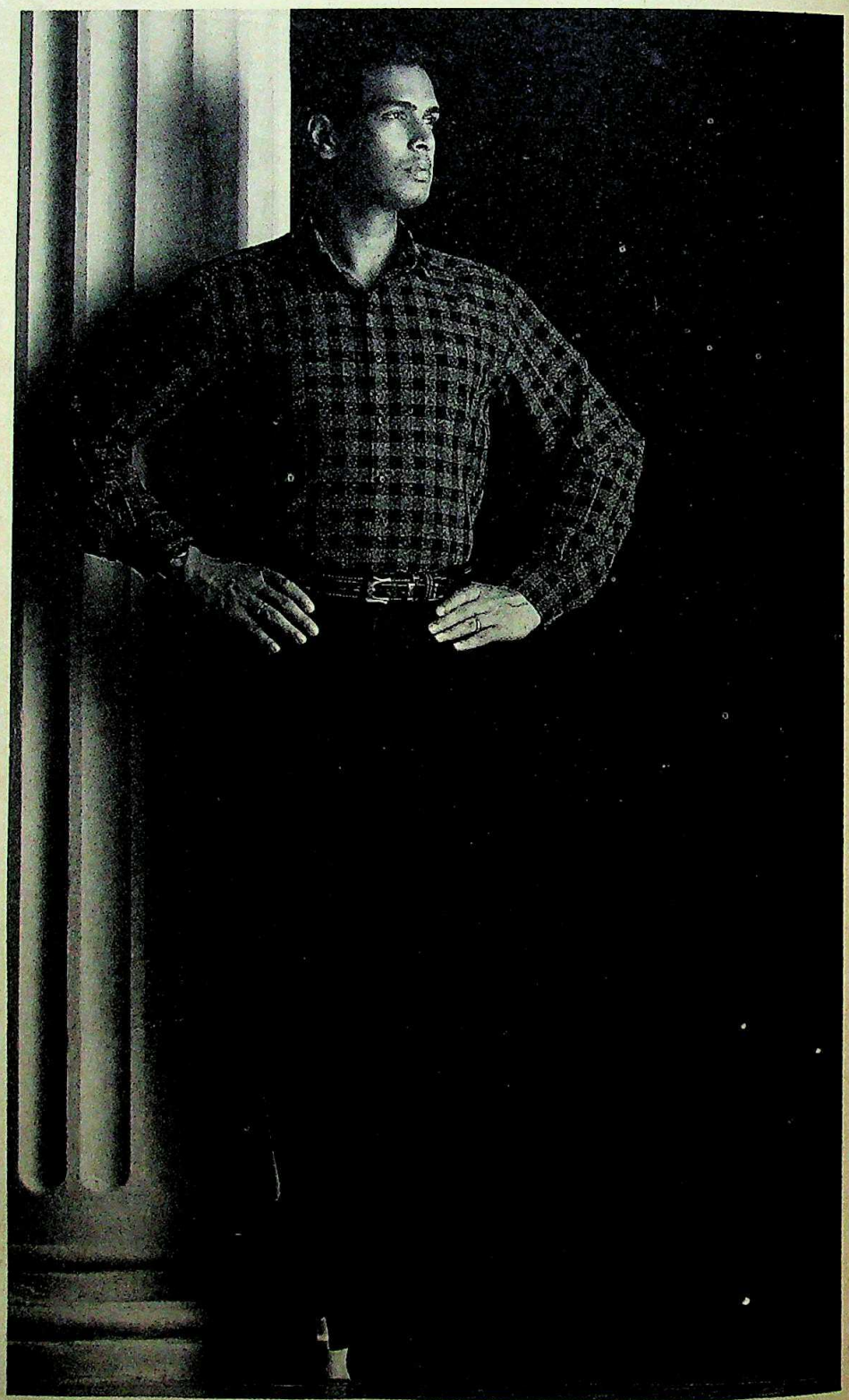
Over this, effect yarns are woven, to create slubs. Colour yarns to create checks or stripes. Or just base yarns for those sober plains.

All precision woven over Sulzer looms for fabric perfection. And processed with great care to acquire texture that feels good to the wearer. And to sensuous fingers that'll run down his back on weekends. Over the finest designs.

Over two thousand eight hundred designs every year. Each an option for a wearing occasion.

Power options for the man. Personally brought by Vimal.

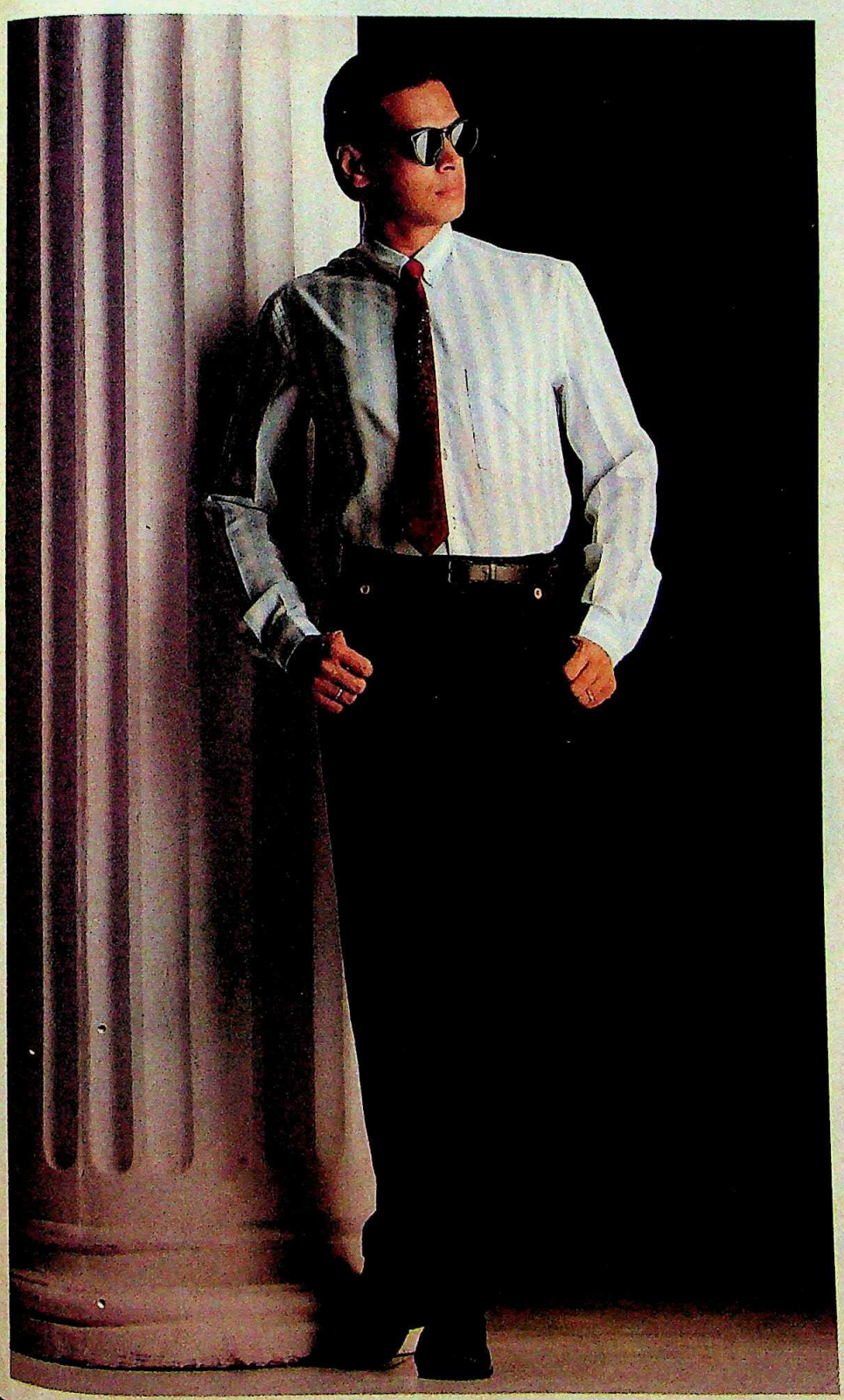
To cover a man's heart. While speaking his mind.



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

POWER



Premium
Shirtings by

VIMAL®
A RELIANCE PRODUCT

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Mudra:A:RIL:4689

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Tyres for my M
MRF of c

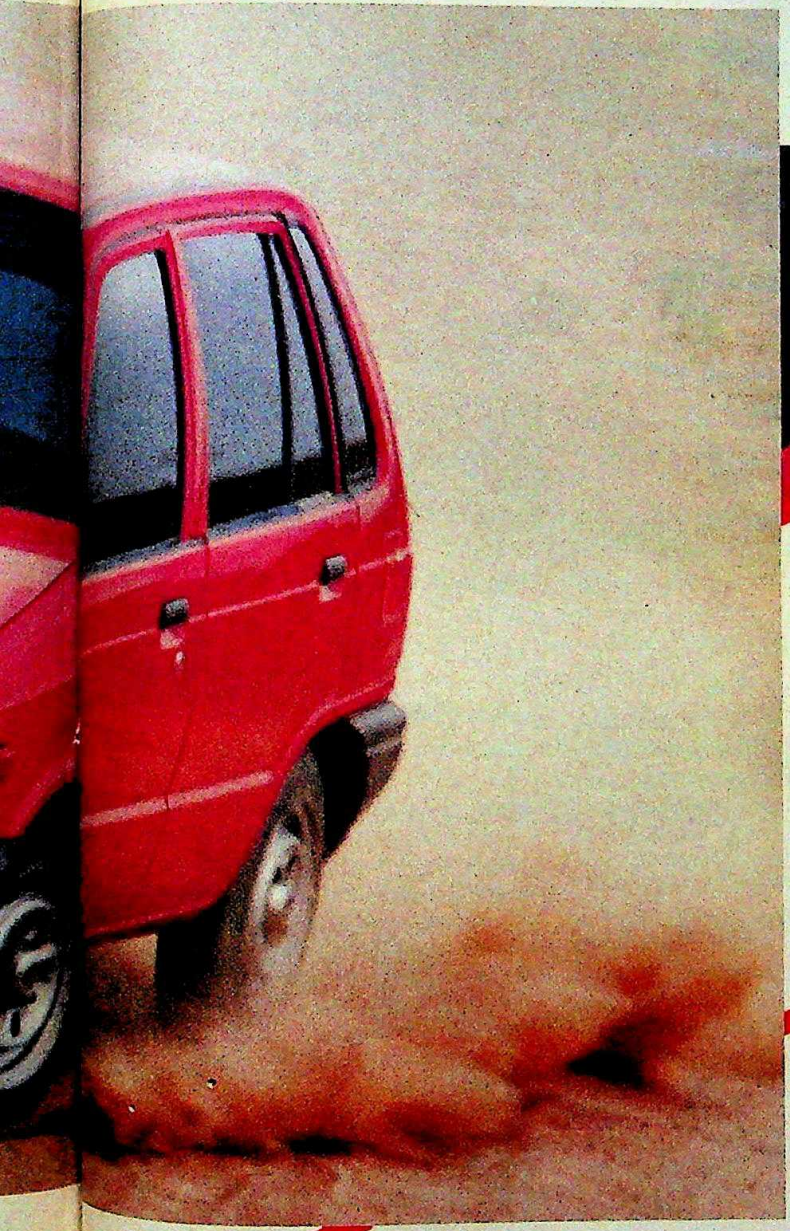
LINTAS M MRF NCT PI-2741

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

y Maruti ?
f course!"

FARHAD BATHENA
Ace Rally-Race Driver



"Sure-grip, manoeuvring ease, unmatched staying power... The three reasons why I always choose MRF Nylon Car Tyres for my Maruti. They endure the worst road conditions with superior competence and keep my Maruti in great shape - far, far ahead of the rest on the road...
For that winning confidence, give me MRF Nylon Car Tyres, anyday!"

MRF TYRES

Tyres with Muscle

MRF TYRES are made in technical collaboration with the Uniroyal Goodrich Tire Company, USA.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Rs. 747*

Why risk buying a smuggled watch when you can get a world class Titan Quartz from Tata?

80% of the watches smuggled into India are fake or substandard. So should you still buy one when you know you may be cheated?

No longer do you need to risk buying a smuggled watch, or worry about the cost or inconvenience of repairing even a genuine import.

Now you can buy a world class watch from Tata: Titan Quartz. Choose from an international collection of over 200 fine quartz watches. From Rs 370 to Rs 2000.

With Titan Quartz you have the Tata assurance of many years of faultless performance. And every watch is guaranteed for two years. Our after-sales network offers service with speed and economy.

With Titan Quartz, you'll never have to take any chances. Not ever.

Titan Quartz from Tata
The changing face of time

TITAN
QUARTZ

Rs. 747* Rs. 699* Rs. 711* Rs. 699* Rs. 1000*

OBM/4393

* PRICES SHOWN ARE INCLUSIVE OF ALL LEVIES IN MAHARASHTRA

Titan Watches Limited, Soga Towers, 71, Miller Road, Bangalore 560 052.

Titan Showrooms: F-43, South Extension-I, New Delhi 110 049.
55, Centre Point, Panchawati, Ambawadi, Ahmedabad 380 006.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Little Cause for Cheer

AFTER the Government decided to permit the establishment of new distilleries that would use, among other things, damaged wheat, potatoes, beetroot, tapioca and maize as raw materials, it's up to its gills in applications for licences. Nearly 600 have poured in, from established and small entrepreneurs. Half of them have been scrutinised and the Ministry of Food Processing Industries has recommended that about a dozen applicants be licensed.

For tipplers, that should be grounds for whoopee, right? Not quite. For one, government officials say it will take at least two years before new distilleries are set up. For another, industry representatives like Kapil Mohan, who heads the Mohan Meakins group, claim that the

PRAMOD PUSHKARNA

Mohan: new scheme a non-starter

new distilleries will face fierce competition from those based on molasses. It is contended that the production costs of the proposed new units are likely to be more than double those of existing molasses-based units. Further, at present, liquor production capacities exceed demand and the country has started exporting alcohol and molasses after a gap of four years. Which means that some of the new distilleries will find it difficult to take off.

The Government move to encourage production of alcohol from raw materials other than molasses is not only meant to step up alcohol production but also to divert alcohol from molasses for industrial uses. But at a Central Molasses Board meeting last February, state excise ministers voiced the fear that the new units would clandestinely use molasses. That may be uncharitable but it does suggest considerable scepticism about the new scheme's future. Evidently, the cheers are premature.

Moving at Snail's Pace

IT'S becoming a joke. And no one's laughing either. Almost two years after the first draft of the White Paper on the public sector was penned, it's been put on ice again. Reason: the unfavourable political climate.

The paper—which among other things recommended greater autonomy for the public sector—did the rounds of the Government after it was drafted in July 1987. First it went to a committee of secretaries. After watering down some of the paper's more controversial suggestions, the committee sent it to a group of ministers in March 1988. About three months later, the ministers penned a third draft and forwarded it to the Prime Minister's Office. Next, a fresh committee headed by Planning Commission member Abid Hussain was set up to look at the paper again. This committee submitted its report last October. Finally, the matter went to the Cabinet. And there it lies. So much for the brave new vision of an autonomous, profitable public sector.

Seeking Transfers

TO their mortification, the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) and the National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development (NABARD) have discovered that hundreds of their employees are eager to jump ship. Some 200 officers and a few thousand clerks have sought transfers to the National Housing Bank (NHB), the recently-formed RBI subsidiary.

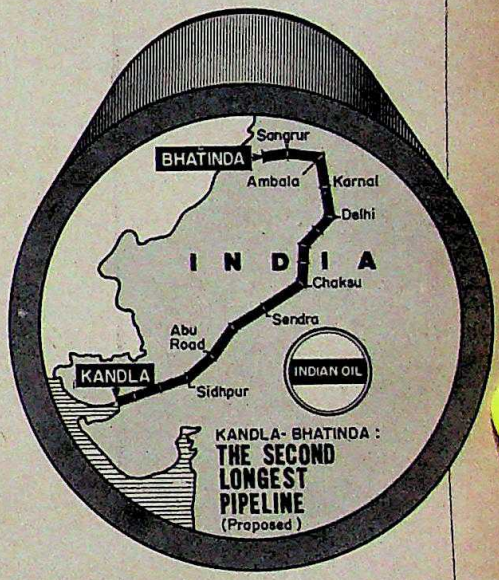
NHB had advertised for personnel late last year. It was swamped by applications from RBI and NABARD employees anxious to further their career prospects in a new organisation. The NHB has grand plans. It hopes to garner Rs 1,000 crore this financial year. And intends roping in as many as a million home loan account holders under the scheme announced in this year's budget which becomes operational from July 1.

Still, NHB's big plans do not include a burgeoning staff. Chairman K.S. Sastry wants to make the bank a "lean and compact organisation of committed professionals." So NHB's current staff strength of 30 will only double to 60 by June 1990. That will certainly disappoint all those applicants—and cheer up the RBI top brass. Meanwhile, the bank is reportedly talking about the importance of motivating employees.

In the Pipeline

THREE years ago, the jockeying for the 1,700-km Hazira-Bijaipur-Jagdishpur (HBJ) pipeline contract generated much media heat and hoopla. Now, another major pipeline is on the anvil—and a horde of foreign companies have offered consultancy services to the state-owned Indian Oil Corporation (IOC).

IOC's proposed 1,400-km pipeline will carry diesel, kerosene and other petroleum products from Kandla to Bhatinda. It is slated to meet the growing demand for these products in the north and in the west. While the Public Investment Board cleared the Rs 850-crore



Map by B.K. SHARMA

project last January, cabinet clearance is still awaited. IOC officials point out that Indian companies will play a greater role in the pipeline's construction than was the case with the HBJ line. The indigenous portion will be about 20 per cent.

The pipeline is supposed to be ready 33 months after the Cabinet clears it. By end-April, IOC is to shortlist consultants from the 32 firms that have offered their services. They include firms from France, West Germany, Hungary and the UK (British Gas, Bechtel, UK) besides the public sector Engineers India Ltd.

But selecting the consultants should be a relatively tame affair. The lobbying will begin when it comes to picking the contractors. Still, there are some signs that the brouhaha over HBJ will not be repeated. Meanwhile, Italy's state-owned Snamprogetti and France's Spie Capag, which had fought a bitter battle to win the HBJ contract, have smoked the peace pipe and are readying to team up.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MARKETS

Striking Trend

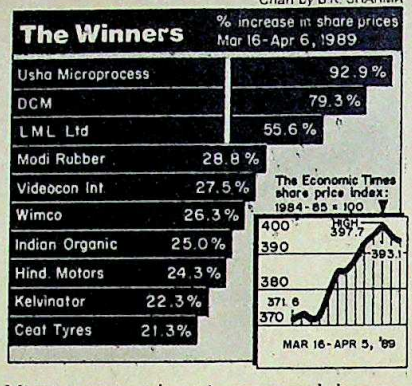
Surprising climb in share prices

IT was the best of times, when it's usually the worst of times. Last fortnight, the bulls raged through the country's stock-markets. Share prices began climbing by end-March and continued to soar. The trend is striking because market prices normally dive at the end of the financial year. Wealthy businessmen try and reduce share values to trim their wealth tax burden.

This time round was different. As trading opened last fortnight, all the major share indices climbed new peaks. The all-India *Economic Times* share index sky-rocketed by over 22 points, from a March 13-high of 375.1 to 397.7 on April 3—close to crossing the 400-point barrier, which has never been topped so far. Similarly, the Bombay Stock Exchange national index of 100 scrips rose by over 23 points, from 353.53 to 376.69.

The extent of the price climb is evident from the quotations of virtually all major scrips, including speculative shares listed for forward buying. Usha

Chart by B.K. SHARMA



Microprocessor's prices soared by an astonishing 93 per cent, DCM's by 79 per cent—although this was due to the Supreme Court's dismissal of the Delhi Administration's petition against the closure of the company's century-old textile mill in Delhi—and LML Ltd gained some 56 per cent. Other company shares whose prices rose by over 10 per cent included Bajaj Auto, Grasim, Indian Organic, J.K. Synthetics, Larsen & Toubro, Ponds, Premier Auto, and Reliance.

Plainly, share prices were swimming against the tide. This was partly due to the sudden rush in announcing corporate results following the Government's decision that companies would have a uniform accounting year which would end in March. Even those that closed in December were required to declare their unaudited results for the first three months of the year to compute their tax liabilities. By and large, companies have declared better results.

Even as the stock-markets displayed a renewed vigour, a few chinks in the armour were discernible. In the case of at least two leading scrips, Tata Steel and Reliance, there was widespread "short selling". In other words, a couple of big players had no intention of delivering these shares at the time of settling business. As far as Tata Steel was concerned, speculative activity picked up as its new convertible debentures became due for listing on an ex-rights basis. And the Reliance scrip reverberated following reports that all the company's plants were working very well.

On the whole, the boisterous mood—reminiscent of market conditions prevailing four years ago—was based on the sound foundation of favourable corporate results. The big question, however, was whether the mood would spill over into the new financial year. Given the buoyancy in the economy, the chances of this happening seem fairly bright. Next fortnight should be able to make things more clear.

ACTIVE STOCKS

	1989 HIGH	LOW	CLOSE 6.4.89	Change in Fortnight
Ashok Leyland	73.50	61.00	73.00	3.00 +
Associated Cement	345.00	280.00	318.00	31.00 +
Asian Paints	226.25	200.00	216.25	3.75 +
Atlas Copco	53.00	41.00	48.00	2.00 +
Bajaj Auto	430.00	352.50	417.50	50.00 +
Baroda Rayon	370.00	285.00	361.25	26.25 +
Bata India	82.00	61.00	68.00	4.50 +
Bayer	880.00	580.00	870.00	30.00 +
Bharat Forge	202.50	92.50	117.50	22.50 +
Birla Jute	53.00	44.50	49.50	1.25 +
Bombay Dyeing	144.00	104.00	142.00	13.50 +
Britannia Ind.	112.00	89.00	105.00	2.50 +
Brooke Bond	150.00	98.50	148.00	9.00 +
Century Spinning	1850.00	1230.00	1840.00	100.00 +*
Chloride India	80.50	72.00	80.00	2.00 +
Colgate Palmolive	370.00	281.25	366.25	31.25 +
Cyanamid	89.00	55.00	80.00	5.50 –
DCM	85.00	31.00	73.50	29.75 +
Dunlop	86.00	70.00	84.50	6.50 +
E.I. Hotels	60.00	50.00	52.50	3.50 –
Escorts	71.00	58.00	67.00	3.00 +
Finolex Cables	430.00	360.00	402.50	37.50 +
Food Specialities	224.00	161.50	192.00	8.00 –
Garware Nylon	46.50	36.00	40.00	2.50 +
G.E. Shipping	42.75	33.75	41.00	6.75 +
G.S.F.C.	161.25	123.75	151.25	3.75 –
Grasim Ind.	117.50	75.00	116.50	15.00 +
Hind. Aluminium	284.00	155.00	282.50	5.50 –
Hind. Ciba	1020.00	600.00	930.00	30.00 +
Hind. Cocoa	126.25	98.75	116.00	8.75 +
Hindustan Lever	87.00	69.50	81.75	3.25 +
Hindustan Motors	45.00	26.75	45.00	5.00 +
IEL	58.00	39.00	52.50	2.25 +
Indian Organic	46.50	23.00	35.00	10.00 +
Indian Rayon	93.50	76.50	87.00	1.00 +
Indrol	326.25	218.75	315.00	25.00 +
Ingersoll-Rand	405.00	315.00	380.00	20.00 +
ITC	67.00	46.25	62.50	2.00 –
J.K. Synthetics	88.50	66.00	75.50	9.50 +
Kinetic Engineering	395.00	167.50	190.00	7.50 +
Kirloskar Cummins	88.75	68.75	77.50	2.75 +
KSB Pumps	367.50	305.00	367.50	12.50 +
Larsen & Toubro	128.00	85.50	99.00	12.00 +
Lipton	82.50	67.00	75.00	1.00 +
LML Ltd.	22.00	12.50	21.00	7.25 +
Madura Coats	97.00	92.25	95.00	1.00 +
Mahindra & Mahindra	99.00	76.50	95.50	5.50 +
Milk Food	255.00	185.00	247.50	10.00 +
Motor Industries	670.00	560.00	620.00	20.00 +
Mukand Ltd.	106.50	75.00	100.00	11.00 +
National Organic	885.00	710.00	840.00	65.00 +
Nirlon	14.00	10.50	12.75	0.25 +
Orkay Silk Mills	29.00	20.25	24.00	1.00 +
Peico Electronics	28.00	20.50	24.00	2.25 +
Pfizer	79.50	62.50	73.00	1.00 –
Ponds	212.50	157.50	205.00	26.25 +
Premier Auto	54.00	40.00	52.00	5.25 +
Raymond	78.75	65.50	76.00	2.00 +
Reliance Industries	155.00	112.00	141.50	29.50 +
Siemens India	95.00	74.00	78.00	1.00 +
Shaw Wallace	103.25	75.00	81.00	1.00 +
Shriram Fibres	93.50	64.00	81.50	9.50 –
SKF Bearings	2660.00	1760.00	2650.00	300.00 +
SPIC	59.00	39.00	56.00	7.75 +
Tata Steel	1277.50	1062.50	1258.75	52.50 +**
Telco	840.00	657.50	782.50	10.00 –
Vam Organic	177.00	136.00	167.00	nil
Videocon Int.	115.00	55.00	110.00	28.75 +
Voltas	710.00	470.00	700.00	60.00 +
Wimco	27.00	15.75	24.00	4.00 +

*Ex dividend **Ex right

WORLD VALUE OF RUPEE

COUNTRY	CURRENCY	UNIT	TT Selling Rates Rs	TT Buying Rates Rs
Australia	Dollar	1	12.7547	12.6170
Austria	Schilling	1	1.2004	1.1855
Bahrain	Dinar	1	40.1120	40.000
Bangladesh	Taka	100	48.0000	47.8550
Canada	Dollar	1	13.2304	13.0906
Denmark	Kroner	1	2.1712	2.1470
Egypt	Pound	1	5.9000	5.8500
France	Franc	1	2.5381	2.4752
Hong Kong	Dollar	1	2.0284	2.0075
Indonesia	Rupiah	100	0.0800	0.0700
Iran	Rial	100	21.6680	21.6016
Italy	Lira	100	1.0700	1.0200
Japan	Yen	100	12.1212	12.0203
Kenya	Shilling	1	0.8000	0.7109
Kuwait	Dinar	1	52.0828	52.0000
Malaysia	Dollar	1	5.7453	5.6849
Mauritius	Rupee	1	1.0500●	1.0000
Nepal	Rupee	1	0.6200	0.6000
Netherlands	Guilder	1	7.4882	7.4052
Pakistan	Rupee	1	0.7500	0.7100
Singapore	Dollar	1	8.1054	8.0189
Spain	Peseta	1	0.1300	0.1100
Sri Lanka	Rupee	1	0.4800	0.4100
Sweden	Kroner	1	2.4769	2.4517
Switzerland	Franc	1	9.6128	9.5064
Tanzania	Shilling	1	0.1190	0.1000
Thailand	Baht	100	60.0000	59.0000
UK	Pound	1	26.7809	26.6383
USA	Dollar	1	15.7833	15.6250
UAE	Dirham	1	4.0000	3.9000
USSR	Rouble	1	24.1828	24.1000
W. Germany	Deutschmark	1	8.5690	8.3542

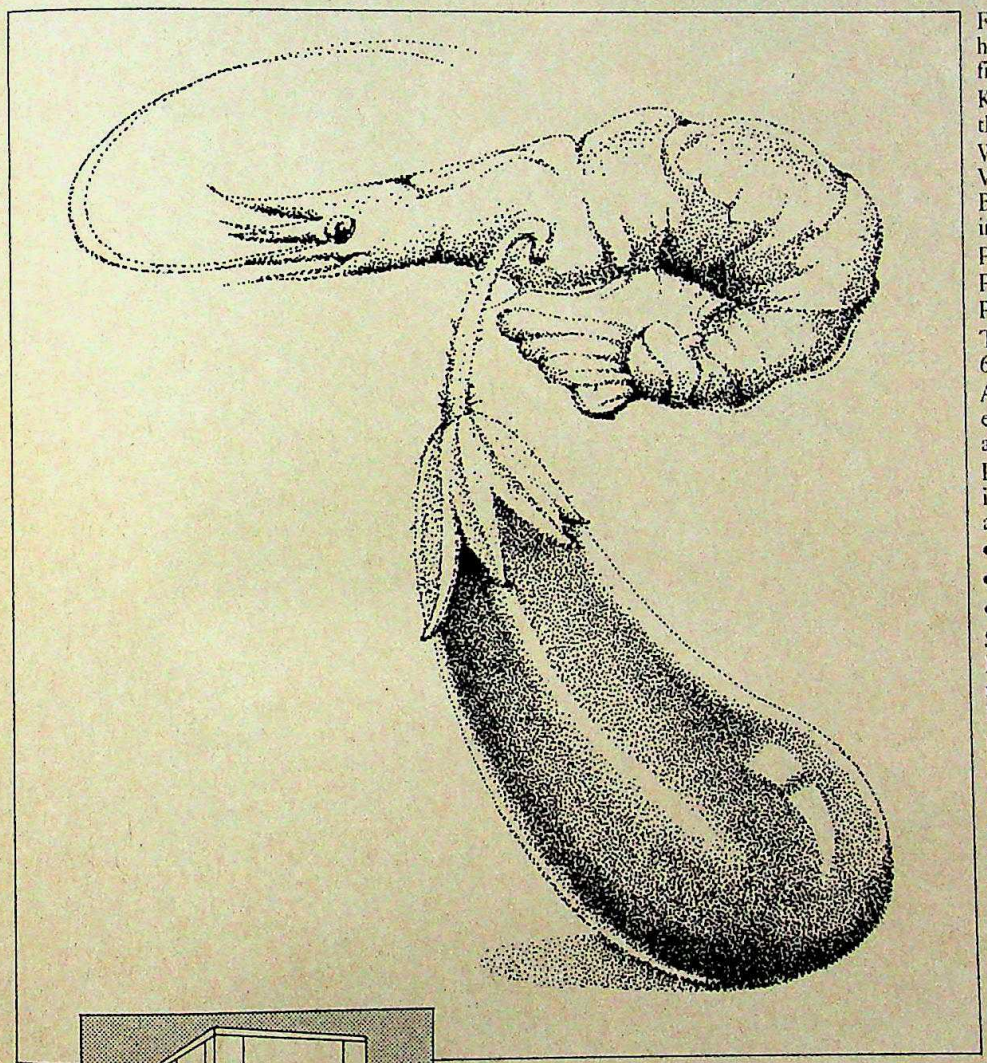
These rates were supplied by The Bank of Tokyo Limited, New Delhi and quoted between the banks on 7.4.89.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To preserve fresh vegetables and fruits, frozen foods and imported provisions. Who can be trusted to do the job?

The Blue Star Storekool Cold Room.



For over 25 years, Storekool has played a vital role in India's finest hotels.

Keeping perishables as fresh as the day they were born.

With the latest design from Viessman, West Germany, Blue Star Storekool is available in 3 models:

PC Series (4°C to 25°C)
PR Series (-5°C to 4°C)
PF Series (-15°C to -10°C)

The Storekool takes less than 6 hours to assemble.

And a modular design helps in easy relocation or expansion at any future date.

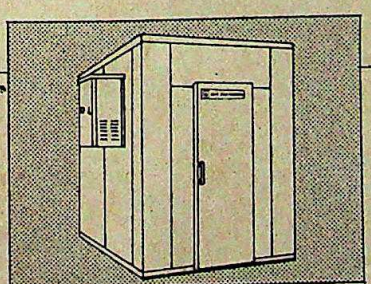
Plus, its polyurethane heat insulating material brings added benefits:

- Less load on the cooling unit.
- Saving in energy costs.
- Longer compressor life.

Storekool is backed by Blue Star's reliable after-sales network of 22 offices all over India.

Blue Star Storekool.

Found in the finest hospitals, hotels, canteens, blood banks, research institutions, sericulture and pharmaceutical industries in India.



BLUE STAR
STOREKOOL
COLD ROOMS

FSA/BSL/C/2/89

★ BLUE STAR
the hi-technology Company

For more information, please contact Blue Star Limited, Appliances Division: Bombay: Tel. 4933101, **New Delhi:** Tel. 6432547, **Calcutta:** Tel. 280131, **Madras:** Tel. 472056, **Ahmedabad:** Tel. 493531, **Vadodara:** Tel. 325135, **Pune:** 669830, **Nagpur:** Tel. 31645, **Bhopal:** Tel. 67380, **Chandigarh:** Tel. 40679, **Kanpur:** Tel. 210146/47, **Jaipur:** Tel. 72406, **Lucknow:** Tel. 74661, **Jamshedpur:** Tel. 24649, **Guwahati:** Tel. 31231, **Bhubaneshwar:** Tel. 55028, **Patna:** Tel. 54287, **Bangalore:** Tel. 575668, **Secunderabad:** Tel. 842057, **Cochin:** Tel. 352069, **Visakhapatnam:** Tel. 62783, **Vijayawada:** Tel. 62784.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

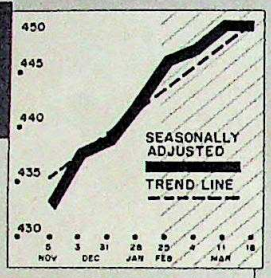
The main worry, particularly for a government in an election year, is the continuing increase in prices despite a good monsoon. The slow-down in industrial production is also a cause for concern particularly since the main reason is the deceleration in manufacturing output. With the infrastructure performing better—electricity generation is up—it is important that the Government boosts industrial demand. Despite the overall gloomy scenario the stock-market remains optimistic.

All data are seasonally adjusted. Current trends are computed on the basis of six months' (weekly data) or one-and-a-half years' (monthly data) figures.

Wholesale Price Index

1970-71 = 100

Current Trend
8.7% p.a.

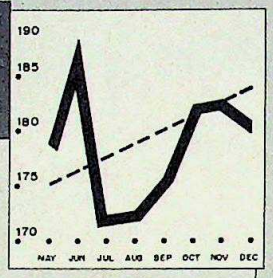


Prices continued to rise right through the last fortnight. It is obvious that inflation is now a major worry.

Industrial Production Index

1980-81 = 100

Current Trend
8.3% p.a.

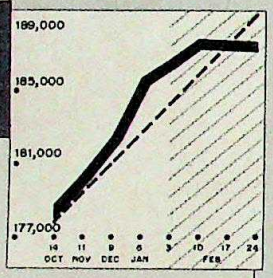


Although the long-term industrial trend is quite healthy, the figures of the last three months indicate stagnation.

Money Supply

Rs Crore

Current Trend
16.6% p.a.

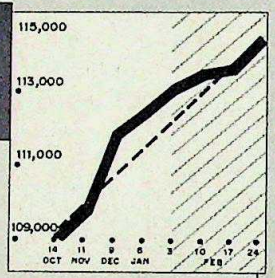


The supply of money in the economy contracted over the last fortnight and the trend is now on target.

Commercial Bank Credit

Rs Crore

Current Trend
13.1% p.a.

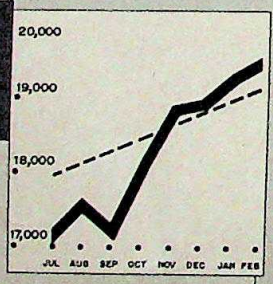


Although bank credit expanded in the last fortnight, conditions remain very tight in the credit market.

Electricity Generation

Million kwh

Current Trend
10.6% p.a.

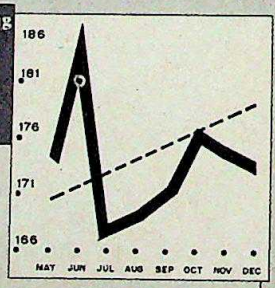


Electricity generation continued to do well, the overall trend being good, thereby easing the bottle-necks for industry.

Manufacturing Index

1980-81 = 100

Current Trend
8.5%

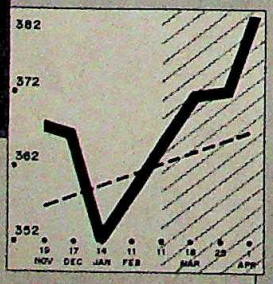


Manufacturing output recorded a slight decline in the month of December and is still below October levels.

Share Price Index

1984-85 = 100

Current Trend
7.5% p.a.

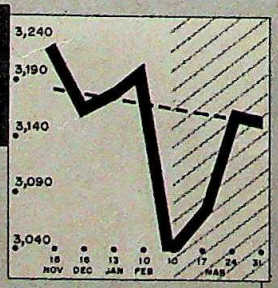


New financial year was treated with a buoyant share market but the longer term trend shows a slow-down.

Closing Gold Prices

Rs per 10 gm

Current Trend
2.4% p.a.



Continued stagnation in gold prices was confirmed by the steady fall registered by the metal over the last fortnight.

WHOLESALE PRICES

Growth of items in the 1st fortnight of March 1989

	% Growth
Betel-Nuts	26.48
Tapioca	20.05
Bolts & Nuts	19.00
Bananas	17.89
Onions	12.24
Linseed	9.90
Cashewnut	7.74
Copra	7.52
Trucks	5.58
Gur	5.55
Maida	5.10
Zinc	4.53
Cotton Raw	4.50
Linseed Oil	4.32
Masoor	4.09
Rape & Mustard Seeds	3.86
Caustic Soda	3.77
Turmeric	3.49
Hides Raw	3.33
Coconut Oil	3.01
Cement	2.94
Mustard Oilcake	2.65
Barley	2.63
Ragi	2.38
Pete Crude & Natural Gas	2.17
Fish	1.87
Groundnut Oilcake	1.82
Eggs	1.79
Phosphatic Fertilisers	1.74
Tea	1.55
Rubber	1.48
Groundnut Seeds	1.45
Jowar	1.34
Rice	1.32
Arhar	1.26
Tobacco Raw	1.15
Bulk Drugs	1.14
Utensils	1.12
Maize	1.09
Mustard Oil	1.08
Electricity	1.00
Polythene Moulding Powder	0.98
Nitrogenous Fertilisers	0.97
Jute Textiles	0.86
Cotton Yarn	0.80
Ghee	0.79
Handloom & Powerloom Products	0.71

Of the 138 series considered 80 of them with a total weight of 48.112 had a positive growth and 65 of them with a total weight of 38.379 had a negative growth.

SELECTED INDICATORS

	1989	1988
Fertiliser		
Thousand Tonnes, February	677.7	688.6
Electricity Generated		
Million kwh, February	18597	17023
Plant Load Factor		
Per cent, February	61.8	61.3
Letter of Intents Issued		
Numbers, February	108	60
Industrial Licences Issued		
Numbers, February	37	23

Compiled by THE POLICY GROUP

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A million silkworms. To be nurtured for over 10 months. Who can be trusted to do the job?

The Blue Star Storekool Cold Room.

The Blue Star Storekool is playing a vital role in sericulture institutes across the country.

Preserving silkworm eggs with maternal concern. At optimally controlled temperatures so that the hibernation cycle is not disturbed by any external factor.

And helping you produce silk cocoons of the best commercial value.

With the latest design from Viessman, West Germany, Blue Star Storekool is available in 3 models:

PC Series (4°C to 25°C)
PR Series (-5°C to 4°C)
PF Series (-15°C to -10°C)

The Storekool takes less than 6 hours to assemble.

And a modular design helps in easy relocation or expansion at any future date.

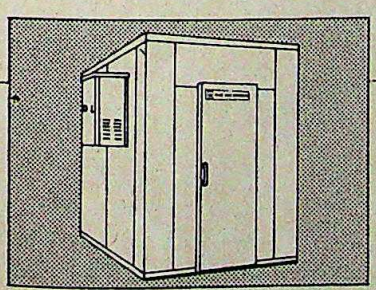
Plus, its polyurethane heat insulating material brings added benefits:

- Less load on the cooling unit.
- Saving in energy costs.
- Longer compressor life.

Storekool is backed by Blue Star's reliable after-sales network of 22 offices all over India.

Blue Star Storekool.

Found in the finest hospitals, hotels, canteens, blood banks, research institutions, sericulture and pharmaceutical industries in India.



BLUE STAR
STOREKOOL
COLD ROOMS

FSA/BSL/S/1/89

BLUE STAR
the hi-technology Company

For more information, please contact Blue Star Limited, Appliances Division: Bombay: Tel.4933101, **New Delhi:** Tel.6432547, **Calcutta:** Tel. 280131, **Madras:** Tel. 472056, **Ahmedabad:** Tel. 493531, **Vadodara:** Tel. 325135, **Pune:** 669830, **Nagpur:** Tel.31645, **Bhopal:** Tel. 67380, **Chandigarh:** Tel. 40679, **Kanpur:** Tel. 210146/47, **Jaipur:** Tel. 72406, **Lucknow:** Tel. 74661, **Jamshedpur:** Tel. 24649, **Guwahati:** Tel. 31231, **Bhubaneshwar:** Tel. 55028, **Patna:** Tel. 54287, **Bangalore:** Tel. 575668, **Secunderabad:** Tel. 842057, **Cochin:** Tel. 352069, **Visakhapatnam:** Tel. 62783, **Vijayawada:** Tel. 62784.

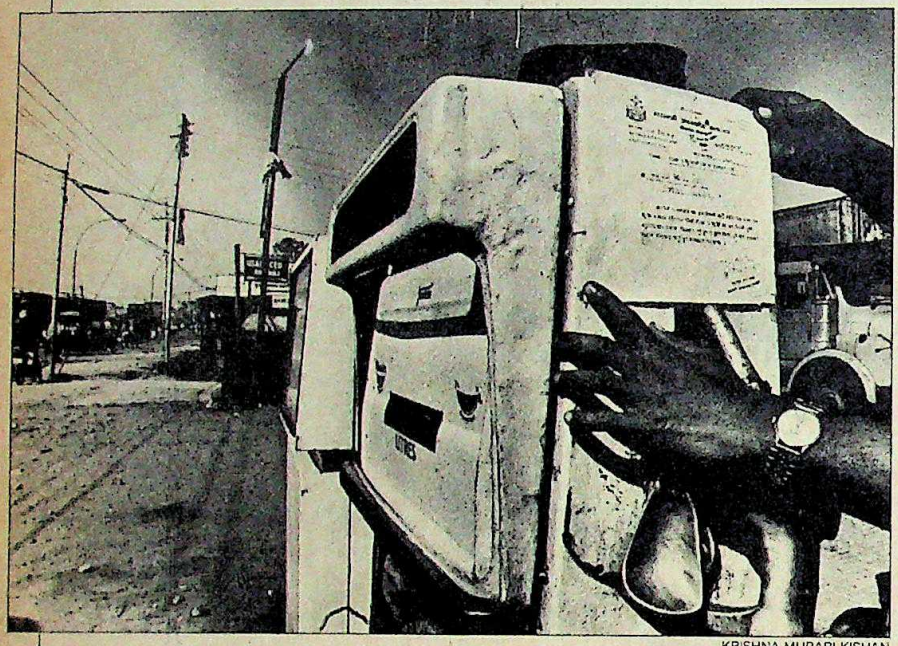
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NEPAL

Towards Estrangement

Food, fuel shortages anger Nepalese against India



KRISHNA MURARI KISHAN

Pump displays rationing circular

IT'S a classic case of needless escalation. What started out as minor differences are now hardening into an estrangement. Can India-Nepal relations, locked in an impasse since the March 23 '89 expiry of the bilateral treaties on trade and transit, be prevented from sliding towards divorce? This was the question causing concern both in New Delhi and Kathmandu as the two neighbours faced off in an unequal confrontation from which neither can hope to emerge an outright winner.

The signals are being carefully monitored in Pakistan and Bangladesh. Giving the dispute a nascent South Asian dimension, both Islamabad and Dacca have sent out messages of sympathy and possible support to Nepal in its confrontation with "Big Brother" India. Iqbal Akhund, special envoy of the Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto arrived in Kathmandu as anti-India tempers ran high. The timing of Akhund's visit, diplomatic observers said, was "quite significant" even though his ostensible purpose was to canvass Nepal's support for the Pakistani candidate contesting the judgeship at the International Court of Justice, against the Indian nominee. And the Bangladesh Government offered to supply 50,000 tonnes of petroleum products to meet Nepal's demand as bureaucratic hassles at the border and the need for imports held up supplies from India.

PRASHANT PANJIAR

> "If there is a feeling that Nepal has taken some unilateral actions, then let's sit down and have a dialogue."
>
> BHINDA SHAH
> *Nepal's ambassador in India*

On the face of it, the most telling outcome of the expiry of the treaties was the atmosphere of scarcity which enveloped Kathmandu and other cities in the mountain-ringed kingdom. "I get a petrol ration of only six litres a week, barely sufficient to run my 1800 cc car for one day" complained a prominent Kathmandu journalist. Petrol rationing has brought traffic in the kingdom's capital to a virtual standstill and long lines of angry customers wait at shops for medicines and salt. "The people are angry, but don't know against whom to direct their anger. The people who don't understand the issues blame the Government for not meeting the shortages", said another Kathmandu resident.

Further south, the sullen anger of the people in once-bustling towns on the Nepal side of the India-Nepal border was aimed inevitably at Indian shopkeepers and traders. According to state government officials in Lucknow, more than 4,000 of the 5,500 Indians traders in the 12 markets across the 728-km Uttar Pradesh-Nepal border closed shop and moved to the Indian side. The Bankey and Bardia districts of Nepal, adjoining Bahraich district of Uttar Pradesh reported violent demonstrations, including one at Rajapur Mandi on March 31, in which shopkeepers of Indian origin were attacked injuring 13.

After this incident, 350 out of 600 shops were closed down and the traders moved over to the Indian side. Another 800 Indians shifted to Bahraich district after a similar attack on April 3. More than 10,000 trucks which transport goods from the Indian side to Nepal have been off the roads since March 23.

The flow of Indian tourists into Nepal, has also slowed to a trickle amid reports that the fuel tanks of many Indian vehicles venturing into Nepal were emptied and the passengers molested. Hotel occupancy on the Indian side boomed as wary tourists decided to wait for a few days for the situation to improve while hotels on the Nepal side wore a deserted look. Even Indian settlers at Birganj were uset. "Arm-twisting among friends is not a friendly act", said Dr Madan Mohan, an Indian dentist married to a Nepali. A hotelier Pashupati Vikram Shah warned that Nepalese may have to resort to satyagraha against India's "expansionist" designs.

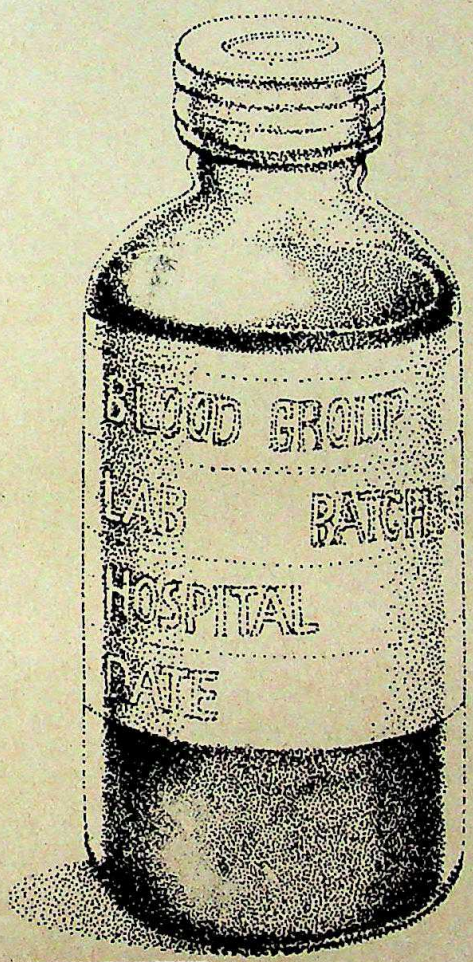
"Such stray incidents are bound to occur", declared S.R. Bhandary, New

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Life-saving blood. To be preserved at + 4°C. Who can be trusted to do the job?

The Blue Star Storekool Cold Room.



For over 25 years, Storekool has played a vital role in India's finest hospitals and clinics.

Preserving life-saving drugs, blood, vaccines, plasma, at accurately controlled temperatures.

And helping you quietly, to help save a life.

With the latest design from Viessman, West Germany, Blue Star Storekool is available in 3 models:

PC Series (4°C to 25°C)
PR Series (-5°C to 4°C)
PF Series (-15°C to-10°C)

The Storekool takes less than 6 hours to assemble.

And a modular design helps in easy relocation or expansion at any future date.

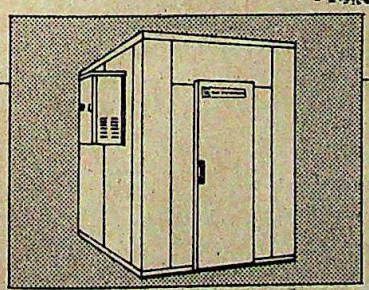
Plus, its polyurethane heat insulating material brings added benefits:

- Less load on the cooling unit.
- Saving in energy costs.
- Longer compressor life.

Storekool is backed by Blue Star's reliable after-sales network of 22 offices all over India.

Blue Star Storekool.

Found in the finest hospitals, hotels, canteens, blood banks, research institutions, sericulture and pharmaceutical industries in India.



BLUE STAR
STOREKOOL
COLD ROOMS

FSA/BSL/M/3/89

BLUE STAR
the hi-technology Company

For more information, please contact Blue Star Limited, Appliances Division: Bombay: Tel.4933101, New Delhi: Tel.6432547, Calcutta: Tel.280131, Madras: Tel.472056, Ahmedabad: Tel.493531, Vadodara: Tel.325135, Pune: 669830, Nagpur: Tel.31645, Bhopal: Tel. 67380, Chandigarh: Tel. 40679, Kanpur: Tel. 210146/47, Jaipur: Tel. 72406, Lucknow: Tel. 74661, Jamshedpur: Tel. 24649, Guwahati: Tel. 31231, Bhubaneshwar: Tel. 55028, Patna: Tel. 54287, Bangalore: Tel. 575668, Secunderabad: Tel. 842057, Cochin: Tel. 352069, Visakhapatnam: Tel. 62783, Vijayawada: Tel. 62784.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Delhi-based economic counsellor in the Nepal Embassy, after paying a visit to Birganj with an official of the Indian Finance Ministry. "But too much should not be read into them as there are elements at work trying to take advantage of the hardship conditions".

In a surge of nationalism, many Nepalese imposed voluntary restrictions to preserve scarce essential commodities. The Birganj Nagar panchayat called upon people to put away their vehicles on certain days and walk. The number of bicycles on the roads soared even as buses were ordered to start out only when they were full.

The attacks against Indian citizens and property understandably caused a lot of concern at Delhi's South Block which houses the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). But there was no indication that India would back down from its stand that the Government of Nepal should either honour its obligations under the 1950 Treaty of Peace and Friendship, or renegotiate the entire gamut of bilateral relations. India considers the 1950 treaty to be the bedrock on which India-Nepal relations have been founded. For example, under Article 7, it was agreed to grant "on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other, the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges..."

As a result, Nepalese nationals were allowed to live, travel and trade anywhere in India and even hold jobs in all Indian government services except the IAS, IFS and IPS. Nepal afforded similar privileges to Indians, till 1987, when Indians were directed to obtain work permits. That year, the Nepalese authorities imposed 50 per cent customs duty and 55 per cent additional customs duty on imports from India.

India took the view that both these steps eroded the special treatment that Indian nationals and Indian goods enjoyed in Nepal till then. And Nepal had not consulted India before imposing these restrictions. "We have not violated the letter or the spirit of the treaty" asserts Nepal's Ambassador in New Delhi, Mrs Bhinda Shah. "There is no discrimination against Indians working in Nepal; the work permit requirement applies to all foreigners."

The question is not that Nepal does not discriminate between Indian and other foreigners, respond MEA officials. The issue is that Nepal cannot, under the treaty, discriminate between its own citizens and Indians. India, on its part, has not imposed similar restrictions on the 3.5 million to 5 million Nepalese living and working in India. If relations continue to deteriorate the way they are, that could well happen.

"I don't know of a single case in which an Indian was thrown out of Nepal because he did not have a work permit," contends Bhandary. MEA counters that a small number of Indians have been thrown out of jobs, but the principle is more important than the numbers: On principle, India does not accept the work permit system unilaterally enforced by Nepal. "Either the whole treaty is valid or it isn't," ministry sources argue.

More seriously, MEA is worried about the future of about 3 million Nepalese of Indian origin in Nepal's terai region who have not yet been given citizenship certificates. If these people are also denied work permits, then India could find itself facing an influx of about 3 million more Nepalese in addition to the 5 million or so currently living in India.

"If there is a feeling that Nepal has taken some unilateral actions, then let's sit down and have a dialogue," argues Mrs Shah. Such a dialogue could have started during the Nepal Foreign Minister S.K. Upadhayaya's trip to Delhi at the end of March, but Commerce Ministry officials concerned with trade were away in Bangkok those days for the ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific) meeting.

The Upadhayaya delegation left behind two draft treaties: a draft trade treaty which seeks to do away with preferential treatment for Indian goods, and a transit treaty which seeks to revive the provisions of the earlier treaty which expired in March. India, on its part insists on a unified treaty containing reciprocal trade and transit provisions. Only with a composite treaty can India hope to curb the smuggling of third country goods from Nepal, officials point out.

Nepal also suggested that a meeting of the India-Nepal joint commission, set up in August 1988, be convened to discuss these issues. This suggestion has not found favour with MEA which says that the treaties have to be cleared by the commerce and finance ministries and not the joint commission which is an umbrella body to oversee overall bilateral relations. India had also expressed its dismay at Nepal's efforts to involve Pakistan, in its capacity as chairman of SAARC (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) in what is essentially a bilateral matter.

Reacting strongly to the feeling that India has been behaving like a bully, an official retorted: "There is such a thing as the tyranny of the small. Till now Nepal has behaved like a spoiled brat who always got his way by throwing tantrums. Now, after all the screaming and shouting, it's faced with the need to

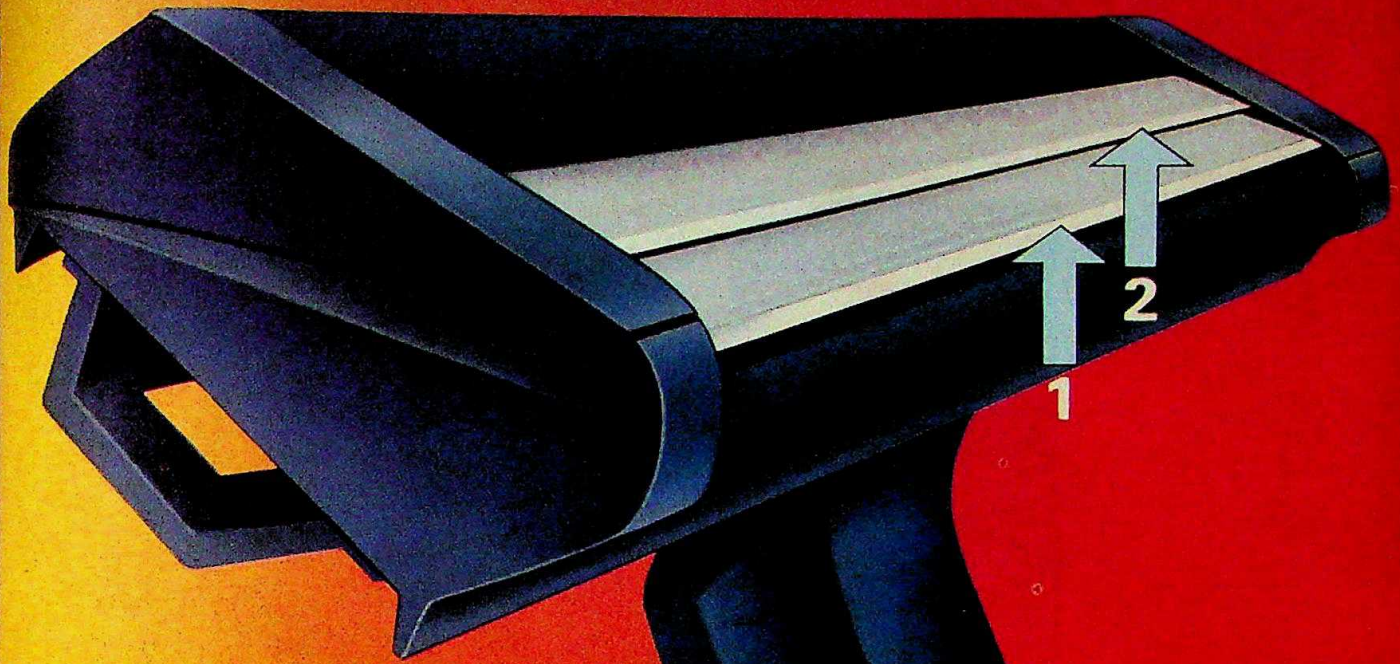
Upadhayaya and Narasimha Rao: faking warmth

Only with a composite treaty can India hope to curb the smuggling of third country goods from Nepal.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TWIN ACTION SATISFACTION

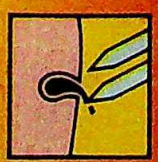


NEW

7 O'CLOCK EJTEK PII

India's first twin blade shaving system with platinum enriched edges is here – for the closest shaves ever.

When you shave with PII, the two blades together work better than any single blade ever can.



The first blade stretches the hair and cuts it close to the skin.

The second blade, following behind, cuts off the remaining stub.

Naturally, your shave is closer and more comfortable than what a single blade razor can give – even with two shaves.

Experience twin action satisfaction. For twice the closeness. Twice the comfort.

TWIN BLADE SHAVING SYSTEM WITH PLATINUM ENRICHED EDGES

7 O' Clock is the Registered Trade Mark of Gillette U.K. Ltd.

Available in single cartridge refill pack

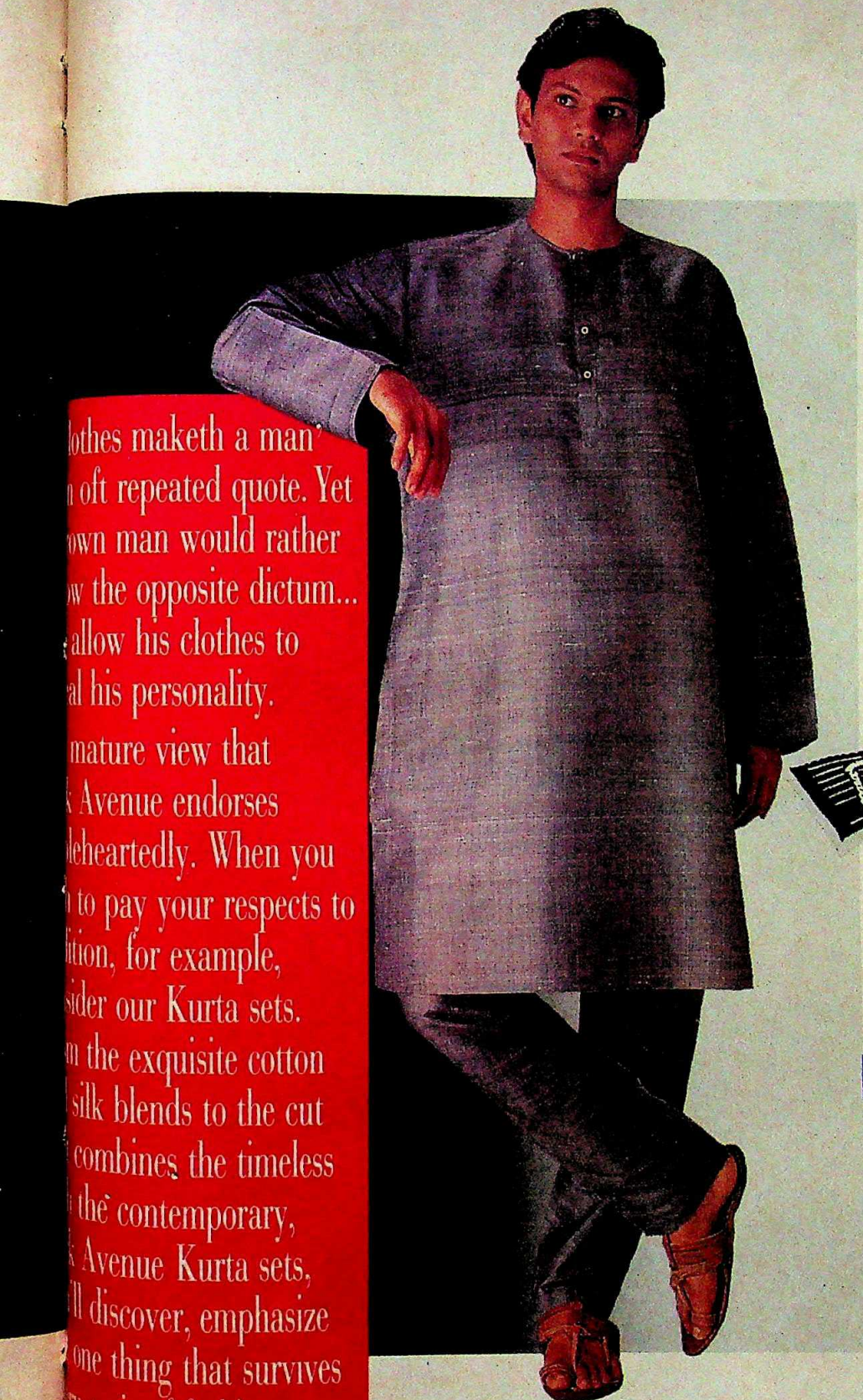
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Should a grown man's clothes just conceal his body or reveal his mind?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



lothes maketh a man'
n oft repeated quote. Yet
own man would rather
w the opposite dictum...
allow his clothes to
al his personality.
mature view that
Avenue endorses
leheartedly. When you
to pay your respects to
ition, for example,
sider our Kurta sets.
n the exquisite cotton
silk blends to the cut
combines the timeless
the contemporary,
Avenue Kurta sets,
ll discover, emphasize
one thing that survives
y antic of fashion:
Style.

Park Avenue
by RAYMOND'S

Style...
it never goes out of fashion.
The Park Avenue Collection.
Readymade for you:
Suits, Jackets & Blazers -
Safaris
Trousers
Shirts

Kurtas

Jeans
T-shirts
Woollen Knitwear
Ties
Scarves & Cravats
Handkerchieves
Socks
Belts & Leather Articles
Men's Toiletries

For a free Park Avenue booklet
write to: J.K. (Bombay) Ltd.
P.O. Jekegram, Thane - 400 606

LINTAS PA 54 2436

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NOW POLAR GIVES YOU THE PAPER AND BOARD WITH CLOUT.

Let us hammer home some facts.

Strikingly **SUPERIOR**

KLASS Speciality Coated Papers and Boards. A great new innovation from the house of Polar, under technical collaboration with MDV GmbH of West Germany. Which will make your products stand out. Even in a crowd

- The Ultra Metal Range—in Gold, Silver, Copper, other metallic colours—with various shades of each colour. Which has all the looks/feel of foil. Plus some advantages you never had before.
- The Ultra Fluorescent Range in a wide choice of brilliant colours that are refreshingly bright.
- The Speciality Polygum Range for self-adhesive and security printing applications.

Soon also a range of anti-corrosive papers and films- for metals and alloys protection.

Forcefully **DIFFERENT**

- Easily printable—no special process required as with foils.
- Easily available—in sheets or reels. No waiting for supplies.

Surprisingly **ECONOMICAL**

KLASS is more cost effective than foils and equivalent fluorescent papers and boards. And as such is the economic alternative to foil.

KLASS Speciality Coated Papers and Boards are ideal for:

- Cartons • Labels • Stickers • Tags • Decorative Overwraps
- Bookmarks • File and Book Covers • Cards • Airlines Tags
- Hotel Stationery • Educational Aids • Reverse Polylamination
- Blister Packing... and much more.

Just write to us. We will immediately revert with samples and a detailed catalogue. And we are sure you'll be as excited as we are.

KLAS
SPECIALITY COATED PAPERS AND BOARDS
In technical collaboration with MDV GmbH of West Germany

THE COST EFFECTIVE AID TO YOUR PACKAGING NEEDS

DISTINGUISHED MEMBER
POLAR GROUP

FSA-D/PCC/075/89

POLAR CHEM COATS LTD.
Works: C-8&9, Site IV Industrial Area Sahibabad – 201 010. Ph: 863547/863317 Sales Office: A-11, East of Kailash New Delhi Ph: 6837427/6831147/6845300

CC-0. In Public Domain.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

suddenly grow up."

"If there are irritants then we must work out a new framework in which these irritants no longer exist. The Government of India made it clear it wanted restructuring of relations, and we have welcomed this," says Mrs Shah. It is a moot point whether India unilaterally sought a review of the special relationship, or Nepal forced it to do that by whittling down the preferences enshrined in the 1950 treaty.

But while the two governments engage in brinkmanship, the confrontation poses the danger of seriously damaging the friendship between the people of the two countries. In the eyes of many, India, as the larger neighbour, will always be blamed. As an Indian settler in Nepal said: "When a bulldozer brushes against a bicycle, the bulldozer driver will invariably get the blame. Even if the mistake was that of the cyclist." That analogy was quite apt for the India-Nepal relationship which is progressively being portrayed as a David and Goliath tangle.

—RAMINDAR SINGH
with UTTAM SENGUPTA in Birganj and DILIP AWASTHI in Lucknow

GUEST COLUMN BY MADHAV K. RIMAL

Diplomacy of Domination

INDIA'S dominant position in South Asia is a fact which no country in the region dare challenge. Despite this, it is a sorry paradox that India has failed to win over her small neighbours. It is true that the Indian Government can take credit for introducing democracy in Nepal. As it did 21 years later in Bangladesh. But the euphoria of goodwill for the Indians was very short-lived. Who is at fault? The smaller neighbours who cannot raise their heads against India, or the giant itself?

The present imbroglio in Nepal-India relations is the manifestation of India's accumulated grievances against Nepal's independent stance on many domestic as well as international issues. Ever since it achieved Independence from colonial rule in 1947, India has harboured ambitions of becoming the superpower in the region. India has failed to generate any kind of goodwill with any of her smaller neighbours, not to mention the bigger neighbour, China. Is not this enough testimony of India's short-sighted policy in the region?

Of all India's neighbours, Nepal is the closest. But Nepal is locked in by India on three sides. Because of its size and vulnerability, it will never be able to hurt India's interests in any manner. But India is in a position not only to squeeze Nepal but also to make her whole existence miserable by exploiting her vulnerability. Such behaviour has only generated apprehensions in the minds of Nepali rulers who are forced to search far and near for more sympathetic friends to restrain a domineering India.

The high-handedness of Indian diplomats at Kathmandu started generating anti-India feelings among Nepali intellectuals in the early '50s. Not only did Indian diplomats behave in a domineering way, but they did not think twice about denigrating the institutions and personalities that Nepalis revere. This fact has been fully substantiated by Professor S.D. Muni of Jawaharlal Nehru University, who is an expert on South Asian affairs.

> Is not India forcing Nepal into a corner? The recent economic and trade squeeze against a tiny neighbour will boomerang and result in the erosion of Nepalese goodwill for India.

Ever since India pressured Nepal into signing the unfavourable treaty of Peace and Friendship of 1950, she sowed the seeds of mistrust. Any objective student of history can discern the inequality which characterises the treaty of 1950. Mohan Shamsher Rana, the then prime minister of Nepal, had no option but to sign that unequal treaty in the vain hope that the Government of India would stop backing those Nepali politicians who were fighting to dethrone him. Only four months after signing the treaty, the Rana regime gave in.

It is imperative that the Indian authorities start an unbiased self-appraisal. Why should Nepal, whose destiny is closely linked with India ever think of distancing itself from her? Are not the Indian authorities forcing Nepal, pushing her into a corner? The recent economic and trade squeeze against a tiny neighbour will boomerang and result in the erosion of Nepalese goodwill for India.

Nepal is not only a developing nation, but one of the poorest, and she needs India's goodwill and cooperation to achieve an economic miracle. As such, it can never be in Nepal's interest to unnecessarily affront India. Moreover, a common culture, common religion and close social relations for thousands of years have cemented Nepal-India relations into an indissoluble bond. If Nepal ever transgresses the limits of diplomatic sobriety, it must not be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to pique India. Rather, it should be taken as a manifestation of her overzealousness to defend her sovereignty and independence. But a lack of sympathy and understanding on the part of the Government of India tends to sour relations off and on.

Nepal wants that the Government of India be magnanimous, treat her as a sovereign, independent country and respect her status. No nation, however small or weak, likes its dignity being slighted. Therefore, anti-India behaviour or feeling on the part of the Nepali Government or intelligentsia must not be taken as the true index of Nepal-India relations. It is only a fleeting expression of Nepali resentment against the exploitation of their unfortunate situation by India.

India can cripple Nepal's economy by prolonging the stalemate. But that could be counter-productive for her. If Nepal is made to lose face, India will inevitably lose Nepal's goodwill. The world community will not remain silent for long if the sanctions against Nepal start becoming inhuman.

Madhav K. Rimal is chief editor of *Spotlight*, Kathmandu.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EMBASSY AUCTIONS

The Foreign Frenzy

Indians jostle for dubious bargains

IT'S a familiar sight on Delhi's embassy row. The parking lot is overflowing. In the crowded side lanes, Marutis and Toyotas jostle for space with waiting tempos. Eager visitors spill out of the cars and surge towards a multi-coloured shamiana in the compound. No, it's not a national day reception at the embassy. It's an auction, which is why the shamiana is at the rear and entry is through a side gate.

The capital's embassy auctions, where used goods—second-hand, even hand-me-downs—are sold to the highest bidder, have become an integral part of the city scene. Delhi's bargain-hungry middle class and the *nouveau riche* willingly rub shoulders with raggedy *kabaris* (junk merchants) and dealers of second-hand goods in frenzied quest of the wholly-foreign grail.

The mela atmosphere in the Canadian High Commission auction is generally heightened by the presence of vendors—one selling fresh orange juice inside the compound, while a *channa bhatoora* man does brisk business outside. The US Embassy even caters to local tastes: its canteen sells bread pakoras and mutton *pullao*.

The effort seems well worth the trouble: the Canadian auction in late February raked in around Rs 10 lakh in two days while the two-day US auction (held at least twice a year) regularly makes four or five times that sum.

Delhi is the social crucible in which this strange alchemy of turning junk into gold, is best performed. The catalyst is the Delhiwalla's obsessive craving for imported goods. Most large embassies auction obsolete goods and equipment, but the US, Canadian, British, and Australian auctions are real melas.

Most in demand are air-conditioners, refrigerators, typewriters, vacuum cleaners, VCRs, music systems, and virtually all electric appliances. Strangely enough, everyone goes away happy. The embassy, which sells off 10-year-old air-conditioners for the price of new ones, the auctioneer who gets a fat commission on the proceeds, and even the buyer, who comes away thinking he has secured a bargain.

A bargain it definitely isn't. A new, 1.5 tonne, indigenous air-conditioner with a five-year guarantee costs around Rs 17,000. Yet auction aficionados pay as much for used machines that could be up to 10 years old. And there is no guarantee they will work. But the strong mystique of the foreign brand makes people bid frantically against each other.

The auctioneer exploits this competitiveness. "We know how to extract money," boasts Sudhir Gupta, Delhi's leading embassy auctioneer for 35 years. "We create confusion so people bid more. If something is worth Rs 5,000, then we will definitely sell it for Rs 8,000." Not for nothing do embassies pay the auctioneers around 10 to 15 per cent of the total proceeds.

For the Canadian auction, Gupta sat on a shamiana-covered stage, near the rear parking lot which was strewn with a range of furniture, carpets and electronic equipment. The US Embassy has hired a massive warehouse near Punjabi Bagh where it stores and auctions obsolete equipment. At a typical auction, Gupta waits for labourers to haul huge refrigerators and deep freezers onto the stage. He helps the bids along and when no more are forthcoming, brings the hammer down with a sing song, "*Ek, do, teeeeen*". Like auction-groupies, Gupta too flaunts foreign labels: his office has a picture of Gupta standing with Margaret Thatcher —at Madame Tussaud's wax museum in London.

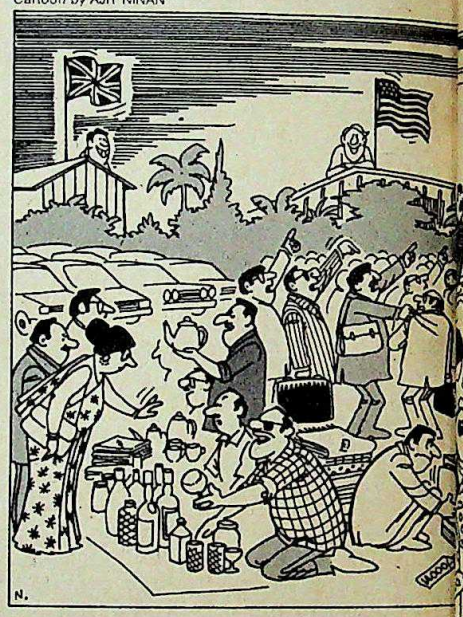
Delhi's bargain-hungry middle class and the *nouveau riche* willingly rub shoulders with *kabaris* in quest of the wholly-foreign grail.

Embassy auctions are not as straight forward as they appear. Those who arrive early can inspect the goods from close-up, so the early birds don't get the worm-eaten carpets. Many veteran dealers—who form nearly half the crowd at auctions—assiduously cultivate embassy maintenance men. Armed with advance information, and briefcases bulging with currency notes for cash-down payment, they bid with abandon for items they know are in good condition.

At the most recent US Embassy auction, dealers shied away from a lot of three air-conditioners which was picked up by a trusting businessman for Rs 33,000. But the bids rose by leaps and bounds for the next lot of three—it fetched Rs 48,000.

Using ingenuity, some individuals too beat the system. Since most items, from large air-conditioners to small toasters and electric irons are sold in lots of two or three or more, single-item bidders strike up temporary partnerships with others in the audience. They buy the lot and then split the pieces among themselves. Even practised auctioneers like Gupta cannot get the better of the wily dealers who also often form such cartels. Only one dealer bids, and then divides the lot with others, or else they bid among themselves.

Cartoon by AJIT NINAN



Alternatively, dealers move the machines to the pavement market outside which commonly springs up outside embassy premises on auction days. Here, dealers lay out electronic equipment, crockery, cutlery, and cut glass purchased from earlier auctions. If you are looking for something special, you are given a telephone number to call: it is the number of a local employee of one of the big western embassies.

Auction fever these days does not touch the Fahrenheits it used to. In the '60s and early '70s even used clothes and lingerie were snapped up by students, office babus and others looking for western labels. But the label mania weakened after more people started travelling

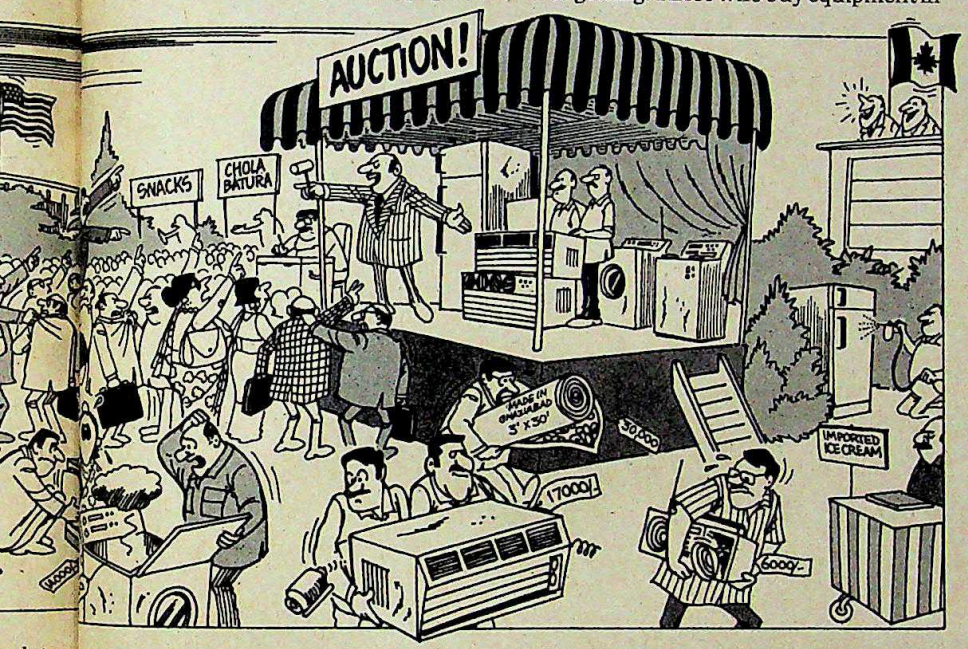
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

abroad in the '70s.

But some hardy souls still try: servants of the Canadian High Commission set up an impromptu pavement bazaar as a side attraction to the recent auction. Here, they spread out empty whisky and jam bottles, year old magazines, and dirty old blankets. This left many visitors—including a retired ICS bureaucrat who had come looking for table lamps—wondering what embassy auctions had deteriorated to. "Is this a Chanakyapuri auction, or Jamuna bazaar?" he snorted.

But the craze for imported equipment continues unabated, so much so that Gupta while inviting bids for a kitchen appliance during the Canadian auction remarks: "I don't know what make it is, but it is imported." Nameless or brandless, there were still several bidders. This kind of demand allows embassies to often pass off virtual junk to the unsuspecting customers.



Strangely enough, everyone is happy: the embassy gets a good price, the auctioneer a fat commission, and the buyer thinks he's got a bargain.

Only two of the 15-odd air-conditioners sold at the recent auction by the Canadian High Commission were in proper working condition, insiders admit. The rest had defects, some minor, some major and some had burnt out compressors. A few photocopiers, which sold for as much as Rs 40,000 each, were virtual write-offs. About 20 per cent of the air-conditioners sold at most auctions turn out to have burnt out compressors, says S.P. Mehta, who conducts auctions for the British High Commission. Dealer Titoo Puri agrees. And replacing a compressor can cost up to Rs 10,000.

This raises a question of ethics. Why are useless machines slipped in among the working ones? "It is cheating," admits Mehta, "but how can anyone protest? You have been warned that the goods are being sold 'as is where is'." Embassies also shelter behind this argument. "What you see is what you get," says one embassy official.

That isn't always the case. Someone had taken great trouble to spray paint the outer casing of used air-conditioners auctioned by the US Embassy some weeks ago to make them look like new. So what one saw was definitely better than what one was getting. Those who buy equipment in the hope that a big western embassy would not auction off junk, often rue their action. "Individuals who buy single machines are taking a hell of a chance," says Puri.

Why then should customers return to the auctions? Those who have suffered may stay away but new customers keep coming in according to Mehta. And despite the general impression that 20 to 25 per cent of the auctioned air-conditioners turn out to be lemons, there is still a ready resale market for imported air-conditioners. Those who are lucky to pick up good equipment always come back looking for more. Building contractor Bhajan Singh was so happy with an air-conditioner he bought five years ago, that he bought one more, along with two refrigerators and a cooking range at the last US Embassy auction. Only the range refused to work.

Most auction-goers think that embassies discard equipment after three years use. But the Canadians keep their air-conditioners and refrigerators for about 10 years, the Americans only a few years less. These are heavily-used machines, as most western diplomats are unused to Delhi's heat. Since the US Embassy has a large staff in Delhi, it has the largest quantity of goods to dispose of. Its auctions are large, most frequent, and eagerly awaited.

Even though they absolve themselves of responsibility—(by using the "as is where is" argument—the embassies are defensive about their auctions. The Canadians did not allow in press photographers and the US Embassy officials ordered them out. Neither embassy wanted photographic evidence of the quality of the goods they were selling at high prices. The Canadian High Commission sold 10-year-old air-conditioners for between Rs 12,000 and Rs 14,000 (about $900 the cost of a new air-conditioner in Canada or the US). The same is true of refrigerators, TVs and VCRs. When a determined video-buff at the Canadian auction outbid all others to buy a VCR for Rs 11,500, the dealers there scoffed at him. "You will have to go to Hong Kong to buy a head, and Singapore for its intergrated circuits," shouted one of them.

Auction veterans like Titoo Puri buy air-conditioners only in the winter. As the temperature rises, so do prices of air-conditioners. The difference between winter and summer prices can be Rs 5,000 to Rs 7,000, per machine. Much of the furniture and carpets of embassies are locally procured—yet they sell just as well.

Embassies and individual diplomats cannot sell office and personal effects within three years of their import. Individual diplomats, however, often sell off household effects well before the expiry of the three-year period. The crowds at the jumble sales at the houses of "departing diplomats", as the ads say, are as acquisitive and chaotic as those at the larger embassy auctions. Having made money from the sales, the diplomats then set about purchasing Indian goods, carpets, artefacts—to take back home as their "imported" cache. The cycle comes full circle.

—RAMINDAR SINGH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE WIDEST RANGE OF RIGID PVC PIPES IN THE COUNTRY...

'SELFIT' PIPES. 'RINGTITE' PIPES. 'PROTECTOR' PVC CASING AND SCREEN PIPES. 'DOUBLE WALL CORRUGATED' PIPES...

A CONTINUOUS ARRAY OF INNOVATIONS.

FROM LEADERSHIP IN PVC PIPES, COMES THE POWER FOR OUR growth.

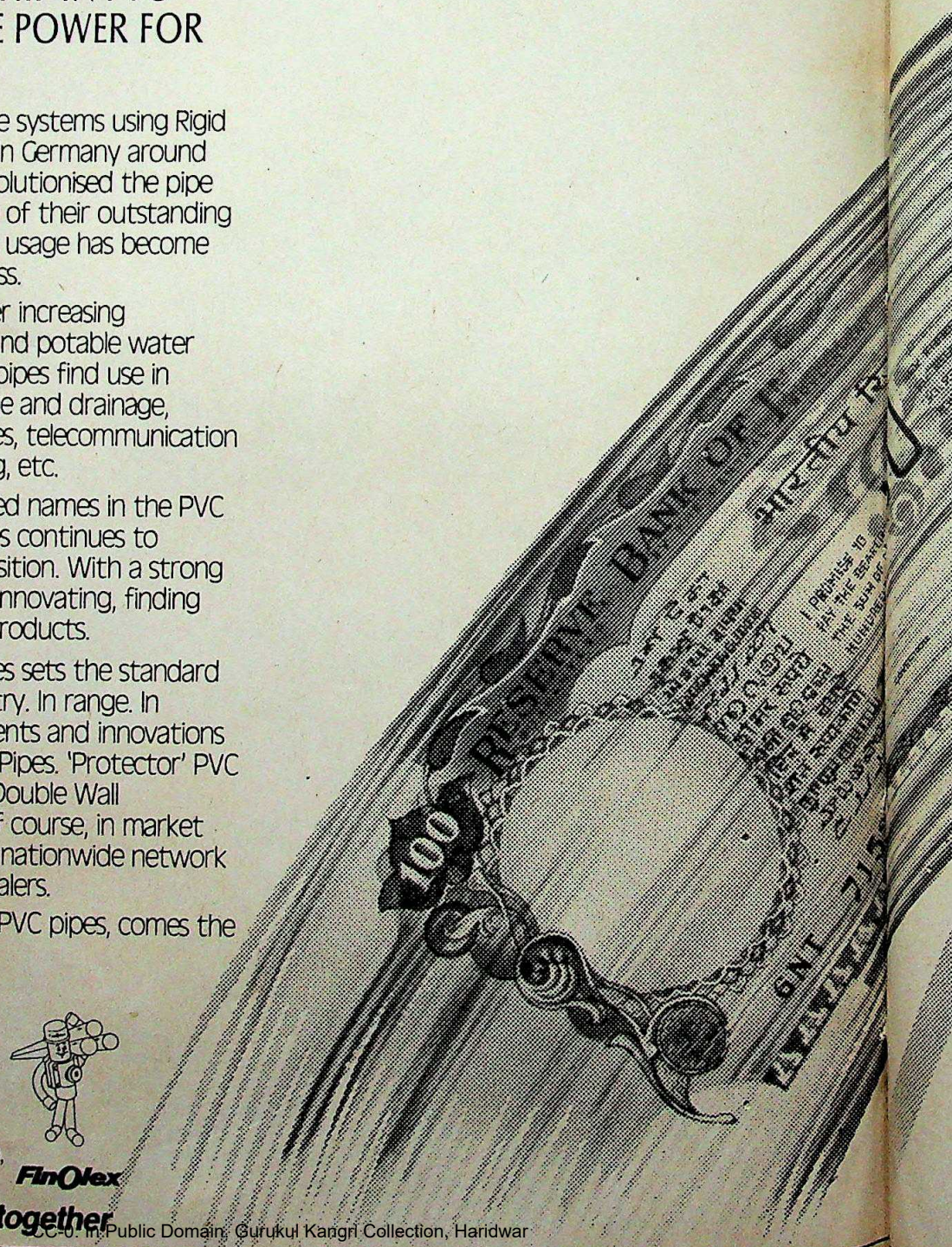
Ever since the first pipe systems using Rigid PVC pipes were installed in Germany around 1935, PVC pipes have revolutionised the pipe industry. Indeed, because of their outstanding characteristics, PVC pipes usage has become synonymous with progress.

In addition to their ever increasing applications in irrigation and potable water supply, Finolex Rigid PVC pipes find use in diverse fields like sewerage and drainage, chemical process industries, telecommunication ducting, industrial ducting, etc.

One of the most trusted names in the PVC pipe industry, Finolex Pipes continues to maintain its leadership position. With a strong R & D Division constantly innovating, finding better ways and newer products.

No wonder, Finolex Pipes sets the standard of excellence in the industry. In range. In quality. In such developments and innovations like 'Selfit' Pipes. 'Ringtite' Pipes. 'Protector' PVC Casing and Screen Pipes. 'Double Wall Corrugated' Pipes. And, of course, in market share. That stems from a nationwide network of 600 dealers and sub-dealers.

Yes. From leadership in PVC pipes, comes the power for our growth.



Finolex
Pipes Limited

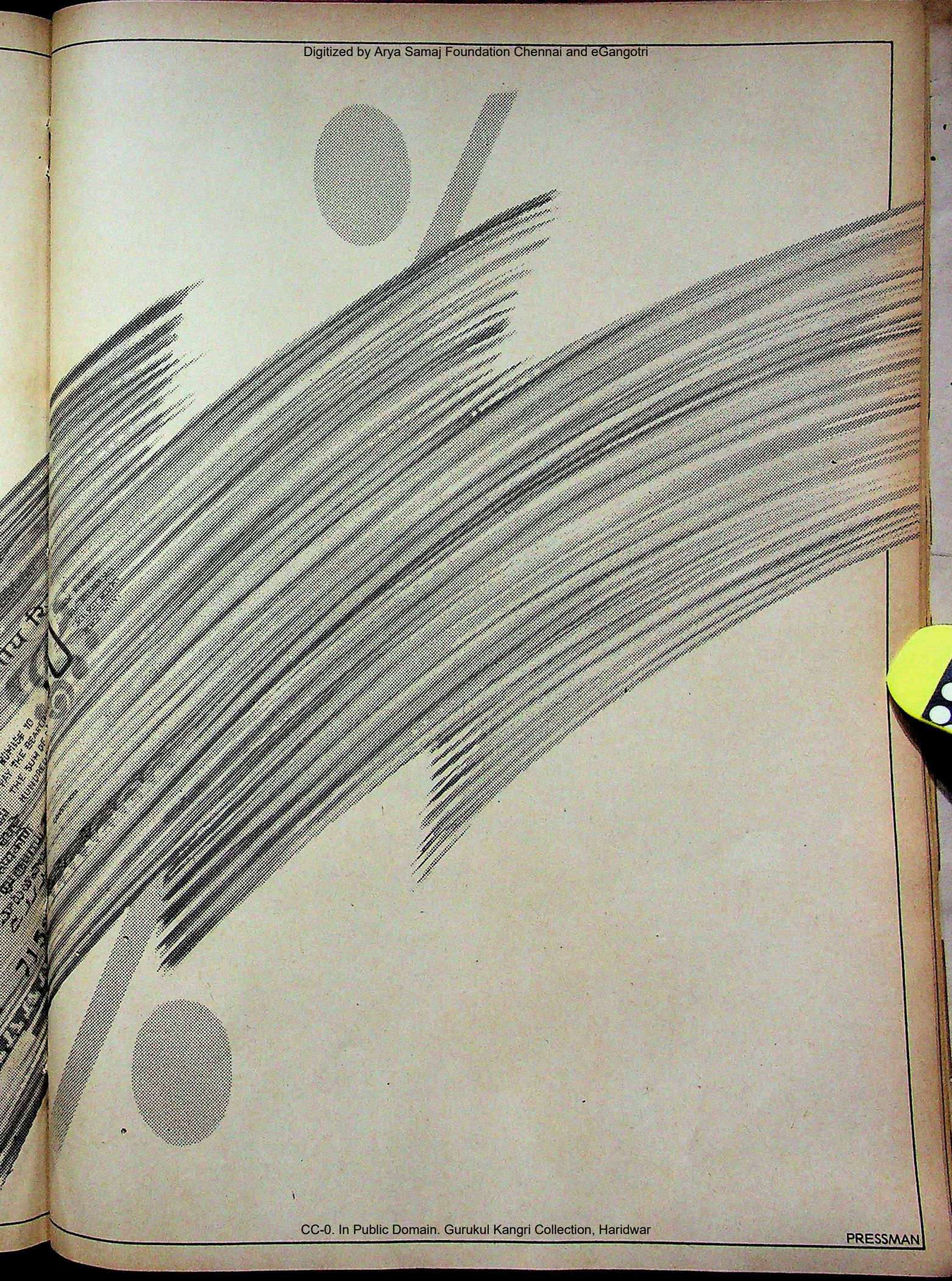
Regd Office: Block D1, Plot No. 10, MIDC, Chinchwad, Pune-411 019

FinOlex

Finolex gets people together

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

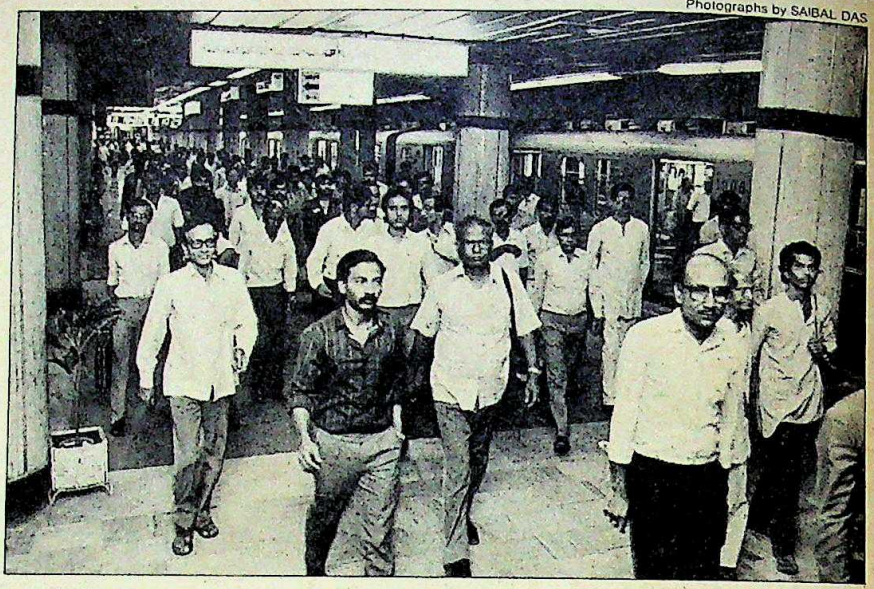
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

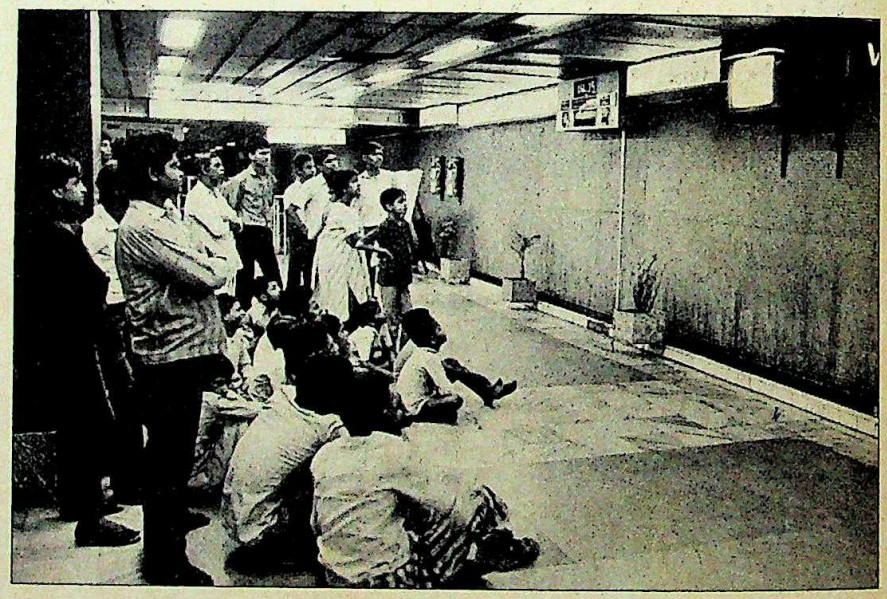
CALCUTTA

Moving to a New Rhythm

The metro rail revolutionises daily travel in the city

Photographs by SAIBAL DAS





Metro rail commuters (top); and people watching TV on a platform

WHEN it rained the city waded; when it didn't, it simply crawled. Among the several shocks that assailed the senses of the first-time visitor to Calcutta, the perpetually bottle-necked traffic was always by far the most overwhelming.

If Calcutta was exploding in chaos, then the epicentre lay in its pot-holed roads. In that mere 6 per cent of the city's surface area, Calcutta was daily grinding to a screeching halt. It was there that offices were losing thousands of man-hours, it was there that travellers were missing their trains, and it was there that nerves were being frayed to an explosive edge. As serpentine processions snarled with crazed traffic, Calcutta seemed terminally afflicted with inertia.

Then came "the tube of hope for the city's commuters", as well-known plastic surgeon Bhaskar Madhab Gupta, who has returned after spending a decade in the UK, puts it. And though the tube of hope, the metro rail—an underground mass rapid transit system—has not proved a panacea for all that ails the sprawling city's transport system, it has certainly begun to revolutionise daily travel for Calcuttans. The tube was spawned with its share of problems, and of detractors, including Left Front ministers who harped on Calcutta's crumbling sewage and drainage network, and foretold disasters of the Chasnala mines variety.

Today, even the dissenters have gone underground—to board the metro. The tube has become a life-style, and there is a definite pride the Calcuttan exhibits in riding it and owning it. Interestingly, with the metro becoming increasingly popular, the traditionally laid-back Calcuttan is beginning to display the obvious trait of the true urban character: an excessive concern for time. Says Prabir Majumdar, a government official and now a tube addict: "My blood pressure goes up on the rare day I take surface transport."

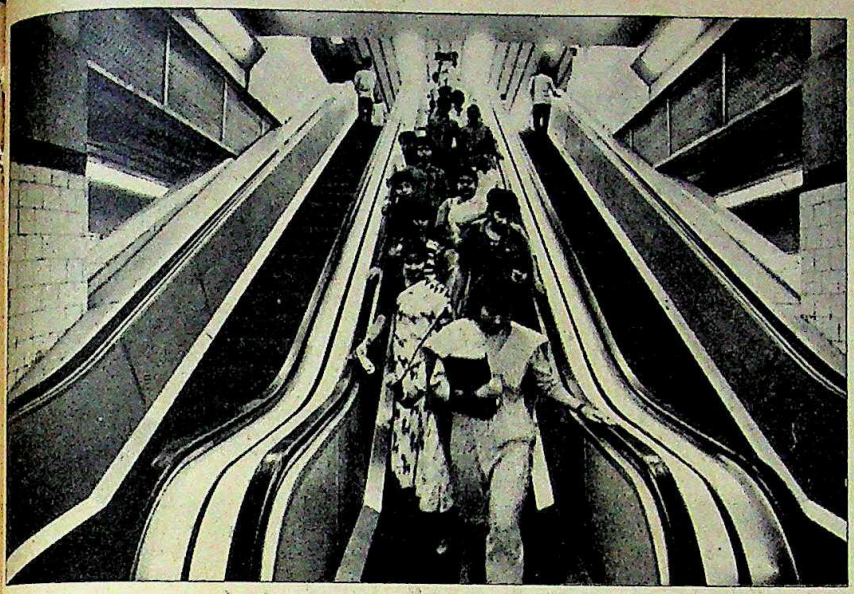
Gone are the days when people were content sitting in buses, tram cars or taxis, for bottle-necks to ease or processions to end. C.R. Paul, a resident of suburban Batanagar, who works with Hindustan Steel Construction Ltd, for example, saves over 40 minutes now by availing of the metro after reaching Lake Gardens by local trains. Says Paul: "The metro has wrought wonders, it's changed our lives."

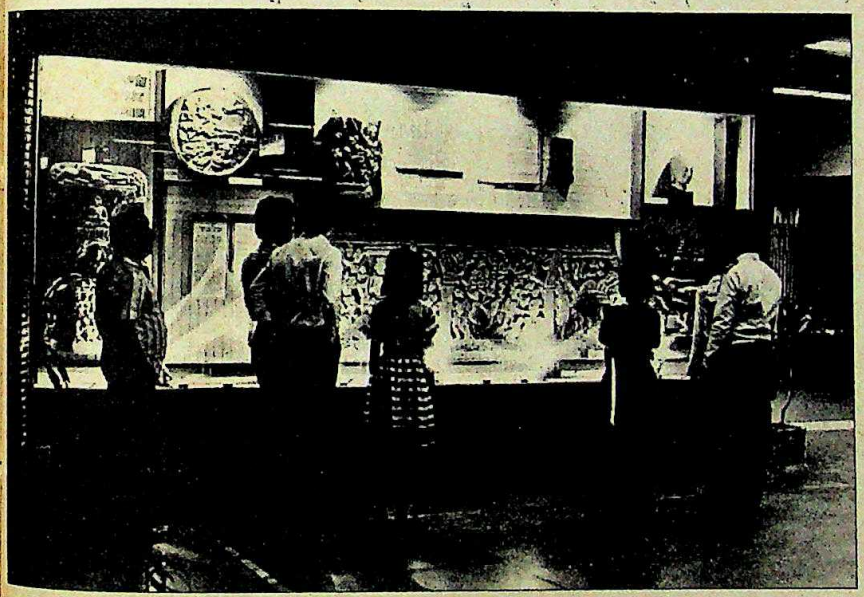
It promises to do more. Not yet fully operational on its 17 km route, the metro presently operates between Tollygunge and Esplanade, and in the north, between Dum Dum and Belgachia. Says Bhaskar Chaudhuri, the metro's chief operations manager: "We started with less than 10,000 passengers per day in October 1984, today we carry over 70,000." This figure is expected to spiral to 17 lakh passengers once the entire stretch is completed in 1992, and the train frequency, it is reckoned, will be around 90 seconds.

The metro arouses passions—not only among its employees but also among its users. The Calcuttan undergoes a character transformation once he begins to descend into the underground realms of the tube. Suddenly the compact of indifference he has with the squalor and filth above is no more, suddenly there is a heavy premium on cleanliness and neatness, suddenly there is a passion about the orderliness of the surroundings. And in true Calcutta style, what the city's denizens have claimed as their own, they defend with a vengeance. So, if you dare to carelessly fling a cigarette butt on the platform you are bound to fetch a volley of abuse; and if you have the temerity to spit or urinate there, you are quite likely to be

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri





Commuters at metro station (top); and looking at antiques: soothing decor

roundly manhandled. Says Mahadev Ganguly, a retired government employee and Bhowanipur resident who takes the metro every evening to visit the Maidan area for his walks: "Why should we not help keep the metro premises clean? Which other city in the country can boast of a metro? It's our pride."

BESIDES hygiene, the metro helps breed time. Its punctuality—over 99 per cent—is a major attraction and widely provokes quips of setting wrist watches by its timings. Says regular commuter Manoj Sharma: "At least those using the metro cannot have any excuse for coming late to the office." Its efficiency also creates those extra minutes which for working women, in particular, are invaluable. Asks Kusum Gupta, who works in a chartered accountancy firm near Esplanade, rhetorically: "Do you understand the importance of 20 minutes or half-an-hour for a working woman who has also to complete her duties as a wife and mother." With its reputation for safety, the tube further benefits many mothers. Says Kusum: "I have got coupons for my two daughters who study in a primary school on Park Street. They can now go alone as the metro is very safe." Another tube-rider, Barbara Bhattacharya, a receptionist with Indal, is so enamoured of the metro that she has even written an article on it for her office journal. Says she: "I am crazy about the metro—it has made my life so much more peaceful and happy."

Commuters have found their peculiar definitions of peace and happiness. For Joydeb Sharma, a senior executive of Hindustan Fertiliser Corporation, it is a question of clothes not getting dirty. "I save a lot on laundry bills," says he. For most others it is the simpler comforts of avoiding the surface heat, of finding entertainment via the channel music and close circuit television, and of evading the scramble and tension of travel in overcrowded buses, that makes for happiness.

Then there is the case for the tourist. The metro has become an attraction for the visitor. Asserts R.P. Sengupta, a senior metro officer: "It gives an overview of the city's and Bengal's great culture and heritage." The decoration of the platforms was entrusted to Vishwa Bharati University's Kala Bhavan. Consequently, one station is named Rabindra Sadan, and Rabindra sangeet fills the entire metro. Potted plants, and the subsequent installation of small art galleries and museums on the platforms have made for a soothing decor. A lot of effort has been taken to ensure that advertisement displays are not vulgar or cheap. Says Chaudhuri: "We wanted to present a totally aesthetic atmosphere. After all Bengal holds a prime position in this regard."

Aesthetics apart, it is technology that has provided perhaps one of the biggest attractions: escalators (usually referred to as *chalaman sidi*). Escalator rides have become a popular sport and children regularly accompany servants or grandparents for jaunts.

All this coupled with the relative sanctuary it offers, has also made the metro a favourite haunt for young lovers. Besides there are other teenagers and drifters, who partake of the added attractions of the metro such as the Charlie Chaplin films and famous sports events shown on closed-circuit television. There are also those like Kenneth C. Brill, the US consular general in Calcutta, who uses the metro on Sundays to go to the Tollygunge Club. While for Brill this is welcome 'respite' from Calcutta's traffic congestions, for his children the ride is a weekly 'adventure'. Brill encourages all American visitors to try the metro.

And it is certainly worth the effort. With its spotless hygiene, its finely turned out employees, its pleasing decor and reputation for punctuality, with its entertainments of music, television and escalator, the metro is truly difficult to reconcile with the chaotic city above. Metro officials say that most people who visit the tube ask whether it is possible to transport the metro culture to the surface. Perhaps the more apt inquiry would be whether the chaos of the Calcutta above can be kept from invading the subterranean peace and efficiency.

—KAMALJEET RATTAN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GUJARAT

Slide into Lawlessness

Known criminals jump parole

IS placid Gujarat out to imitate Bihar or Uttar Pradesh or both? If the recent developments in the state's crime world are any indication, the answer could probably be in the affirmative. Over 42 criminals, convicted and sentenced up to 28 years imprisonment in cases of murder, loot and dacoity, have jumped parole.

The lot includes such dreaded criminals like Babu Satyam Bhaiya, 35, a gangster who was convicted in a triple murder case, his accomplice Dilip Shankarrao Maratha, 32, and Mahendrasingh Bhopalsingh Rathod, 27. Says Ahmedabad Deputy Commissioner of Police C.P. Singh: "Criminals like Bhaiya, Maratha and Rathod should not be released on parole. They are a menace to the society."

A known extortionist who also ran gambling dens, Bhaiya was accused and later acquitted by the court in the Sukhiya murder case in the late '70s. He soon established links with the Congress (I) and a party ward office was inaugurated at his behest in Ahmedabad in 1982 by former Ahmedabad mayor Vadilal Kamdar.

Bhaiya's political clout grew and with it his arrogance. And as if to prove this, Bhaiya gunned down three of his rivals in broad daylight in Ahmedabad in 1982. He and six of his henchmen—including Maratha—were sentenced to life imprisonment by the high court.

While in the Vadodra Jail, Bhaiya moved a parole application last July on the ground that his wife, a schoolteacher, was ill and hence needed his support. His case was allegedly recommended by Surendra Rajput, MLA —he has denied any links with Bhaiya—and Chief Minister Amarsinh Chaudhary who also holds the home portfolio, cleared a five-day parole. Thereafter, Bhaiya got his parole extended four times and up to 100 days at a stretch.

According to a statement given by Bhaiya's brother, Jayprakash, to the police, Bhaiya's case for parole was recommended twice by Rajput and once each by State Minister for Roads and Buildings Nalin Patel, legislator Purshottam Makwana and Harijan leader Revabhai Parmar—all MLAs from Ahmedabad district.

■ (Above) Bhaiya (extreme left) with former Ahmedabad mayor Kamdar (lighting lamp) and MLA Rajput (bearded); (below right) Rathod and Maratha

Ironically, even after his parole expired in November last, Bhaiya was openly moving about in Ahmedabad and indulging in crime. Said an inspector: "We were helpless because we were scared of his links with top politicians. We thought that he would yet again get his parole extended."

In December last year, he along with Maratha, Rathod, Vijaypujari (a convict who fled police custody last year) and half-a-dozen others, kidnapped a bootlegger, Piyush Mehta from the premises of a temple and extorted Rs 2 lakh from him, a fact that he confessed to the police. Mehta was initially reluctant to lodge a complaint, but the police compelled the temple priest to become a complainant. Says a senior police officer: "Bhaiya has drawn a list of bootleggers and cheaters from whom he has extorted over Rs 30 lakh in the last four months. He knows that most of it being black money, the victims would not approach the police."

The police is also concerned about the activities of Rathod. While serving a 28-year-term in Vadodra, Rathod got his parole sanctioned by the Gujarat High Court on the false plea that his wife was ill. After jumping parole last October, he operated for sometime with Bhaiya and Maratha before forming his own gang. Police have evidence to prove that Rathod was involved in a bank robbery in Halol near Vadodra in February, a bank robbery in Jaipur, a murder in Kapadvanj town and other highway robberies. Says Z.A. Saiyad, a deputy inspector general of state, Crime Branch, who is trying to nab these criminals: "There is a feeling that despite contrary opinion, courts are granting parole to criminals."

However, it is the role of the Government and the politicians which is really questionable. Out of the 44 convicts granted parole last year, as many as 24 had it sanctioned by the district collectors, nine by the high court, eight by the Home Department and three by the jail authorities. That the collectors and the Home Department have together sanctioned 32 parole applications clearly implies that the bulk of them were cleared by the state Government.

In fact, the state jail authorities have repeatedly warned the Government against sanctioning parole applications under political pressure. Says a Home Department official: "It is most common for us to see verbal or written recommendations coming from legislators. There is a feeling that most of them do it in return for favours from criminals."

But the criminals who have jumped parole—that too granted on dubious grounds—hold even the police to ransom, making it clear that the politician-criminal nexus is only getting stronger.

—UDAY MAHURKAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Must good printing lead you a pretty dance?

You could be in no worse situation in getting imported printing paper. Your one hand at your bank's counter and the other holding your client. Your one foot running in search of the paper while the other one screwed to your other business deals. Ouch! May it not be your last tango!

Don't despair.

There's **Sensocote.** To let you feel releaxed. **Sensocote** art card and art paper. The like of which didn't exist until now. Now you can get the printing impressions you always relied upon importeds for. Sharp. Spirited. Full of detail.

Sensocote. If you love to face the music of good printing happiiy. Ever after.

Gone are the importeds
Gone are the ifs 'n' buts

SensoCote

Sensible language in printing

From the makers of

SilverCote

Shree Krishna Paper Mills & Industries Limited

4830/24, Prahlad Lane, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi-110 002.
Ph : 272320, 275117

Sales Outlets :
DELHI : • M/s Birdhi Chand Girdhari Lal, 3798 Chawri Bazar, Tel. 2917913, 2920778 • M/s Lahore Paper Store, 3796 Chawri Bazar, Tel. 2912078 • M/s Phool Chand Jain & Sons, 536-38 Gali Gajajan, Sadar Bazar, Tel. 524680 • M/s Shyam Traders 70-A Kamla Nagar, Tel. 2914711, 2915766 • M/s Hari Kishan & Sons, 6 Mela Ram Market, Chawri Bazar, Tel. 262439, 262587 • M/s Sushil Enterprises 6 Makki Market, Chawri Bazar, Tel. 264949 **UTTAR PRADESH :** • M/s Suprams Paper Corporation, Jarar House, Madiya Katra, **Agra.** Tel. 76536 • M/s Lucknow Paper & Allied Co. Pvt. Ltd., 49/50, General Ganj, **Kanpur.** Tel. 2 19 733 **RAJASTHAN :** • M/s Nagawat Trading Co. Kothari Haveli, **Banswara.** Tel. 362 **PUNJAB :** • M/s Kapoor Trdg. Corpn. Bazar Kharadian, **Ludhiana.** Tel. 20879 pp. • M/s Kapoor Trdg. Corpn., Bay Shop No. 11, Sector-27D **Chandigarh.** Tel. 29280, 43280 • M/s Kapoor Trdg. Corpn., Guru Bazar **Amritsar.** Tel. 41039 • M/s Guglani Paper & Stationery Mart, Khingran Gate, **Jalandhar.** Tel. 73695 **MADHYA PRADESH :** • M/s Balkrishna Paper Sales Agency, 623, Saraswati Market, Khajuri Bazar, M.G. Road, **Indore.** Tel. 30067. **MAHARASHTRA :** • M/s Arvind Trading Corpn., 64/8, Sutar Chawl, First Floor, **Bombay.** Tel. 327662, 320505 **HYDERABAD :** • Sri Venkatesh Paper Agencies Hyderabad Pvt. Ltd., 4 Raghava Ratna Tower, Chiragh Ali Lane, **Hyderabad.** Tel. 232544 **GUJARAT :** • M/s Vishal Trading Co., F/9, Vikram Chambers, Near Hotel Natraj, Ashram Road, **Ahmedabad.** Tel. 384894, 339926 • M/s Padmavati Tradg., Co. 7 Sachin Apt. Dandia Bazar, **Baroda.** Tel. 64682 **WEST BENGAL :** • M/s Laxmi Traders, 16, India Exchange Place, **Calcutta.** Tel. 201961, 207567 • M/s National Sales Syndicates 167, Old China Bazar St. **Calcutta.** Tel. 260030, 275420 • M/s Paramount Papers, 57, Radha Bazar, St. **Calcutta.** Tel. 268367, 263360. **KARNATAKA :** • M/s Karnataka Paper Agencies, 200/2, Sultanpet, **Bangalore.** Tel. 258836 **TAMILNADU :** • M/s T.K.N. (P) Ltd., 169 Luz Church Road Mylapore, **Madras.** Tel. 76877, 73723 **ORISSA :** • M/s Rameshwar Lal Shyam Sunder, Banka Bazar, **Cuttack.** Tel. 23927, 25889

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KANNADA FILMS

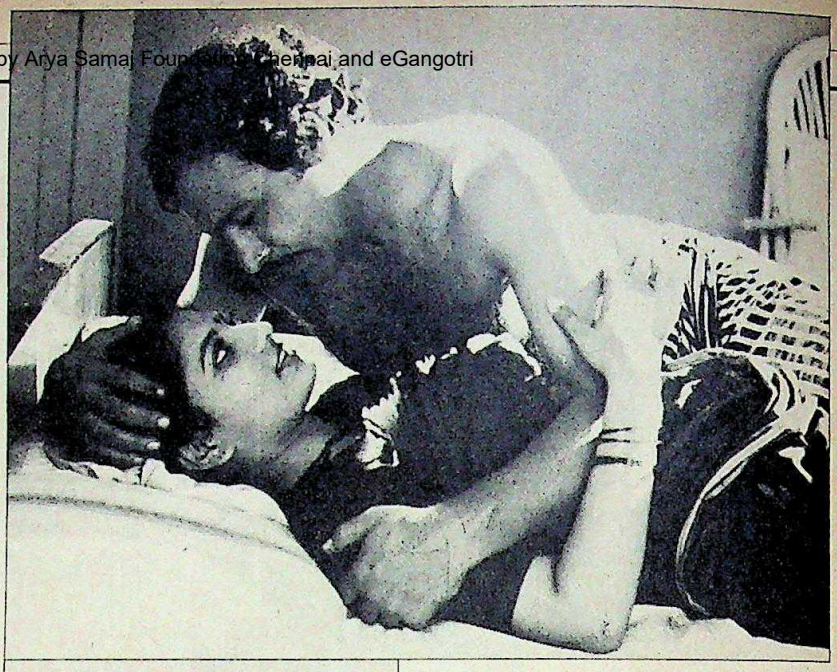
Breaking Taboos

A candid look at sex

AH..um..er..the hero and the heroine are having problems. No, it has nothing to do with despotic fathers, weepy mothers or satanic villains. All is well with the rest of the cast. But the hero and the heroine still cannot.. er..um..make out.

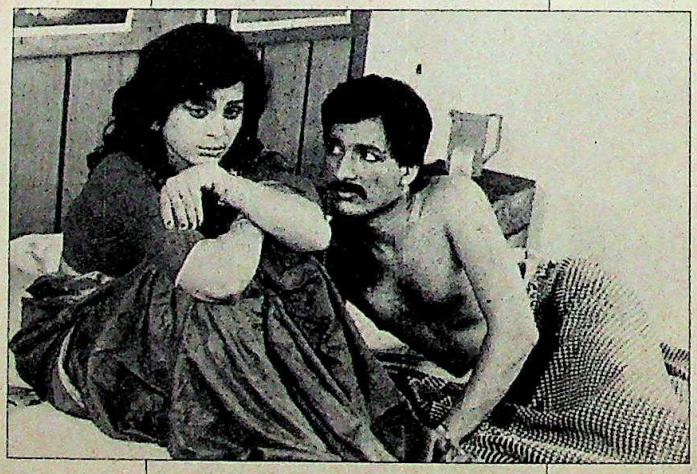
Sex has never been in short supply on celluloid. Far beyond the assumed smooch behind the blooming rose, or the romp in an abandoned house amid thunder, lightning and rain, Indian cinema—particularly regional—has plenty of the lurid and licentious. But mostly in the form of innuendo and insinuation.

Now for the first time come films in Kannada that deal boldly with the hitherto taboo subject. Like the hero stating clearly that he cannot make love to his wife unless she arouses him. Or a heroine telling the macho man to sleep with her because her husband is too old. One of the films is serious and sensitive, but the others are irreverent and in bad taste.



Heblikar in *Kaadina Benki*

Heblikar's film is a sensitive handling of sexual deviance; Kashinath takes a ribald look at sexual hypocrisy.



Still from *Ananthana Avantaragalu*

Signalling this fresh trend is *Kaadina Benki* (Forest Fire) which bagged the national award for best regional film this year. Directed by up-and-coming film maker Suresh Heblikar, it deals directly with a cinematically untouched subject: sexually deviant behaviour. Based on a real life story, Heblikar handles a topic that could be scandalous in the mother-worshipping Indian society—the Oedipus complex. Because of his excessive attachment to his widowed mother, the protagonist of the movie (played by Heblikar) is unable to consummate his marriage. Moreover, he only gets aroused by watching others make love. Worse, he wants his wife to sleep with others so that he can get aroused.

By resisting the temptation to go porn and by inducting an element of psychiatry, Heblikar has avoided adverse reaction and gained excellent reviews and recognition. Says he: "I have tried and I think succeeded in demystifying sexual aberrations and demythifying the theory that a sex film can only be soft porn." Though some serious film viewers and doctors dismiss his treatment of mental illness as pop psychiatry, few doubt his motives in making a clean and educative film. As he points out: "I had no trouble with the censors."

What is remarkable about the film is that it is a box-office hit. It ran for 18 weeks in Bangalore and had record runs in rural and semi-rural Karnataka. Says playwright and actor Girish Karnad, who plays a psychiatrist in the film: "Although the movie is far from being a technical or cinematic masterpiece, the sheer risk he has taken in touching the topic and the treatment he has given it has drawn all-round praise."

In sharp contrast to Heblikar's version, is the lewd, lusty and ribald course charted by actor-director Kashinath. He has made two films centring on sexual hypocrisy in Indian society. The titles of the movies tell it all: *Anubhava* (Experience) is about a village lass who marries a city boy and their discovery of the facts of life; *Ananthana Avantaragalu* (Anantha's Urgencies) is a lascivious story of a 'non-performing' hero who is at the receiving end of his secretary's advances. Both films ran into trouble with the censors and were panned by critics for sheer vulgarity.

Yet both movies have been super hits. *Avantaragalu*, a modest Rs 15 lakh production, has raked in more than Rs 1 crore—mainly attracting youths, who apparently relished the putrid humour and lechery it contains. At the same time, the films are also bold and brazen about sexual problems. Says Kashinath: "People should be free to talk about sex. The middle class hypocrisy prevents even basic discussion."

Says a Kannada film critic about him: "It is difficult to analyse his movies, but his motives are clear. He imparts a certain education in his own lewd and crude way." Education which the Kannada audience is lapping up with obvious delight. —CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A well dressed family's best friend

The Videocon Washing Machine will wash, rinse and dry your entire family's clothes in just a few minutes. No mess. No fuss. A real time saver for busy people.

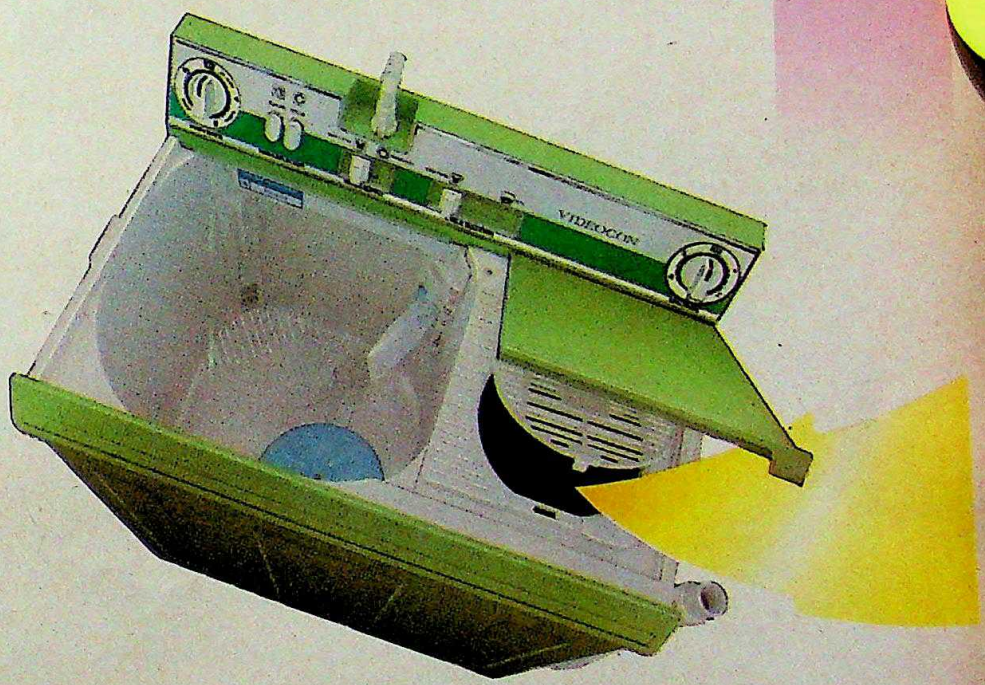
The Videocon Washing Machine has a computer designed impeller which ensures even washing of clothes with minimum use of electricity (1 unit for 3 hrs), water and detergent. In fact, it works out more economical than the dhobi or even washing at home.

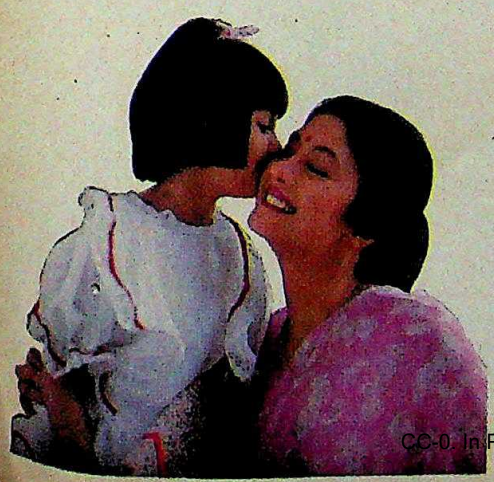
The Videocon Washing Machine has a thermal fuse which ensures 100% safety. The Machine shuts off automatically if accidently opened during the spinning operation. It's so sturdy, simple, and safe that even your child can use it. It also has a built-in voltage stabilizer.

The Videocon Washing Machine is tough on dirt, but absolutely gentle on all types of fabrics. It ensures that clothes last for a longer time. A specially designed filter collects loose ends, lint etc.

Videocon Washing Machines are made to International standards in technical collaboration with the world's leading manufacturers of Washing Machines.

For more information please contact your nearest VIDEOCON dealer.





Two year warranty

VIDEOCON
Washing Machine

Marketed by – D.T.A. LTD.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HINDI POP

Breaking the Sound Barrier

New singing stars strike a popular note

GIANT video screens flash her face, magnifying her babyish charms. A live orchestra belts out the rhythmic beat. Teenagers yell and clap. Her gestures are familiar as she discards her jewellery and tosses it at the audience with the same hurtful abandon and asks: "Do you want more?"

But it isn't Madison Square Garden, it is Rang Bhavan. The pop star isn't Madonna, it is Alisha Chinai. And the songs are not in English, but Hindi. Says Farhana Desani, 17, a student: "Madonna has class but our Alisha has Indian class."

Rickshaw drivers, *Ganpati* procession dancers, maidservants, even elderly couples, and, of course, teenagers have simultaneously discovered Hindi pop music. They swing to Alisha, Sharon Prabhakar, Preeti Sagar, and now Ila Arun. If Alisha looks like the mischievous teeny-bopper who's just discovered blowing bubblegum, with her tight T-shirts and hip-hugging jeans, Prabhakar, who appeals to slightly older listeners, has the air of a crooner from a classy night club. Sagar clings to her sari-clad image, firmly committed to her audiences in other market segments, and Ila Arun wears outlandish gear, to metamorphose into a pop star, casting off her *banjaran* image.

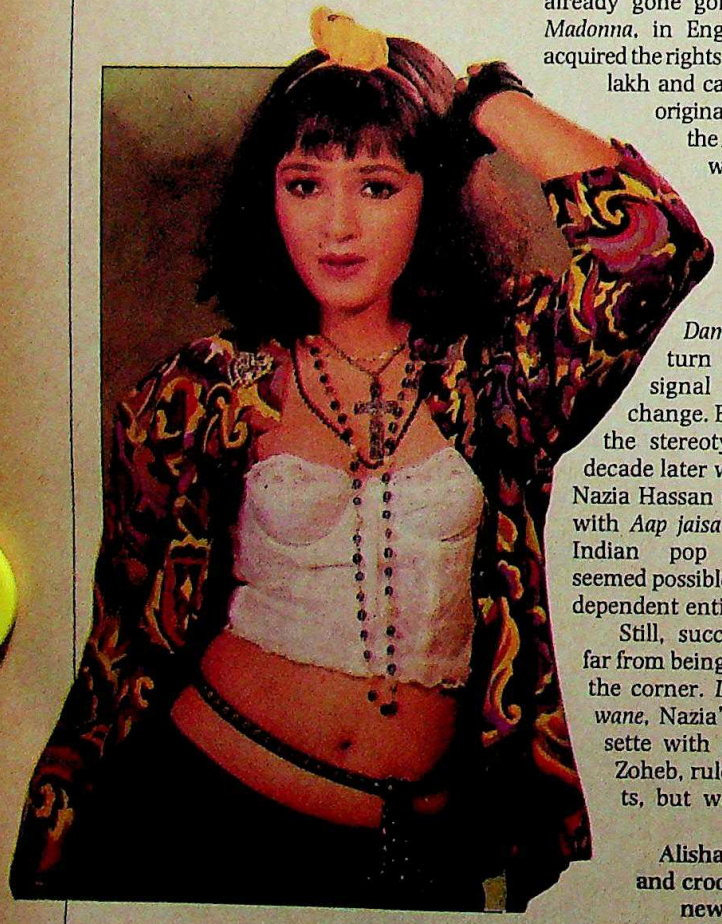
Collectively, they represent a major new trend in Hindi pop outside the traditional film scores. Says Sagar: "First there was a *ghazal* boom, now there is a pop boom." She is right. Since 1985, Hindi pop cassettes have been breaking the golden barrier (non-Hindi film music scores gold with 30,000 and platinum with 60,000) and straining at the platinum. Sagar's *With Love* ('88), a bold experiment in which she sang eight songs in 11 languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Hindi, Marathi, Konkani, Gujarati, Bhojpuri, Assamese, Bengali, and Punjabi—touched gold; Prabhakar's *Yeh mera Dil* ('87-'88) and *Shararat* ('86) did the same. Her *Jhoom Diwaaney Jhoom* ('87) was a runaway hit and her latest *Suno, Suno* has already gone gold. Alisha claims that *Madonna*, in English and Hindi—they acquired the rights to the score for over Rs 1 lakh and can sing any song to the original music—have crossed the 1-lakh-mark within a week of its release earlier this year. The days of the pop singer as star have arrived.

R.D. Burman's *Dam maro dam* at the turn of the '70s was a signal that times could change. But the real break with the stereotype came almost a decade later when London-based Nazia Hassan stormed the citadel with *Aap jaisa koi* in *Qurbani*. Indian pop suddenly seemed possible as an independent entity.

Still, success was far from being around the corner. *Disco Deewane*, Nazia's audio cassette with her brother Zoheb, ruled the charts, but was either a flash in the pan or just piggy-backing on *Qurbani*'s success. For the siblings' playback songs for the film *Star* didn't catch on, and their second venture *Young Tarang* had to struggle to survive. Later attempts at capturing western melodies with Hindi lyrics also flopped: Musarrat and Mahendra Kapoor's version of Boney M and Salma Agha's Abba songs. It seemed the market was doomed for premature death. Says Prabhakar: "Nazia's failure to take off was a set-back."

Music companies then realised that the audience didn't want mere imitation, but original Hindi pop. As Sagar says: "In Indian pop the listener wants to understand the words." The time was right for change: Hindi films were flopping and their music getting worse. The audience profile was changing—the upwardly mobile were getting into the video circuit—so film music was responding to the needs of the old *char-anna wallah* audience. The days of the memorable films song were over. Says Mehmood Curmally of Rhythm House, Bombay's premier music shop: "Film music is so bad now that pop has become an expanding market."

Ghazals and *bhajans* had already breached the



Alisha as rocker and crooner: scoring new heights

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MALKIT SINGH

Pulsations of Folksy Success

Singh: it's all in the beat

GIVE a Punjabi half a chance, and he'll break into riotous song and dance. Even far from the green, gold wheat of home, distance only seems to make the foot pound harder. Witness the tremendous resurgence of Punjabi pop-folk music, not just in north India but even abroad.

The difference is in the medium. While Punjabi, like any other folk music, was traditionally played and sung live, cassettes have become the order of the day. And what an order. One release alone has sold half a million copies since last November. Never has any folk album anywhere sold near so many copies. And that largely because of the lead song, *Tutak, tutak, tutian.*

So what if nobody is quite sure what that title means? The beat is all the rage. They're playing it at parties. They're belting it out at weddings. They're swinging to it at discotheques. It blares out of 'puppy' Maruti car stereos.

Apart from the half million sales in India, the *Tutak* cassette (*Sajna O Sajna)* sold about 40,000 copies in the UK. It is also doing well in Singapore, Dubai and Canada. Flush with its success, the Gramophone Company of India Ltd (HMV), was all set last fortnight to release another catchy cassette of its singer, Malkit Singh, 29. *Tutak* has already catapulted the Birmingham-based Malkit to world fame. Touring Canada this month, HMV wants to bring him on a triumphant tour to India soon.

Ironically, Malkit migrated to Britain four years ago after failing to make a go of his singing career in his home country. Now, he's a phenomenon. Though interest in this kind of 'disco *bhangra*' or pop-folk has been building over this decade, *Tutak* seems to have struck just the right blend of the old and the new. What's hooked everyone is the synthesis of synthesiser and *dhol*, of the native language and the foreign rhythm, of old *lassi* in new glasses. If the beat is new, it is the tradition that goes on. It is the transplantation of roots to the new milieu of big city or foreign land. "Despite our material progress, we still want our roots to be there," explains Ravi Dar, the company's manager for Artistes and Repertoire, northern India. The pricing too (just Rs 16) has played no mean part in the success of their recent Punjabi cassettes.

The company, which dominates the market for Punjabi music, is going great guns at this market segment. Late last year, it posted Sanjiv Kohli, their chief of Artistes and Repertoire in Bombay, to London as general manager (international operations). Kohli is on the lookout for fresh talent among the host of groups there, apart from overseeing world marketing (though within Britain, Malkit's Golden Star group is marketed by the local company which gave him his break). The thrust has to be different, says Kohli, even in titles. *Sajna O Sajna* is called *Up Front* in Britain and the new *Jind Mahi Dee* is to become—what else—*Fast Forward* there.

Other Indian companies have branched into Punjabi music over the last few years. Rivals CBS have joined the bandwagon with a series of three cassettes of a group called *Apna Sangeet.*

The trend started in the early '80s with Gurdas Mann. Basically folksy, his songs incorporated some of the disco beat and, with his charismatic stage presence, swept audiences. London's immigrant community took the style further through the mid-'80s, dubbing it 'disco *bhangra*'. And it was there that recordings began to proliferate, though the market was limited by the size of the immigrant community.

The instruments are both western and traditional. The lyrics remain Punjabi, though this is the Hindified version of the city. Where Ludhiana-based singers such as Surinder Shinda sing complex, if earthy, lyrics, the London-based singers include such motifs as *pubaan* (pubs) and *clubaan* (clubs) in their songs. In short, it's what Paramjit Singh, owner of the Gurgaon-based music company, Golden Melodies, calls 'westernised Punjabi music'.

Tutak might have overtaken it, but it was Golden Melodies' release, *Ae o kudi leni hai,* which first swung the local 'puppy' off his *jutis* a year earlier. The song was the rage of the *Dhol Dhamaka* album (released October 1987), a raunchy effort that really took off. Enough for Paramjit to declare: "We didn't know what hit us." Based on a well-known western song, the lyric parodied dowry, mingling topicality with fun.

A new form had really arrived, with not only a contemporary rhythm but lyrics written for a young westernised audience, who want a taste of roots, but in a medium they can digest.

That's why *Tutak* works so well. The words are no more complex than *Here we go round the mulberry bush.* The rhythm is straightforward. But it comes together in a catchy pulsating rendition. Of course, there are those who can't stand the sound of it. There are those who hear an onomatopoeiac *double entendre* in the title. But in a Delhi disco or a Southall birthday party, it immediately regenerates the vibrant, vivacious heartbeat of the old Ravi river and the old folks at home. —DAVID DEVADAS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE SUMMER OF DOUBLE BULL

ALSO ON THE MALL LUDHIANA OPENING SHORTLY AT HYDERABAD

THE DOUBLE BULL WAGON

Double Bull SHIRTS

Double Bull TROUSERS

CREATED EXCLUSIVELY FOR YOU BY RAM THADANI

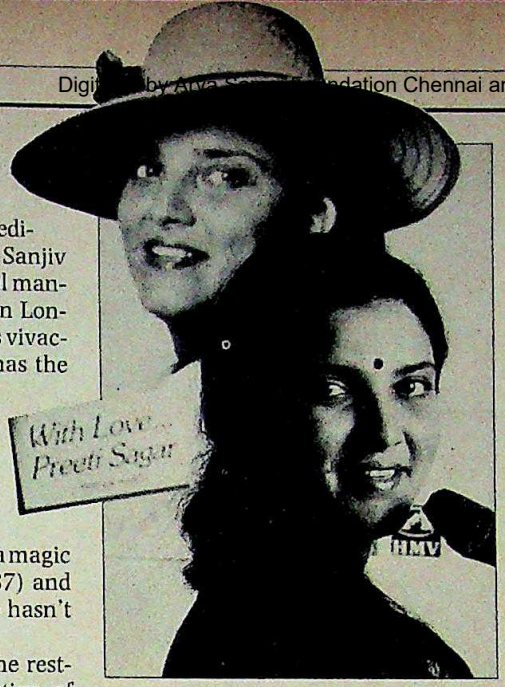
THE DOUBLE BULL WAGON

- BOMBAY
  - DADAR T.T.
  - LINKING ROAD, BANDRA
  - REGAL CINEMA BLDG., COLABA
- AHMEDABAD
  - CHANDAN COMPLEX, NAVRANGPURA
- BANGALORE
  - COMMERCIAL STREET
- MADRAS
  - VUMMIDIAR SHOPPING CENTRE
  - ANNASALAI
  - INDIA

AUTHORISED DEALERS ■ NORTH ZONE ■ NEW DELHI: Gujralsons, Jainsons Westend, Meghna ■ KANPUR: Kalpana Men's Shop ■ LUCKNOW: Kaysons Modern ■ AGRA: Bachoomal Rajendra Singh & Sons, Sadar Bazar, Bachoomal Rajendra Singh, Kinari Bazar ■ DEHRADUN: Amarsons ■ LUDHIANA: Aristocrat Emporium, Aristocrat Westend, Capital Dept. Stores, Fashion Shoppe, Maharaja ■ CHANDIGARH: Trendsetters ■ AMRITSAR: Sardar Hatti ■ JULLUNDER: Punjab Emporium, Nain & Sukhdev ■ SOUTH ZONE ■ BANGALORE: Double Bull Wagon, Commercial Street, Gazzaz Collections ■ MANGALORE: Premsons, Jee Tee Jeans ■ HYDERABAD: Dayal's Men's Wear ■ VISHAKAPATNAM: Gautams ■ VIJAYAWADA: Yax 'N' Yax ■ MADRAS: Double Bull Wagon, Vummidiar Shopping Centre, Arihant ■ COIMBATORE: H. K. Grand Bazar ■ OOTACAMUND: Mohan's Dept. Store ■ ERNAKULAM, KOTTAYAM, TRIVANDRUM, CHANGANACHERRY: Parthas Textiles ■ CALICUT: Kalpaka Bazar ■ CENTRAL ZONE ■ RAIPUR: Paradise ■ INDORE: Paridhan, Agrawal Stores ■ JAIPUR: Meenu Dresses ■ EAST ZONE ■ CALCUTTA: Nu York Dept. Stores, GUWAHATI: Goenka Readymades ■ WEST ZONE ■ PUNE:

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bastion of popular appeal. And when Alisha appeared on the scene, with her lost-little-girl-style solo in *Evita*, she was immediately spotted and signed up by Sanjiv Kohli of HMV. Kohli, now general manager (international operations) in London, said: "Preeti is versatile. Ila's vivacity is spell-binding. But Alisha has the personality that's made for pop. But she is criticised for proving so popular in a form that does nothing to perpetuate Indian culture." Not that the kids are complaining. First there was *Jaadu* ('85), which cast a magic spell on listeners. *Aah Alisha* ('87) and *Babydoll* ('88) followed, and she hasn't looked back since.



Preeti Sagar: swinging success

Says Ila Arun: "Pop gives the restlessness of the youth the injection of rhythm." Alisha concurs: "Pop gives the youngsters something to identify with." Sagar, who sang the first ever English song in a Hindi film picturised on a heroine (*My heart is beating*, in *Julie*), branched out into nursery rhymes and *bhajans*. She returned to pop with *Heartbeats* ('81-'82) but prefers to underplay her pop identity, conscious not to lose her twin audiences of respectable elders and little kids.

But Alisha has no qualms: "I look the teenager; I'm the only one they can relate to. It works because I speak their language; look, talk, giggle like them. And it isn't just the Catholics from Bandra who react to this music; every teenager wants to be a pop star at some point of life."

IT all seems good, clean fun. Elaborates Prabhakar: "You have to be 16 at some time in your life. If they can freak out over us, I can think of worse ways they can spend their energy. We give them healthy, peppy sounds. We give them something a whole lot better than drugs or free sex."

That Indian pop is striking the right chord is obvious. According to Music India Vice-President V. Lazarus: "It isn't western-oriented Hindi music, it is an expression of the emotion of our time." Adds Kohli: "There is a young lot which would like to visit the discos but shies away because they are not with it. So they make do with a fantasy world. They are glamour-struck and the closer to film music you take them, the more popular the album." The only handicaps: the singer has to be a star and there has to be high-profile advertising.

Tours help as well. During the last year, Prabhakar has toured the provinces: Nagpur, Vishakhapatnam, Bhubaneswar and Indore. Her shows are typically accompanied by the glitz and razzmatazz of Bombay's English theatre—with which she is associated, having acted in husband Alyque Padamsee's musicals *Evita* and *Kabaret*—dramatic audio-visual aids, personal show-womanship, and cajoling the audience into participation in the show. Says she: "I chat a lot with my audience; I don't perform like a *diva*. I like to work the room, as Sinatra used to say. I don't give them a chance to think. Once I come on, a tornado hits them."

Alisha has recently concluded a successful round of shows in Delhi, Madras, Bangalore, Goa, Hyderabad, Calcutta and Bombay. She was apprehensive about facing Bombay's demanding audiences: "In other cities fewer things happen, so the excitement is more. So many things happen in Bombay that you have to be very good." Husband-cum-manager—and sometimes composer—Rajesh Jhaveri is now working on an Alisha video, which they want to market later this year.

So what's missing? The single jarring note is that in a field dominated in the West by male stars, there doesn't seem to be a single Indian one on the stage. As Alisha asks rhetorically: "Where are the men?" One of the answers is that some of the best male singers—like Remo—perform in English. More telling is the feeling in the industry that recording companies are reluctant to project men. Obviously, they are considered less marketable. The female stars, however, don't exactly mind and—for the present—are on the top of the pops.

Ila Arun: from folk to pop

The next step for Indian pop stars is to explore the overseas market. Sagar, who toured last year to East Africa and Britain, was amazed to find the demand for her pop numbers. She says: "The market hasn't been tapped." Prabhakar has English and Hindi albums up her sleeve. And Jhaveri feels that Alisha's English album is "long overdue". She has set her eyes on Europe: a tour this summer, accompanied by international release of her new album. Music India has made compact discs of Sharon's hits, HMV has planned one called Pop Queens—with Alisha, Preeti and Ila—to be released this May. Asks Jhaveri: "If the West can like Julio Iglesias why not Alisha?" That may be a tall order yet. But right now, Hindi pop singers are experiencing an Indian Summer.

—SALIL TRIPATHI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HOW SHRIRAM CAN BRING YOU MORE 'SHRI'.

Shri, denotes wealth, prosperity and well-being.

Shriram strives to bring into depositors' lives the tangible significance of 'Shri'. By taking tender care of depositors' funds, placing them in sound enterprises, spreading the risk widely, managing it economically. Most importantly, by subjecting the management to rigorous scrutiny by Board of Directors consisting of eminent professionals with impeccable record of public service.

The Board of Directors of the Shriram Group Companies include:

- **P.B. Sreenivasan** — Former Chairman & Managing Director, I.O.B. Madras.
- **S. Sankaranarayanan** — Former Executive Director & Secretary, Ashok Leyland Ltd. Madras.
- **C.P. Verghese** — Former General Manager, United India Insurance Co. Ltd. Ernakulam.
- **P. Vaidyanathan** — Investment & Finance Consultant, Integrated Enterprises, Kumbakonam.
- **G.V. Raman** — Partner, M/s. Gowrikanthan & Co. Auditors, Madras.
- **Lalit P. Mehta** — Former General Manager, New India Assurance Co. Ltd. Bombay

Performance Highlights :

SHRIRAM INVESTMENTS LTD.

	Dec. 1986	Dec. 1987	March* 1989
	(Rs. in lacs).		
1. Paid-up Capital & Reserves	41.26	102.93	250.00
2. Deposits	388.60	676.46	1575.00
3. Funds employed	514.47	1002.94	2370.00
4. Dividend	20%	21%	—

SHRIRAM TRANSPORT FINANCE CO. LTD.

	Sept. 1986	Sept. 1987	March* 1989
	(Rs. in lacs).		
1. Paid-up Capital & Reserves	41.00	62.18	163.88
2. Deposits	189.00	349.00	950.00
3. Funds employed	313.21	558.43	1328.88
4. Dividend	24%	25%	—

* Estimated

All this is fully backed by high quality, efficient service characterised by dedication and promptitude at all our 42 branches.

Bring 'Shri' into your life with Shriram.

Chandamama offers 12 FREE issues of "Junior Quest" to members of EITHER Shriram's RD Scheme — Rs.200 p.m. x 36 months = Rs.8,988 OR Cash Certificate — Rs.3,275 for 3 years = Rs.5,000. from May '89.

All India Deposit Mobilisation Campaign till 30.4.89.

SHRIRAM GROUP COMPANIES MADRAS

Shriram Investments Ltd.
Admn. Office : Mookambika Complex, III Floor, 4, Lady Desikachari Road, (Entrance: C.P. Ramaswamy Road), Mylapore, Madras - 4.
Ph : 74960/77463/73768.

Shriram TRANSPORT FINANCE COMPANY LIMITED
Admn. Office : Mookambika Complex, 4, Lady Desikachari Road, Mylapore, Madras-4. Ph : 71983/74101.

AGRA: Block 32 F7, Sanjay Place • AHMEDABAD: B-14, I Floor, Capital Commercial Centre, Ashram Road, Ph: 76326 • BARODA: 57, I Floor, Shriram Chambers, Opp: Circuit House, R.C. Dutt Road • BOMBAY: Regional Office: 811, Tulsiani Chambers, 212, Nariman Point, Ph: 241113/2043997 • Branch Office: The South Indian Concerns Ltd. (Premises), 401, Telang Road, Matunga, Ph: 4379839. Office Timings: 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. Monday Holiday. • CALCUTTA: 33, Raja Basanta Roy Road, (2nd Floor), Ph: 420115 • NEW DELHI: 401, Pratap Chambers (4th Floor), 2376, Gurudwara Road, Karol Bagh, Ph: 5729913 • INDORE: 307, Chetak Centre, 12/2, R.N.T. Marg • JAIPUR: B-83, Raman Marg, Tilak Nagar • KANPUR: 129, Regal Cinema Building, Mall Road • NAGPUR: 'Yamunayatan', 225-B, West High Court Road, Gokulpet, Ph: 33815 (P.P.) • PUNE: 402, White House (4th Floor), 1482, Tilak Road, Ph: 436752/434279.

ADWAVE/SGC/3574 R

Shriram : Managed by innovative professionals.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ATHLETICS

Running Aground

Star athletes' careers in jeopardy

BHAWAN SINGH

Nachappa, Rao and Shanbag in Seoul: in the dock

INDIAN athletics has few idols. Through this dreary decade of disappointment, only a half-dozen women have kept the flag flying. Yet, as the decade draws to a miserable close, half of these rare exceptions are in the dock with their sporting careers in doubt.

Show cause notices were despatched to middle distance runners Vandana Rao, Vandana Shanbag and Ashwini Nachappa last month, bringing warning of punishment for alleged indiscipline at the Seoul Olympics last September. The three had refused to run an eleventh-hour trial there.

Last fortnight then, the sports world raised its eyebrows when the Amateur Athletics Federation of India (AAFI) announced lists of athletes for national coaching camps this summer. Though only one of the three had yet replied, and no action had been taken, none figured in the AAFI lists. The writing was on the wall: the federation was sure of their guilt and they were out for the count.

No, said the AAFI, that was not true. "They are not guilty until found guilty," maintained federation President and MP Suresh Kalmadi. The official reason for dropping the three was that they had not turned up for the recent inter-state meet in Guntur or for other recent camps. That did not hold water, though, for others who had similarly not turned up at Guntur have been included. The federation could only add that the three were not interested themselves.

That is not necessarily true. At least Ashwini Nachappa, the youngest at 24, might still have her best performances ahead of her. As for the two Vandanas, they might well have continued to run till at least the Beijing Asian Games next year had it not been for the bitter aftertaste of the Olympics. Though both had then vowed with tears in their eyes that they would not run again, neither has announced her retirement. So it was a bit presumptuous for Kalmadi to conclude that "after the Asian Games, these two feel they have reached their peak".

The Sports Ministry was piqued. While acknowledging that disciplinary action was in the federation's domain, Minister of State for Sports Margaret Alva said: "These are substantive camps, which are the joint responsibility of the Government and the federations. There is an expert committee to assess the performance. So nobody should take unilateral decisions."

The saddest part of the controversy is its fall-out on India's prospects at the Afro-Asian and Asian Games.

All three women were tensely quiet last fortnight. They had enough on their hands on the personal front. While Shanbag was preparing for her wedding in early May, the other two were headed for Dharwar to write university exams. "I'm really in a mess with all this coming just before my exams," said Nachappa, adding, "I'd never bring disrepute to my country." That is one of the things the women are accused of, since the Seoul incident was widely reported.

Only six women formed India's athletics squad there. Nachappa was the reserve and P.T. Usha was hobbled with an ankle injury, so it was presumed that Shiny Abraham, Mercy Kuttan and the two Vandanas would run the 4 × 400m relay—for which India holds the Asian record at 3.31:55. But Usha's coach O.M. Nambiar decided that his ward could run the relay as well as her favourite hurdles, so a trial was called for 9 a.m. on September 27. When the women turned up, Nambiar said Usha couldn't run then, so the trial was postponed till 4 p.m. That's when the three women, already warmed up and tensed for the trial, blew up.

Shanbag at least had once lost a gold medal because of a similar last minute trial. At the 1986 Asiad at the same venue, she was so exhausted after winning a trial—with her career's best time—that she couldn't run the actual event. Such memories combined with the tensions of the tortuous trials and uncertainties of the pre-Olympic camp in Delhi. Federation officials overheard Nachappa, always the most vociferous, mutter: "Let Kalmadi, Alva and K.P. Singh Deo (the *chef de mission*) run."

The fat was in the fire. Fearing a legal battle, the federation waited for the three damning reports they have now got from the coach and officials. Nachappa is the target. Her show-cause notice contains an extra paragraph naming her as the 'instigator'. It also adds coach Gnanasekaran's view that she was 'not fit to run' at Seoul. Indeed, she had an ankle injury, but the coach should have known that before taking her to Seoul.

The saddest part of the controversy is its possible fall-out on the country's athletics prospects, both at the Afro-Asian Games at New Delhi late this year and at the Asiad next year. Coach Sriram Singh says the next crop of women should by next year be as good as the team that won laurels at the last Asiad. But that means India stays at square one. International standards constantly go up and these women could surely have improved their performances. But caught in a bureaucratic stranglehold, improvement doesn't seem the lot of Indian sports.

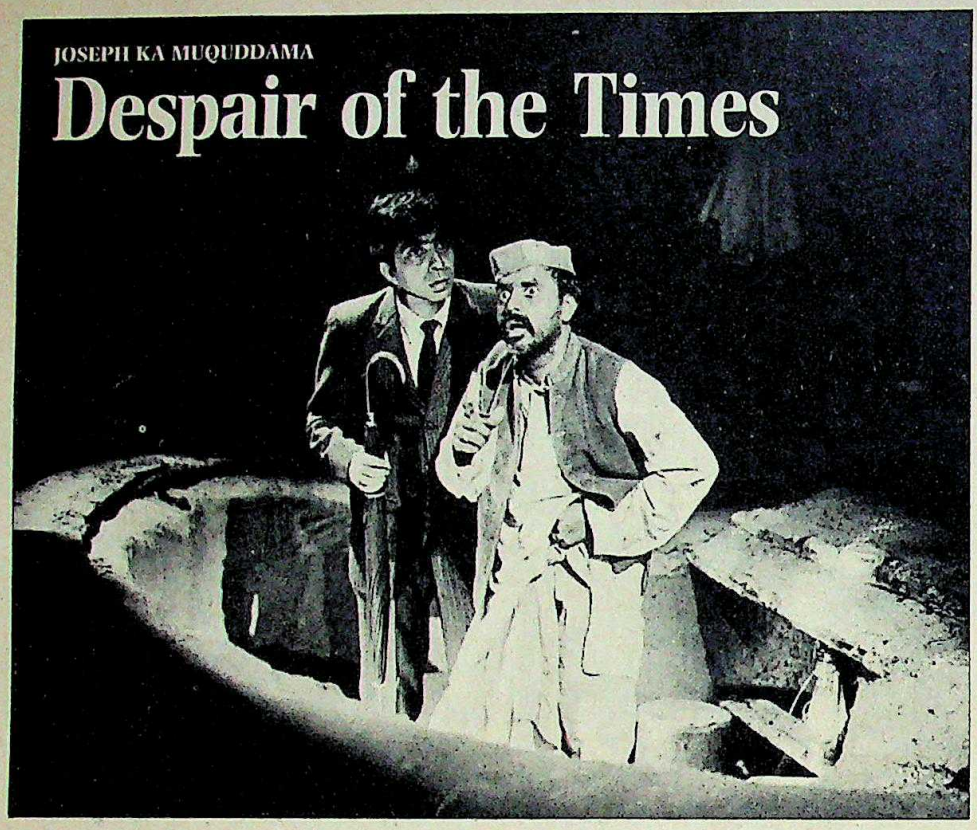
—DAVID DEVADAS
with CHIDANAND RAJGHATTA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JOSEPH KA MUQUDDAMA

Despair of the Times



Vyas (left) and Trivedi in the play: eerie

IN the end, the corrupt, salivating politician Raghupati; the cloying, unprincipled Uncle; the dehumanised constable Farman Ali; the phalanx of women—a Haryanvi battle-axe, lascivious Salma Tarafdar, vixen Chammi, decaying Srimati Raghupati; and the worm-like, sycophantic Raunaklal surround the anguished protagonist, while the featureless, cardboard cut-out visage of the Judge looks on from above. And in the shifting light as the spectral figures sway toward him, the quarry screams: "Anyone can be the victim but you. And that is because in this play you have chosen the better part—you have assumed the role of the accuser, and to me given that of the accused." The reply of the wraiths is a swaying motion.

Shades of Kafka. Quite. In *Joseph Ka Muquddama*, a superb stage adaptation in Hindi of Franz Kafka's *The Trial*, the meaning of the timeless quality of genius becomes clear. Instead of being drafted in 1915 in war-ridden Europe, the bizarre story of Joseph K. could easily have been written in New Delhi yesterday for today's India. The triumph of Mohan Maharishi's adaptation, performed by the National School of Drama Repertory Company in New Delhi last fortnight, is that you do not need to have read *The Trial* to relate to *Muquddama*.

The plot of the classic—adapted for the stage earlier by Orson Welles and Andre Gide—is of course simple, but winds in a way to ask questions and seek meanings that have invited unrivalled exegesis, and little consensus. Plainly, Joseph K., a bank manager, wakes up one morning to find himself under arrest for a crime that is not specified. Thereon begins the nightmare odyssey marked by the easily graspable and the totally opaque. This is the quality of Kafka's prose that Maharishi must have found most difficult to translate onto stage. While there is complete lucidity about everything material, while there is no sentence that wavers in uncertainty and abstraction, the uncertainties and abstractions pile up relentlessly. And nothing for a moment pierces the opacity of: What has K. been held culpable for?

Joseph Ka Muquddama does not overtly concern itself with Kafka's obsessive preoccupation with immanent guilt—"Guilt is never to be doubted": *In the Penal Colony*—choosing instead to focus on the question of the innocent victim, always vulnerable to gratuitious treatment, and powerless against an intransigent and perverse system. So powerless as to be even denied the right of knowing the nature of his crime.

While maintaining full fidelity toward the original, Maharishi—he has both scripted and directed the play—has managed to Indianise it extremely successfully. Indian parallels are found for all the characters, and barring K. all the names are changed. Accurately, Maharishi says: "To have changed K.'s name would have killed *The Trial*'s essence." K. also retains his Christian identity, for Maharishi felt that in India this immediately makes him an island, effortlessly laying out the premises of the play. As for the others, the Advocate who is approached by K.'s dubious Uncle becomes the politician Raghupati, the Commercial Traveller who like K. is the accused of an unspecified crime spending his every hour cultivating contacts that "may one day be of use" becomes the near-demented Raunaklal, and the rest become distinctly Indian *chaprasis*, clerks, constables, shrews and sirens.

Characters and scenes have also been successfully created. Raghupati's wife is one with the degeneration around, and a sequence in Raghupati's ante-room, where a hysterical allottee afraid of losing his flat runs around begging for succour, is aptly surreal.

The sets are done imaginatively, the lighting is good, and the performances of a high quality, with Anupam Shyam, Ravi Khanwilkar and Lokendra Trivedi excelling as the Uncle, Raghupati, and Raunaklal respectively. Shrivallabh Vyas, as K., finely emotes a vacuous bewilderment alternated with anger, but mars it with a hint of hamming. Surprisingly, there are moments where the absurdity of the ongoing action provokes the audience to laughter. But the eeriness merely distends, not cracks.

Where Maharishi founders is in the climax. Deviating from the original, he puts the entire cast on the stage even as K.'s fact-less trial commences and the doomed bank manager embarks on a long monologue. These deviations take away from the nightmare quality of the play, and the monologue is a compromise to audience comprehension: the action has said it all, K.'s rhetoric is redundant and out-of-character. And, anyway, Maharishi has already shown us what the Indian situation can easily be seen as: Kafkaesque.

—TARUN J. TEJPAL

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

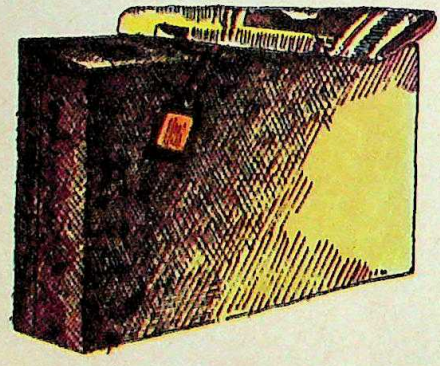
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

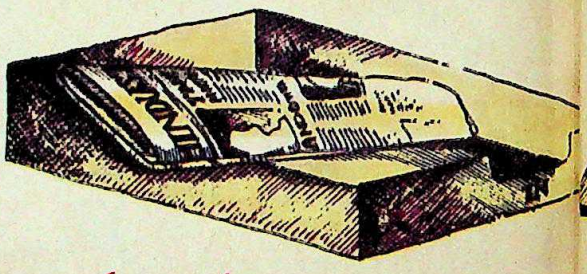
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

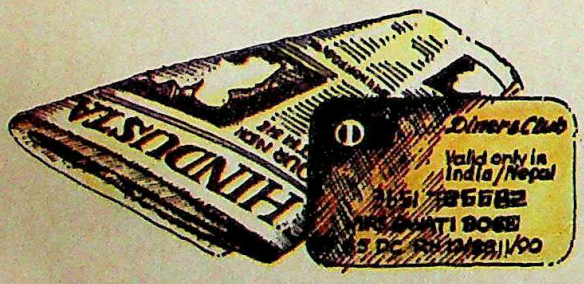
IS THE UNDISPUTED LEADER

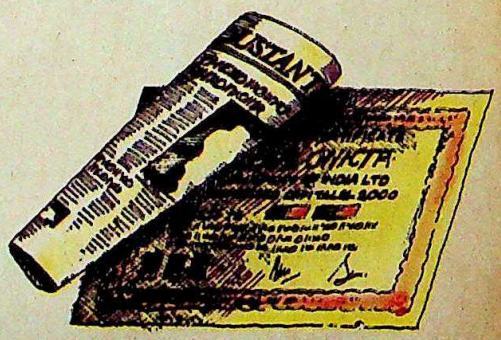




★ **73%** **businessmen** who read an English daily prefer The Hindustan Times. That's 48.6% more than the next English daily.

★ **67.4%** **government officials** — including people in power, decision-makers an statesmen, read The Hindustan Times every morni





★ **80.9%** **credit card holders** put their trust in The Hindustan Times.

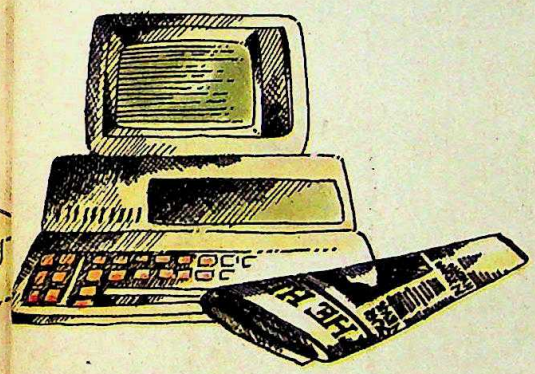
★ **75.8%** **shareholders** would rather invest each day in The Hindustan Times.

★ Figures based on the Businessmen's Readership Survey '88 conducted by IMRB — the latest, most authentic source for readership profil

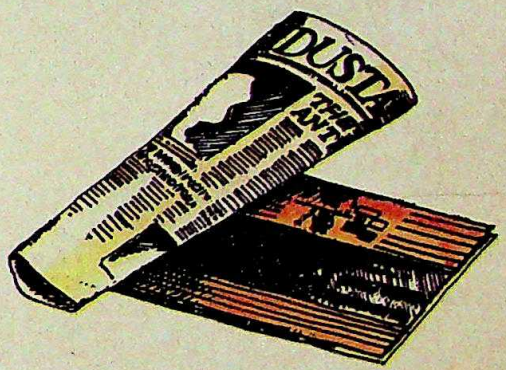
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

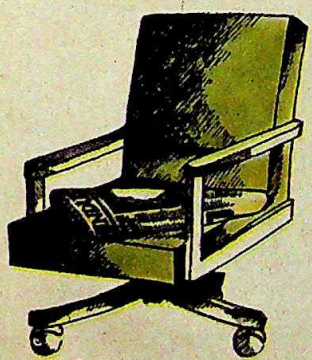
eryone knows that The Hindustan Times is the capital's No. 1 English daily.
And now the Businessmen's Readership Survey '88 reinforces just that:
The Hindustan Times is No. 1 in more ways than one.



80.7% **professionals** in all walks of life choose The Hindustan Times.



★ **77.4%** **people who've travelled abroad** in the last 2 years are readers of The Hindustan Times.



77.4% **business executives** read The Hindustan Times, as against only 42.9% of the next English daily.

★ **71.5%** **car owners** would rather move with The Hindustan Times.

No. 1

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES
We sell more. Because we tell more.

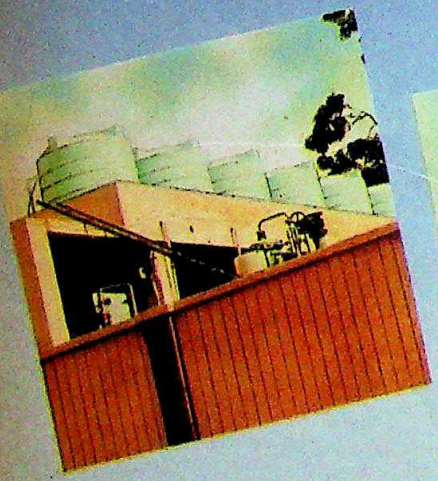
F.N./XIII-381

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sintex

THE ONLY RELIABLE AND TIME-TESTED WATER TANKS



As Pioneers, Sintex has given excellent performance for nearly 15 years. Withstanding all the tough and rough Indian conditions. Dotting the Indian scene with lakhs and lakhs of installations-from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and Kutch to Kohima. Proving popular for all the water storage and carriage applications. The proof enough to understand why more and more people count on Sintex. Making them the largest selling plastic water tanks in the world. After all sky is the limit for the real Innovator.

For further information contact:

SINTER PLAST CONTAINERS

Plastics Division: **The Bharat Vijay Mills Ltd.,**
KALOL (N. GUJARAT) 382721
Phone: (02764),2228,3144,3145 Gram: "SINTEX"
Telex: 01205-202 SPC IN Fax: (02764) 2436

Sintex WORLD'S NO.1 PLASTIC TANKS

Offices At :- Ahmedabad • Baroda • Bombay • Bhopal • Calcutta • New Delhi • Hyderabad • Jaipur • Lucknow • Madras

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

BHARAT KI CHHAP

Science on Screen

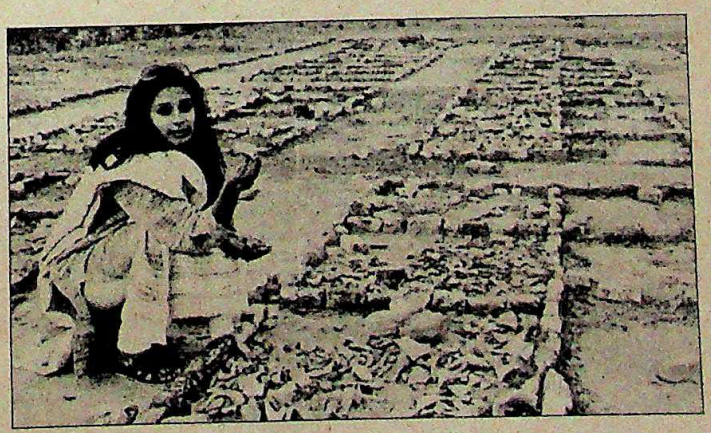
New serial explores history of Indian science

IT will be a battle of the Bharats. From April-end, at prime time on Sunday mornings, three programmes located in one way or another in the ancient land of Bharat, will be telecast. Alongwith B.R. Chopra's *Mahabharat* and Shyam Benegal's *Bharat Ek Khoj*, Doordarshan will begin to telecast Chandita Mukherjee's *Bharat Ki Chhap*, a 13-part serial on the history of science and technology on the Indian subcontinent.

The latest Hindi serial, with its nearly Rs 1 crore budget funded by the Department of Science and Technology's National Council for Science and Technology Communication (NCSTC), is a pioneering effort in a much neglected field—the chequered evolution of science and technology in a land associated historically with the grandeur of art and religion. "It's a unique effort. Nobody has attempted this before," says NCSTC Director, Dr Narendra Sehgal.

In the very first episode of *Bharat Ki Chhap*, the historical scope of the serial is established and scientific methods of inquiry, such as carbon-dating, are outlined. To sift myth from history, there is an interview with Professor B.B. Lal, who has excavated sites mentioned in the Mahabharat and the Ramayan.

"Throughout the serial we have tried to tackle two popular but diametrically opposed misconceptions—one, the belief that India had a highly developed science and technology even in the Iron Age, and two, that India had nothing till the British came," explains Chandita Mukherjee. In *Bharat Ki Chhap*, the objective is to explore the Indian heritage in science and technology, from the Stone Age and the extraordinary flowering of the Harappan civilisation, to the great achievements in ayurveda, astronomy, mathematics, metallurgy, shipbuilding, city planning, and architecture, down to the modern scientific upsurge under J.C. Bose, C.V. Raman, Meghnad Saha and Homi Bhabha.



(From top) The anchorpersons; and the fictional reporters at two sites: systematic search

The serial uses the metaphor of a journey, with five fictional reporters who travel to real places, exploring museums, ancient sites, modern laboratories and factories, meeting historians, archaeologists, scientists, asking questions and discovering facts. At 'base camp', as it were, two anchorpersons put the 'field reports' into perspective, providing historical background and making conceptual links. The emphasis is on a systematic, unblinkered search into the subcontinent's past. "It's a story of people's thinking and doing, of the growth of ideas and artefacts," says Professor Yash Pal, chairman, University Grants Commission, who acted as project advisor.

The serial's achievement is all the more remarkable considering that besides a concise history brought out by the Indian National Science Academy, there is no other published work exclusively devoted to the development of science and technology on the subcontinent. Besides scouring museums and poring through books and maps, Mukherjee and her team visited nearly 100 locations and spoke to scores of experts to piece the story together. The project was conceived by Mukherjee, a graduate of Pune's Film and Television Institute of India, and has taken four-and-a-half years to complete.

One fascinating aspect of the growth of science and technology on the subcontinent which the serial explores is the frequent failure to capitalise on exceptional discoveries and achievements. Aryabhatta calculated the earth's rotation, the value of pi and explained the eclipse. But the work of his successors strayed from astronomy to astrology.

The mathematics of Bhaskara also reached a dead end, to be revived centuries later by Leibnitz and Newton. Likewise, alchemy was known first in India and China, but it was in Europe that it gave birth to modern chemistry as we know it.

In the course of its fascinating journey, the serial brings out two further aspects of the historical development of science and technology. One, how the invasions and migrations into India

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

often also led to a scientific and technical regeneration, as the invaders brought in new ideas and artefacts. And two, how in India ancient techniques still survive, as in the iron-smelting technology used by the Bastar tribals, which has remained practically unchanged since 500 B.C. "By putting developments into perspective, and giving us a feeling about our origins, *Bharat Ki Chhap* may give us a much truer idea of what we are, of the meaning of being an Indian, than the normal history about kings and conflicts," claims Professor Yash Pal.

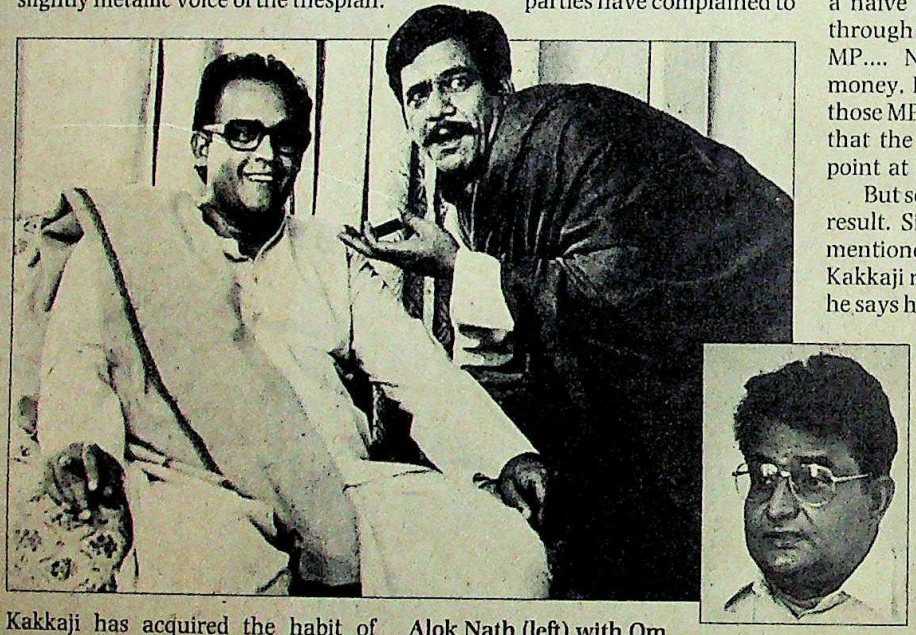
The NCSTC has broken new ground with this serial, which will also be shown through video cassettes in classrooms throughout the country. Even before its telecast, an unusual experiment was conducted—two episodes of *Bharat Ki Chhap* were pre-tested in seven cities by the Development and Educational Communication Unit (DECU) of the Indian Space Research Organisation. DECU reported an overwhelming response. Now the ambitious serial is faced with the ultimate test, jostling for viewer attention at prime time on Sunday mornings. May the best Bharat win.

—M. RAHMAN

KAKKAJI KAHIN

Cutting Edge

OM Puri's mouth moves animatedly. Yet no sound issues forth. Like a fish in an aquarium. Or, if it does, it is certainly not the rich-brew, slightly metallic voice of the thespian.



Alok Nath (left) with Om Puri in the serial; (inset) Joshi

Kakkaji has acquired the habit of going beep-beep midway through a sentence. Something censorious, indeed, is going on in Mandi House.

It was to be the Indian *Yes, Minister*—Mrs Gandhi liked it. And the search for an author began in the heady days of Doordarshan, five years ago. But *Kakkaji Kahin* has none of the satirical bite of the British programme. In fact, the television serial is not even a pale imitation of what its author, Manohar Shyam Joshi, penned. Between the first draft—and dozens thereafter—and the final appearance, fell the shadow of the scissors. The first exorcism came with the name: it was changed from Netaji to Kakkaji. Joshi now doubts whether India is ready for political satire. "They want the Manoj Kumar stuff. The *Bharat mata ki jai*. There is too big a chasm between this and satire."

However, the serial's fan mail has been piling up in Doordarshan, as have vociferous protests from politicians. Apparently, some even asked Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office Sheila Dixit to stop the programme. MPs from most political parties have complained to the Information and Broadcasting (I&B) Ministry about the image of the manipulative, crude, loud politician. Some have grumbled that their children had begun to make fun of them. Like Snow White's stepmother's mirror, the small screen should only show politicians as the fairest of them all.

Though Puri really appears to be relishing his role of the paan-chewing Mr Fixit—he performs with great verve—it is the making of the serial that is far more interesting. Ionesco could hardly have bettered the drama of the absurd going on off-screen.

One of the main characters of this frenetic backstage drama is S.S. Gill, former secretary of the I&B Ministry, who is the unofficial producer of the series that is being directed by Basu Chatterjee in Bombay. Gill is forever shuttling from Mandi House to a studio where Puri's voice is getting strange things done to it in order to pacify the political bosses.

For instance, when Kakkaji is asked how he could so effortlessly help a naive professor get an application through an office, he replies: "I used MP.... Not those MPs, but M for money, P for power." The line: "Not those MPs" was inserted to make sure that the needle of suspicion did not point at the parliamentarians.

But sometimes more creative lines result. Since liquor ought not to be mentioned on Doordarshan, when Kakkaji returns from a "foreign tour" he says he has a gift from the duty free shop: *"Scatland ka pawan jal...lalua brand ni kalua brand.* (Scotland's holy water...not red, but black, label)."

Sometimes, innocuous dialogue is found sensitive. Kakkaji in one of his con numbers pretends he is talking familiarly to Jaya Bhaduri on the phone. "Where is Amitji, when is he coming back?" In the screened version, Sairaji and Yusuf Bhai become the couple. Says Joshi: "I am sure Amitabh would have enjoyed it."

But sometimes the bleeps can boomerang. Kakkaji wants to go and see the non-controversial politician because he might prove to be the "black donkey". When the other character says that the dark horse is the proper phrase, he replies that donkey is the correct word and that the dark horse is in the race course. The scissors were obviously too blunt. What could clearly be heard was the line: *"Dark horse to Race Course Road...."* Next day the telephone rang at Joshi's house congratulating him for the brilliant satire about the prime minister.

—MADHU JAIN

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SPECIAL NEWSTRACK OFFERS

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE

Rs. 135/- for a single cassette of April — If you're not satisfied return it within 7 days by Registered Post and you can get your money back.*

FREE INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION FOR 6 MONTHS

Rs. 720/- for a half-yearly subscription (6 cassettes of *Newstrack*) — and you get a free six-month subscription to INDIA TODAY.

FREE INDIA TODAY SUBSCRIPTION FOR 18 MONTHS

Rs. 1200/- for an annual subscription (12 cassettes of *Newstrack*) — and a free 18-month subscription to INDIA TODAY.

he rates given above are inclusive of all taxes and delivery charges).
assettes will be sent by courier for speedy delivery. For all cities/towns not covered by courier services assettes will be sent by Registered Post.
To avail of the 'Money-back' offer the cassette must be returned by Registered Post within 7 days of ceipt, to Living Media India Ltd., 316 Competent House, F-14 Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001. The ompany will not be responsible for any postal delays.

or further enquiries please contact any of our Regional Offices:
Delhi: 3320689 • Bombay: 2027867• Madras: 479163 • Calcutta: 445398 • Bangalore: 210834

es, I want to subscribe to *Newstrack*. Enclosed is my subscription of —
Rs. 135/- for a single copy of the April *Newstrack* with MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.
Rs. 720/- for 6 months (6 *Newstrack* cassettes) and my free six-months subscription to INDIA TODAY.
Rs. 1200/- for 1 year (12 *Newstrack* cassettes) and my free 18 months subscription to INDIA TODAY.
y Cheque/D.D. No: _____ dated _____
lease deliver my cassette to:
Name: _____
Address: _____
_____
Pin Code: _____ Tel. No.: _____
Please draw remittance in favour of Living Media India Ltd., and mail the coupon with the remittance to Living Media India Ltd., P.O. Box No. 29, New Delhi — 110 001.
This coupon can also be used for subscription renewal. Please indicate your subscription no _____

nco meets e technical nplexity of ng systems

drew Yule's trans-
ner factory needed a
ding to house heavy
hinery and overhead
es which moved
tantly on a combined
and crane column.
roof had to be
ng to withstand the
ations. Ramco AC
ets withstood this
ile stress admirably."

R Narayana Rao,
hitect.

ility sheets using a totally 'Ramco Hi-grade Process'.
h that's unsurpassed, even
age rate that's amongst the lowest in the world.

professional builders. Because Ramco uses the world's most technologically advanced process of production.

The finest portland cement and imported chrysotile fibres are mixed, blended, formed, cut and

It's also made Ramco the name that's specified by professionals all over India. Every time you specify a sheet, do the same. Make Ramco AC Sheets your automatic choice.

Ramco
Advanced technology reaches the roof

Ramco Industries Limited
'Apex Plaza', 3, Nungambakkam High Road, Madras 600 034. Phone: 473770

Sales Offices/Depots:
Delhi • Indore • Raipur • Surat • Ahmedabad • Bombay • Mira (Bombay) • Kolhapur • Nasik • Pune • Vijayawada • Hyderabad • Yanam • R.Sumandi • Bangalore • Madras • Palghat • Ernakulam • Quilon.

FOUNTAINHEAD-RIA-1/3/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by [illegible] Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

often also led to a scientific and tec
regeneration, as the invaders brou
new ideas and artefacts. And two
in India ancient techniques still su
as in the iron-smelting technolog
by the Bastar tribals, which h
mained practically unchanged
500 B.C. "By putting developmen
perspective, and giving us a
about our origins. *Bharat Ki Chha*

KAKKAJI KAHIN

Cutting Ed

OM Puri's mouth moves a
edly. Yet no sound issue
Like a fish in an aquariu
it does, it is certainly not the ric
slightly metallic voice of the th

Kakkaji has acquired the
going beep-beep midway thr
sentence. Something censori
deed, is going on in Mandi H

It was to be the Indian *Yes
ter*—Mrs Gandhi liked it. *A*
search for an author began
heady days of Doordarshan, fi
ago. But *Kakkaji Kahin* has none of the satirical bite of the British programme. In fact, the television serial is not even a pale imitation of what its author, Manohar Shyam Joshi, penned. Between the first draft—and dozens thereafter—and the final appearance, fell the shadow of the scissors. The first exorcism came with the name: it was changed from Netaji to Kakkaji. Joshi now doubts whether India is ready for political satire. "They want the Manoj Kumar stuff. The *Bharat mata ki jai*.

Like Snow White's stepmother's mir
ror, the small screen should only show politicians as the fairest of them all.

Though Puri really appears to be relishing his role of the paan-chewing Mr Fixit—he performs with great verve—it is the making of the serial that is far more interesting. Ionesco could hardly have bettered the drama of the absurd going on off-screen.

One of the main characters of this frenetic backstage drama is S.S. Gill, former secretary of the I&B Ministry,

donkey". When [illegible] character says that the dark horse is the proper phrase, he replies that donkey is the correct word and that the dark horse is in the race course. The scissors were obviously too blunt. What could clearly be heard was the line: *"Dark horse to Race Course Road...."* Next day the telephone rang at Joshi's house congratulating him for the brilliant satire about the prime minister.

—MADHU JAIN

REW

BACKTRACK WITH NEWSTRACK

Newstrack brings you incisive coverage of various issues.

- September had V.P. Singh, the Women of Paradia, Shashi Kapoor and lots more.
- October covered the Syed Modi Murder Mystery, R.K. Hegde and Shatrughan Sinha.
- November showed a new Maneka Gandhi, the Human Rights Concert a close-up of of the latest turn-coat politicans and more.
- December had a candid interview with Benazir Bhutto, the Bofors Scandal and other interesting features.
- January *Newstrack* featured the Tamil Nadu Elections, a story on Rajneesh, Sam Pitroda and Aamir Khan.
- February portrayed Devi Lal, Safdar Hashmi's alleged killer, AIDS, Competitive Advertising and Kabir Bedi.

March *Newstrack* laid bare the political mess in Bihar, had in-depth interviews with Hershman, Swamy and Hegde; and also featured Sanjay Khan's mishap, the Maha Kumbh and Award Winning Folk Musicians and Craftsmen.

You needn't miss out on any of this. Ther are two back-issue subscription offers to enable you to complete your *Newstrack* library.

- All seven *Newstrack* issues (Sept., Oct. Nov., Dec., Jan. & Feb.,) for Rs. 805/-.
- Any one of the last seven *Newstrack* iss for Rs. 125/- (please specify the months you want)

To get your back issues just write to us at the address given on the coupon overlea alongwith your remittance in favour of LIVING MEDIA INDIA LTD.

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY

The New York Times

"Newstrack has in-depth or investigative reporting on topical subjects" (Nov. 3, '88)

The Sunday Observer

"Newstrack has taken off with a bang..." (Sept. 9, '88)

SUNDAY

"India Today's Newstrack video magazine continues to make waves..." (Feb. 5-11, '89)

TIME

"Newstrack strives to be unbiased... it could herald something of a journalistic revolution in India." (Nov. 21, '88)

THE TIMES OF INDIA

"There's finally an alternative to Doordarshan... Newstrack." (Oct. 23, '88)

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES

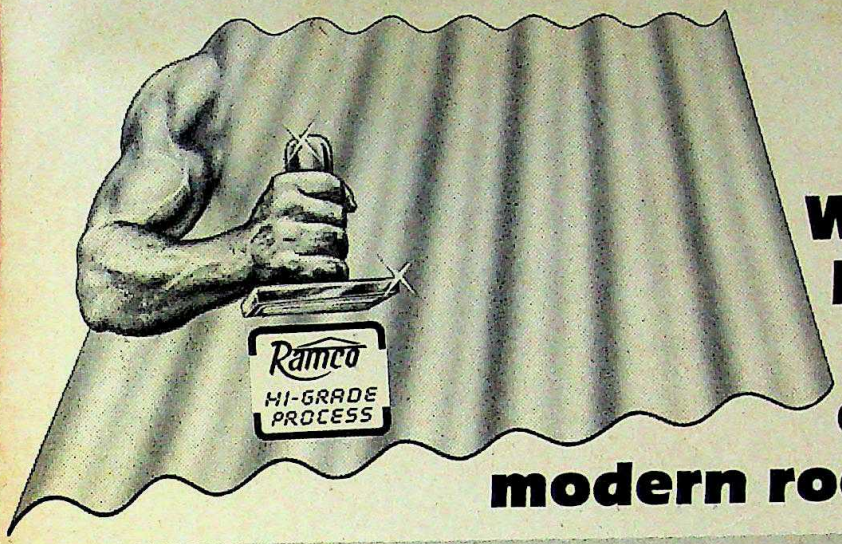
"... comes across as being the brilliant work of courageous young minds." (Jan. 7, '89)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

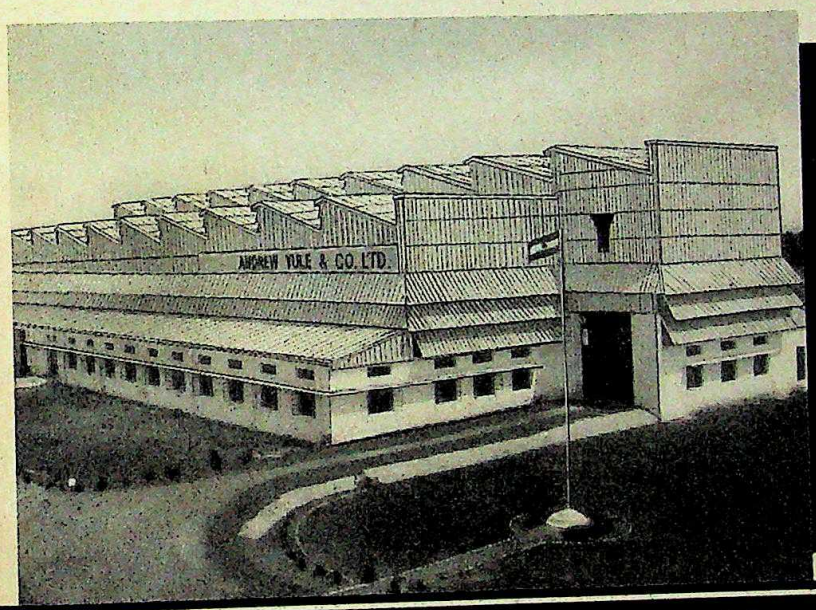
FOUNTAINHEAD-RNJA-1/3/89

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Ramco Hi-grade Process Advantage-I



Why Ramco meets the technical complexity of modern roofing systems



"Andrew Yule's transformer factory needed a building to house heavy machinery and overhead cranes which moved constantly on a combined roof and crane column. The roof had to be strong to withstand the vibrations. Ramco AC Sheets withstood this tensile stress admirably."

– C R Narayana Rao, Architect.

Project: Transformer Unit, Electrical Division, Andrew Yule & Co.

Ramco AC Sheets.
They have the strength, the durability and the consistency in quality, essential to meet high performance standards set by architects and professional builders. Because Ramco uses the world's most technologically advanced process of production.

The finest portland cement and imported chrysotile fibres are mixed, blended, formed, cut and corrugated into high quality sheets using a totally automated process – the 'Ramco Hi-grade Process'. It's given Ramco strength that's unsurpassed, even corrugation and a breakage rate that's amongst the lowest in the world.

It's also made Ramco the name that's specified by professionals all over India. Every time you specify a sheet, do the same. Make Ramco AC Sheets your automatic choice.

Ramco
Advanced technology reaches the roof

Ramco Industries Limited
'Apex Plaza', 3, Nungambakkam High Road, Madras 600 034. Phone: 473770

Sales Offices/Depots:
Delhi • Indore • Raipur • Surat • Ahmedabad • Bombay • Mira (Bombay) • Kolhapur • Nasik • Pune • Vijayawada • Hyderabad • Yanam • R.Sumandi • Bangalore • Madras • Palghat • Ernakulam • Quilon.

FOUNTAINHEAD-RILA-1/3/89

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Covering Culture

ARE we a nation of philistines? Judging by the treatment of events happening in the world of the arts by the national newspapers, it would seem so.

Any self-respecting daily newspaper anywhere in the world makes a point of covering a significant event in the world of the arts the day following a performance or an exhibition opening. Since art shows are often preceded by previews, reviews appear in the papers the day the events are thrown open to the public.

Critics are, of course, a valuable commodity in this scheme of things. The bigger and better papers have critics on their staff and they are often names to reckon with. Indeed, they can make or mar a reputation and are held in great respect.

The rationale of a daily newspaper is that readers should have an opportunity to peruse a critique of a performance or an art show before deciding whether it is worth a visit. It assumes that a sufficient number of readers are interested in the arts to make it worth a newspaper's while to take such interest seriously.

And what do we find in India? The major newspapers couldn't be more cavalier in their treatment of significant events in the world of arts. Two newspapers (*The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*) have decided on a weekly quota, whenever performances or shows are held, as if it would be dangerous to expose readers to the arts more often. Let us look at the recent performance of some of the others.

Among the significant events in the cultural calendar in the capital were the performances of the Lyon Opera Ballet of "Cinderella" and a presentation of Moliere's classic, "Le Malade Imaginaire". "Cinderella" was a particularly striking event because it combined brilliantly the ballet form with technical dexterity, re-enacting a familiar story in a totally new perspective, with the dancers wearing masks.

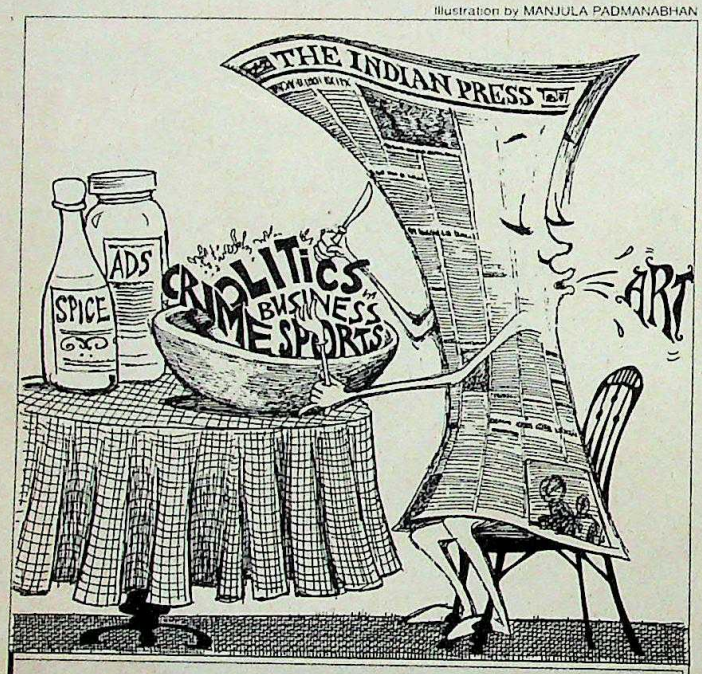
The Moliere play was a polished presentation, marred somewhat by a theatrical and unnecessary Hindi annotation. Those who had not read the play in school must have been familiar with the broad contours of a story as well known as a nursery rhyme.

The first performance of "Cinderella" was on Sunday, February 19. The *Indian Express* took note of it on February 24. *The Times of India* deigned to notice it on February 27 and, in an absent-minded fit of generosity, carried two reviews of it on the same page.

The Moliere classic opened in Delhi on March 8. *The Statesman* drama critic could find space for it in the paper only on March 11.

Other examples abound. A kathak performance of March 4 received attention in *The Times of India* on March 14. A Saturday afternoon performance of American jazz found a place in *The Statesman* the following Monday. The highlight of the Festival of France, an exhibition of European masterpieces under the intriguing title "Birth and Life of Modernity" at the National Gallery of Modern Art, did not fare much better, despite its epoch-making quality and the wealth of material on display.

Illustration by MANJULA PADMANABHAN



These days art criticism is used to fill holes in newspapers. Critics are paid piecemeal rates and are lucky if they get a monthly retainership.

Only when a newspaper sponsors an art or cultural event does its critique appear in that paper (but not in others) the next morning, inevitably in eulogistic terms. A high dose of culture surrounding a self-sponsored event is no substitute for consistent and prompt coverage of major performances and shows.

Yet it was not always so. In my incarnation as drama critic many years ago, I would hasten to the office after attending an evening performance to hammer out a critique on the typewriter. And it appeared promptly in the next morning's paper. Nor was I exceptional in my conduct. My peers followed the same routine and a name to reckon with those days was the *The Statesman*'s critic, Charles Fabri.

These days, it would seem, art or theatre criticism is used to fill holes in newspapers, and if such holes are not available, the review must wait for days, if not weeks. Critics for the most part are paid piecemeal rates and are lucky if they get a monthly retainership.

The fact that Indian newspapers can get away with their disdain for the arts would signify two things. Only a minority is interested in such events—as opposed to happenings dressed up as culture—and this minority does not demand with sufficient vigour that newspapers stop giving stepmotherly treatment to a significant aspect of life in any civilised society.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

For Coffee Connoisseurs Only

Rich, pure and smooth coffee.
Makes your every coffee moment
a golden moment.

FROM THE MAKERS OF
GOLD CAFÉ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

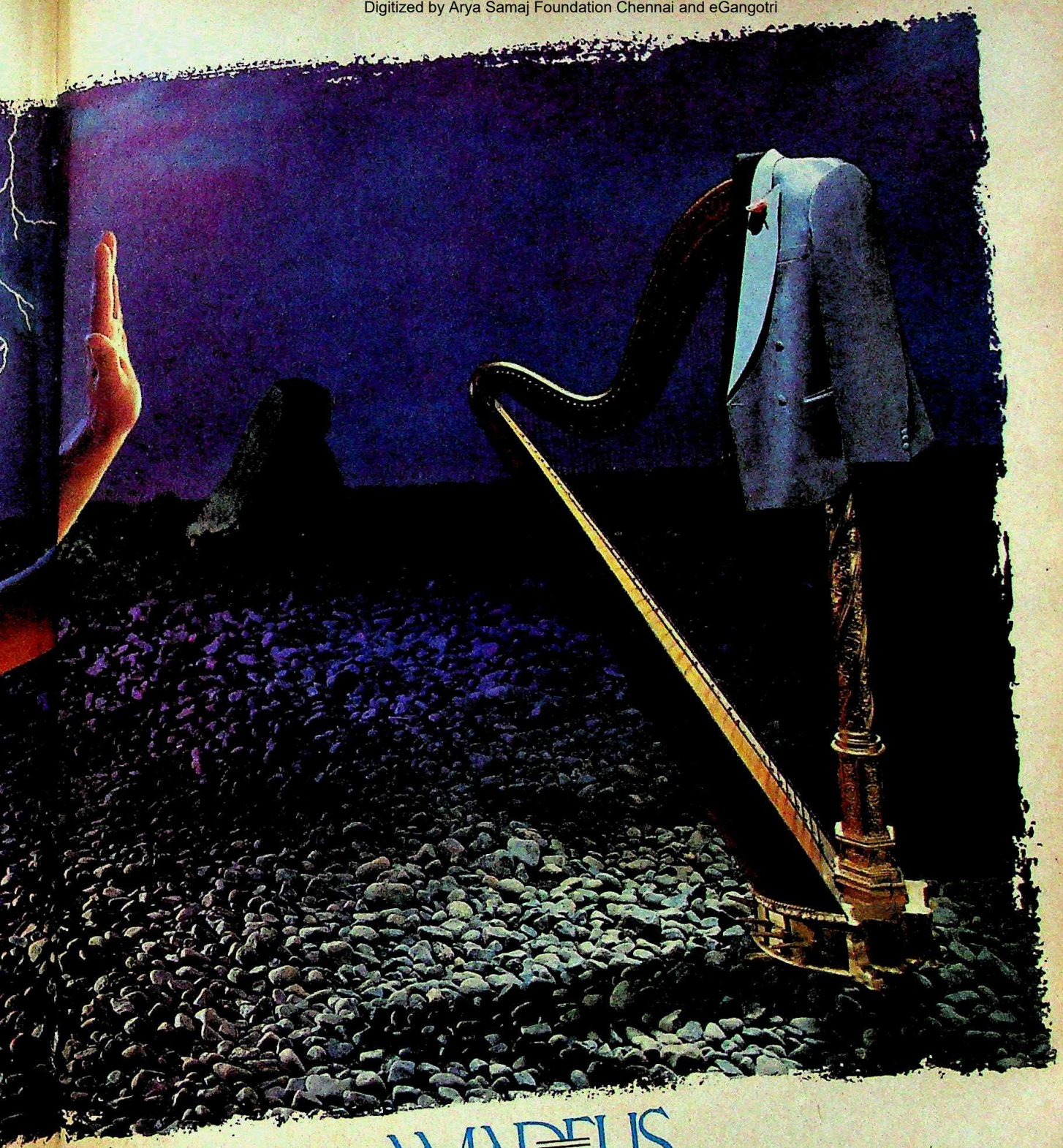
LINTAS MSA P 3 2741

Man in his element.

Inspired by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's exuberant musical genius. Amadeus worsted tery-wo gs.

CC0. In Public Domain. Bhaktivedanta Book Trust International, Inc.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



AMADEUS

PREMIUM TERY-WOOLS

ery-wo gs. Every piece a masterpiece.

Modern SUITINGS LTD., ALWAR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Only one company in India has the monoporosa process: the secret behind the perfect ceramic tile. Congratulations, Metlex Ceramics."

Mr Carlo Magrassi
Managing Director Sacmi S.p.A. of Italy.

To make perfect ceramic tiles isn't easy. Not if you want that perfect finish, perfect size and perfect colour time after time.

Unless, of course, you have the secret that ensures such perfection – the monoporosa process.

A state-of-the-art process perfected by a pioneer and world leader in tile technology, Sacmi S.p.A. of Italy.

Given by Sacmi to select tile manufacturers across the globe, the monoporosa process comes for the first time to India.

To Metlex Ceramics. Who in technical collaboration with Sacmi will bring to the Indian market something never seen before – perfect ceramic tiles.

If you'd like to see Sacmi technology at wo visit a Sacmi plant in any one of the 125 countri operate in. Or contact Metlex Ceramics Limite Plot No. 4, Industrial Area, Behind Maruti, Gur Haryana, India. Ph. (01272) 23626, 23627, 23628, 20949

SACMI

S.p.A. Via – Provincial Selici 17/A, IMOLA – 40026 IT

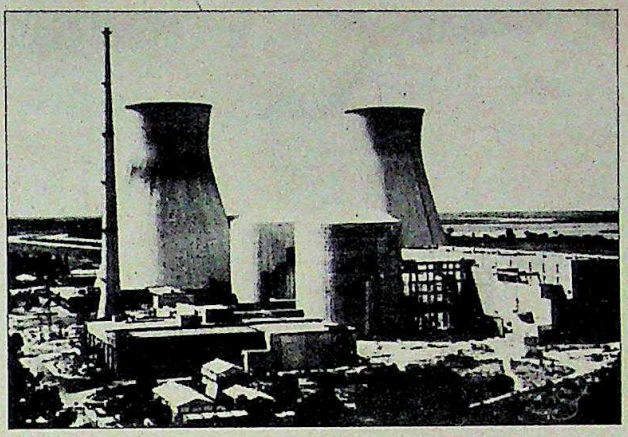
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Critical Progress

INDIA's existing nuclear plants continue to face problems off and on, earning the country's atomic energy establishment a lot of flak. But last month, the atomic power programme notched up a significant success.

On March 13, the first 235 MW reactor of the Narora Atomic Power Station in Uttar Pradesh went critical. Like the Madras Atomic Power Station, the Narora reactor has been totally designed by Indian scientists and engineers and nearly all the important systems have been indigenously manufactured. It is different in that it incorporates various improvements, including better safety features like two independent fast-acting shutdown systems and double containment of the reactor .



Narora atomic power plant: a step ahead

More important, the Narora reactor is the first step towards standardising the design of reactors. Once reactor design is standardised, the construction time for new reactors can be cut down. Initial plans are to set up 10 reactors of the Narora variety, each with a capacity of 235 MW. At Narora itself another reactor will be set up in a year, the two together costing Rs 532 crore. The experience gained from these will then be used in designing and constructing 10 more reactors, each with a capacity of 500 MW.

The atomic power establishment certainly cannot be charged with lack of ambition. But its performance has not kept pace with its ambition. The Narora reactor was eight years behind schedule and the final cost was twice the initial estimates. To fulfil its target of 10,000 MW by the end of the century, the atomic establishment needs to install about 8,500 MW more capacity. And it has about 11 years to do it.

Earthy Findings

● The findings of a group of researchers at Hyderabad's National Geophysical Research Institute (NGRI) may send a few shock waves through the geoscientific community.

The group has come up with new discoveries about the lithosphere, the solid outer layer of the earth, believed to be about 200 km thick. After making a computer analysis of seismic waves, the group has concluded that the Indian peninsula is 400 km thick, more than twice its present estimated thickness. "Our findings provide a new framework to study and reinterpret the Indian continental structure," said a member of the group led by NGRI Director V.K. Gaur and comprising S.S. Rai, D. Srinagesh, D.S. Ramesh and C.V.R. Rao.

The research carried out at the Hyderabad institute may also challenge the theory of plate tectonics. This postulates that the earth's surface is made up of solid plates moving on the semi-liquid layer beneath. The region where two plates collide is usually a region of high seismic and volcanic activity. If the Hyderabad group turns out to be right, this theory which has reigned supreme so far may have to be revised.

Joint Move

● With anti-pollution regulations getting stricter and stricter, complying with them is proving very expensive. Small chemical factories which cannot afford effluent treatment facilities have often no option but to close down. In Hyderabad though, they have come up with an alternative—effluent treatment plants which will be used by several industries in common.

The first of these should be commissioned this month. Set up by a joint stock company, Jeedimetla Effluent Treatment Ltd, the plant costs Rs 1.10 crore. Some of the user industries are so small they could not afford to contribute to the capital cost of the plant. They will be allowed to use it on payment of service charges depending on the volume and toxicity of the effluents treated.

Another treatment plant which will be financed and used by several user industries is on its way. It will be located in the Patancheru Industrial Area on the outskirts of Hyderabad. This plant too will be commissioned and run by a joint stock company, Patancheru Effluent Treatment Ltd. Expected to be commissioned by January 1990, the plant will cost Rs 4.50 crore, too large a sum to be afforded by a single small chemical industry. Says C. Chandrasekhar Reddy, chairman of the company: "A joint company is the only way out for small industries to survive after paying for the cost of treating pollutants." Industries elsewhere may like to borrow a leaf.

Common effluent treatment plant: only way out

JANATA STUDIO

Diet Planner

● There's good news for calorie-conscious people. Dr U. Kapil of Delhi's All India Institute of Medical Sciences has designed a disc that provides the nutritive content—protein, fat, carbohydrate, calcium, iron—and calorific value of 144 common foods at a glance. It contains some interesting information: that vanaspati is as good as desi ghee and groundnuts have more protein than almonds.

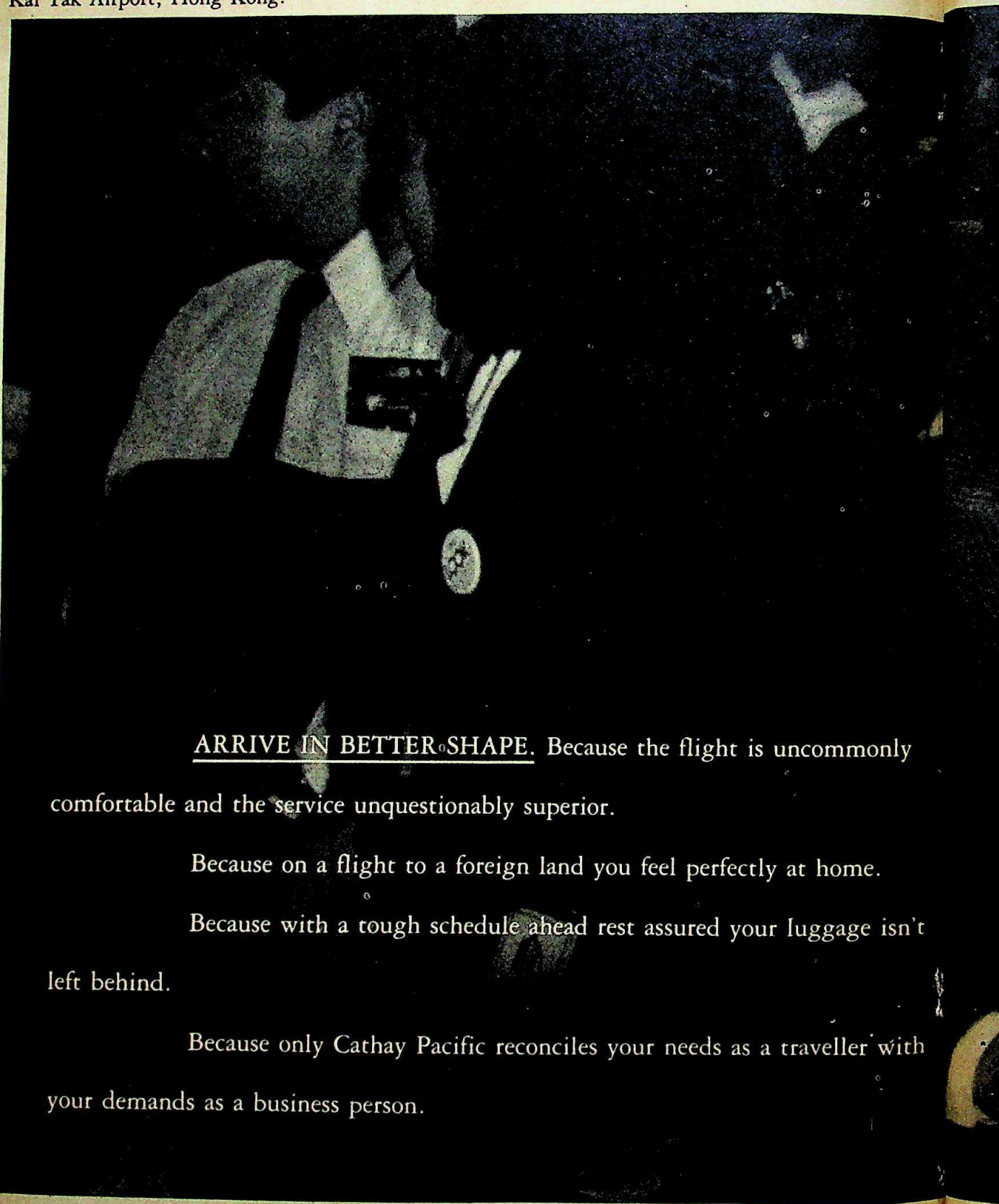
For doctors and dieticians wanting to recommend a balanced diet the new disc is a godsend. And since using is so simple, the health conscious can draw up a diet suitable for themselves. At a price they can afford.

—AMARNATH K. MENON

CC-0. Jangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kai Tak Airport, Hong Kong.



ARRIVE IN BETTER SHAPE. Because the flight is uncommonly comfortable and the service unquestionably superior.

Because on a flight to a foreign land you feel perfectly at home.

Because with a tough schedule ahead rest assured your luggage isn't left behind.

Because only Cathay Pacific reconciles your needs as a traveller with your demands as a business person.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Swire Group

Arrive in better shape
CATHAY PACIFIC

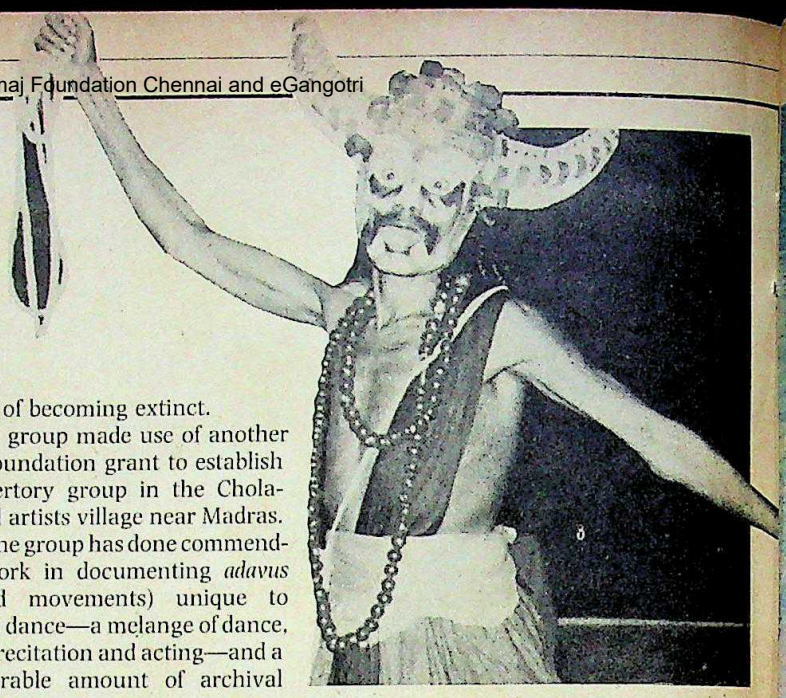
CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TAMIL THEATRE

Breaking Fresh Ground

Search for a new idiom



IT was once the fountainhead of the arts. The medium that most easily bridged the gap between the creator and his audience. But now in Tamil Nadu, theatre finds few creators and a smaller audience.

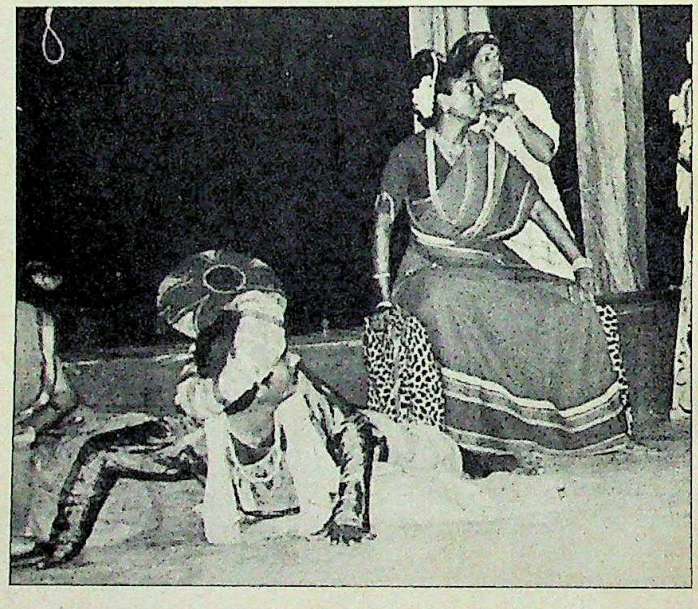
This may appear paradoxical since the so-called mainstream theatre activity is burgeoning—it is being patronised by hundreds of sabhas (some 150 in Madras alone) which regularly book amateur and professional theatre groups to stage their plays. These plays are mostly reworkings of mythological themes or facile farces. Socially-relevant plays like Komal Swaminathan's *Thaneer, Thaneer* (Water, Water) and experimental drama are rarities.

In the face of such a serious literary drought, the efforts of the Koothuppattarai Repertory Group stand out. Recently it staged a Tamil adaptation of Seigfried Lenz's *Time of the Guilty, Time of the Guiltless (Nirabarathigalin Kalam* was the Tamil title). Lenz's play is an examination of the question of collective guilt.The powerful theme was explored with a great deal of sensitivity and was undoubtedly a rare experiment with form and content. The play can in fact be seen as a curtain-raiser to a new stage in the evolution of Tamil theatre.

How is the Koothuppattarai style unique? N. Natesh, son of the group's founder N. Muthusamy, says that the style of acting is very physical as dance, *Kalaripayattu* (a martial art) and the like are harnessed to give meaning to an actor's performance. Music is used as an integral element, not as an adjunct.

This is not the first time that the group is trying to shatter existing norms and experiment with new idioms in theatre. In 1980, Koothuppattarai received a grant from the Ford Foundation to evolve a method for training actors in traditional theatre and document certain traditional art forms which were in danger of becoming extinct.

The group made use of another Ford Foundation grant to establish its repertory group in the Cholamandal artists village near Madras. More, the group has done commendable work in documenting *adavus* (stylised movements) unique to Koothu dance—a melange of dance, music, recitation and acting—and a considerable amount of archival material, all of which have been videofilmed.



Scenes from *Mutrugai* by Koothuppattarai

The group was established in 1976 by the writer N. Muthusamy, the publisher S.Ramakrishnan and noted painter and art director P. Krishnamurthy. The initial desire was just to preserve Koothu and in the early days they worked in tandem with another traditional theatre group run by Purisa Natesa Thambiran. Later of course, Koothuppattarai set itself a more ambitious goal—that of evolving a new theatrical idiom incorporating the creative elements of Koothu.

In the early '80s ideological differences led to a split in the group. Some of the members led by a well-known writer Veerasamy felt the group was pandering to middle class values in theatre. But the group got over teething troubles. Says N.V. Sankaran, 35, one of the early members who broke away to form his own group, Pareeksha: "Despite my reservations about the group, I will concede that it is still doing worthwhile work in the area of experimental theatre."

The glorious period for the group and for modern Tamil theatre was between 1978 and 1982 when many brilliant original plays written by people like Indira Parthasarathy, Jayanthan and Ambai were staged to wide acclaim. But soon Tamil writers started looking to the West for inspiration and what followed was a series of adaptations. "All of us in experimental theatre were reduced to adapting Brecht, Ibsen, Chekov and the occasional Lenz," says Sankaran.

The debate about the Tamil experimental theatre apart, the recent efforts by the group come like a burst of arc-light on a dark stage. The group has roped in some of the most renowned names in theatre, music, and dance—the director is V. Dhanushkodi who has been in theatre for 30 years—for its ambitious Cholamandal project.

"Our repertory will be very active. Have no doubts on that score," says Natesh. If they emerge from the inspiring ambience of Cholamandal with more plays in the calibre of *Kalam* and *Mutrugai*, Tamil theatre would have acquired a new idiom. —GUHA PRASAD

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

When experience spans three decades no challenge is too tough.

International Instruments Limited, better known as YENKAY, pioneered automotive instrumentation in India three decades ago. And now, YENKAY draws upon these years of rich experience to successfully meet future challenges. With its strong financial and technological association with VDO Adolf Schindling AG of West Germany, a world renowned manufacturer of instruments for air, sea and land borne vehicles. YENKAY also has collaborations with leading Japanese manufacturers like Nippon Seiki for two-wheeler instruments and Honda Lock, Mitsuba and Toyo Denso for automotive switches.

YENKAY. All set to meet the challenges of the future. Under a dynamic new management team.

R K SWAMY/IIL/3836 R

YENKAY
Precisely!

YENKAY

International Instruments Limited 140, Hosur Road, Bangalore – 560 034.

For genuine YENKAY Instruments and Cables, contact the nearest authorised YENKAY stockists, or dealers of Premier Auto Electric Co. and Jullundur Motor Agency.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The revolution continues.

MINOL

Minolta autofocus SLR cameras revolutionized photography. Now Minolta takes the revolution further with Dynax.

Dynax intelligence gives you the world's fastest autofocus, with predictive focus control that calculates the speed and direction of a fast-moving subject for perfect focus with astonishing speed and precision. And the widest multi-sensor autofocus area for precise focus of moving subjects even when they're not centered in the viewfinder.

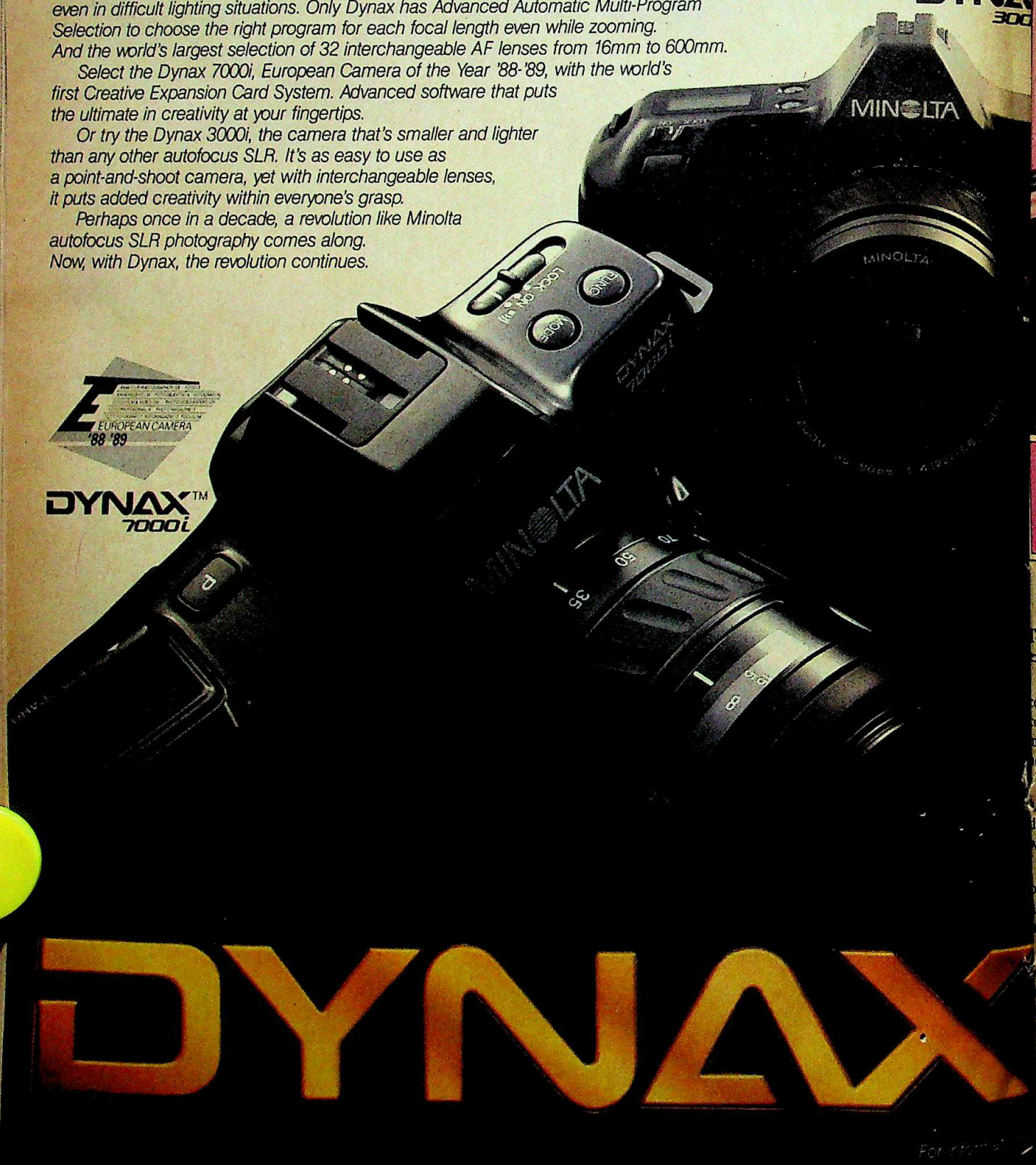
Dynax intelligence also takes total control of lighting. Because the world's first AF-integrated multi-pattern real-time metering system provides perfect subject exposure even in difficult lighting situations. Only Dynax has Advanced Automatic Multi-Program Selection to choose the right program for each focal length even while zooming. And the world's largest selection of 32 interchangeable AF lenses from 16mm to 600mm.

Select the Dynax 7000i, European Camera of the Year '88-'89, with the world's first Creative Expansion Card System. Advanced software that puts the ultimate in creativity at your fingertips.

Or try the Dynax 3000i, the camera that's smaller and lighter than any other autofocus SLR. It's as easy to use as a point-and-shoot camera, yet with interchangeable lenses, it puts added creativity within everyone's grasp.

Perhaps once in a decade, a revolution like Minolta autofocus SLR photography comes along. Now, with Dynax, the revolution continues.

DYNA
300



EUROPEAN CAMERA
'88 '89

DYNAX™
7000i

DYNAX

For

Yo

P

Tempo-
executiv

It offe
comfort
company
match –
never giv

A spa
luxury o
designed
windows

There
baggage.
allows fo
moveme

And i
for India
in collab
the creat
range.

The n
Anywh

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Your executives can now fly to work. At ground level.

Also available with airconditioning

Presenting the luxury of the new Tempo-Traveller

Tempo-Traveller is the new executive perk

It offers senior personnel the comfort and status that ordinary company buses can never match – and a car-pool could never give.

A spacious interior offers the luxury of upto 15 ergonomically designed seats and large, airy windows.

There's ample room for baggage. And a high curved roof allows for greater freedom of movement.

And it has been specially built for Indian roads by Bajaj Tempo – in collaboration with Daimler-Benz, the creators of the classic Mercedes range.

As cost-conscious as it is status-conscious

The new Tempo-Traveller is equipped with the advanced 72 BHP Mercedes OM 616 diesel engine, which functions like a built-in accountant. It stretches your company's every rupee – delivering the highest level of fuel economy with the lowest level of noise.

The Tempo-Traveller even minimises other maintenance costs. Spares are cheaper and more readily available. And regular service is close at hand. Because you are backed by the 150 experienced dealers established by Bajaj Tempo over a period of 25 years.

So before you stake business capital on company buses or corporate cars, give the new Tempo-Traveller serious thought.

And let your executives 'arrive in better shape'.

BAJAJ Tempo LTD.

The new Tempo-Traveller. Anywhere else, they'd call it a Mercedes Transporter.

OBM/3812/Rev

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Ha

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ANNOUNCING THE ARRIVAL OF THE NEW AMBASSADOR

The new range of shirts and all-leather shoes from Bata.
Elegant. Dignified. Not expensive.
Just rich in style!
Available only at select Bata stores.

AMBASSADOR
Shoes & Shirts

Bata

TSAC-AMB-1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Action Replay

The Reliance Cup recalled

RELIANCE CUP
Reliving the Triumph
Mudra Communications
Pages: 151; Price: not stated

WHAT does a corporate giant do after making history by staging one of India's most successful international sporting extravaganzas? It quickly records the deed for posterity. That is exactly what Reliance has tried to do with this lavish volume of the best action pictures of the Reliance Cup one-day world cricket championship played in India and Pakistan in that frenetic fall of 1987 when the game pushed heavyweight claimants like Fairfax temporarily out of the headlines and when, after a month of excitement and expectation, the subcontinent was drowned in unprecedented sorrow as both India and Pakistan, overconfident favourites, crashed out in the semi-finals.

Now the saga is retold touchingly and colourfully in the pictures of Raghu Rai, Bhawan Singh, Mahendra Singh and J.S. Chawla. There is Allan Border, his prize-fighter-like biceps rippling, wrestling with the champagne cork as the Ambani clan watches anxiously. There is Kapil Dev, holing out and gifting the semi-final to rival captain and mid-wicket fielder Mike Gatting. In Kapil's face, his mouth stretched in a snarl, his eyes looking skywards witheringly, there is frustration and anger. Frustration with his and his team's fate, which he has just sealed, and anger at his own indiscretion. And in a half-crouch behind him, there is the visage of English wicket-keeper P.R. Downton, his eyes asparkle in anticipation, and his cheeks opening up in a half-smile. One look at the picture and it is clear who has won and who has lost. There is no need for prosaic crutches.

This is not the only picture that says more than a few hundred words of text. Sunil Gavaskar stares back in stark dismay on the last innings of his international career, while his leg-stump, hit by a De Frietas in-dipper, is yet to jerk the last millimetre out of the Wankhede Stadium crease. Even on the last ball of his career, even in the ignominy of an early, disastrous dismissal, the little master gives an indication of his legendary reflexes and of his fanatical adherence to the first rule of perfect batting: head down and eyes on the ball.

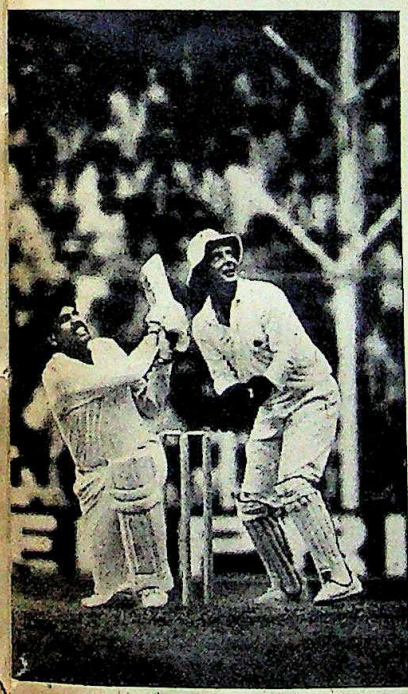
Other photographs too make it a collector's item for any cricket-lover. Jubilant Australians, at least two of them in tears, walking out of Calcutta's Eden Gardens after the victory in the finals and, at a more ethereal level, men of the Madhya Pradesh Police lined up in front of the statue of C.K. Nayudu in Indore, in an unusual but striking khaki tribute to the great entertainer of the years when even five-day cricket was played for pleasure.

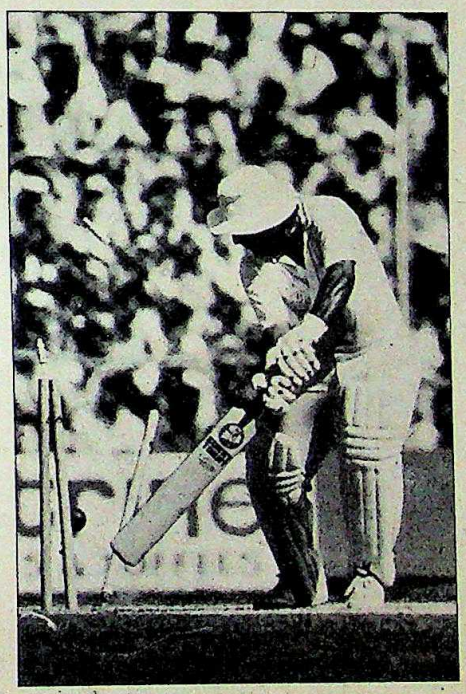
The text includes a touching foreword by former English captain Colin Cowdrey and articles by Reliance Executive Director Anil Ambani, the country's chief selector Raj Singh Dungarpur, victorious captain Allan Border and journalist Dilip Bobb. While Ambani exults with some justification about the tournament having been "worth every paisa" of the Reliance shareholders' money, the icing on the cake is provided by Border.

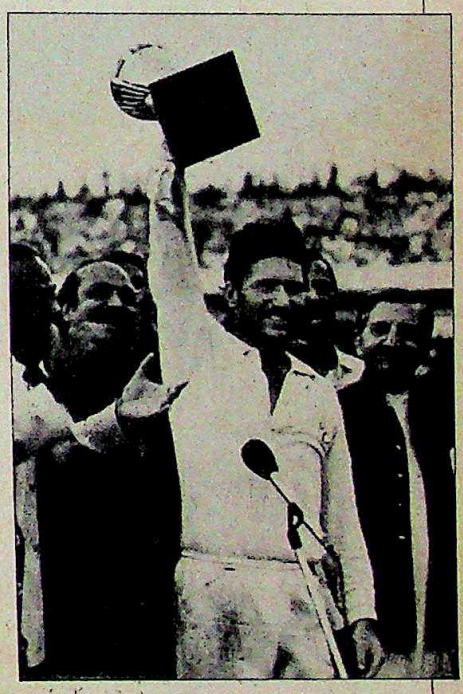
In his moment of victory, his mind "went back to the days when I had threatened to resign...this victory had served up an important lesson—never quit. For quitters never win". And for India and Pakistan he has a last, typically Aussie word of consolation: "But what the hell! You win some, you lose some."

Yet one can complain. The book could have had some more action from the Pakistani side of the Radcliffe line. The cricket historian will also be confused by an error such as the picture caption showing Azharuddin caught and bowled Foster, while the scoreboards, appended with the book, show him lbw to Hemmings. And certainly a tribute such as this deserved better proof-readers.

—SHEKHAR GUPTA





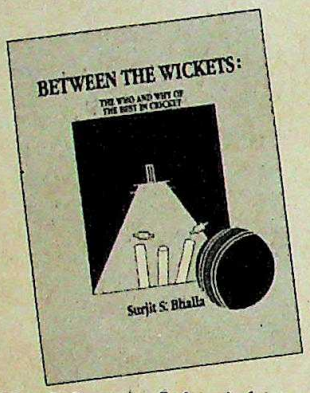


(From left) Kapil Dev holes out; Gavaskar breached; and Border holds aloft the coveted cup: historic moments

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NO CRICKET LOVER SHOULD BE WITHOUT THIS BOOK.



Why ? Over to John Arlott.

"... he does all those who think and argue about cricket a service. Let us check our prejudices by these computerised judgements. A salutary and illuminating book on which the author is to be congratulated."

Illustrated. 208 pages. Hard Cover. Rs. 125. Available at all leading bookshops or through this coupon.

I'd like a copy immediately.

☐ I'll pay the postman Rs. 125/- on delivery.

☐ My cheque/D.D. for Rs. 125/- in favour of Living Media India Ltd. is enclosed.

Name _____

Address _____

Mail coupon to

LM BOOKS

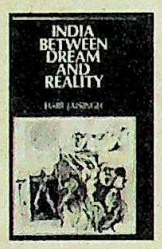
LIVING MEDIA (INDIA) LTD.
316, Competent House
Connaught Place, New Delhi-110 001

INTERFACE 6438

Stray Thoughts

Disjointed effort mars book

INDIA BETWEEN DREAM AND REALITY
by HARI JAISINGH
Allied Publishers, New Delhi
Pages: 300; Price: Rs 100



THE author, currently resident editor of the Bombay edition of *Indian Express*, is a distinguished journalist of long standing. As such he has had the opportunity to see recent Indian history at close quarters. The book shows that he is also a man of considerable learning. Hence the great number of quotations from sources as diverse as the Vedas and Karl Marx and on problems ranging from those of this world to the other.

On wings of learning he travels down the timescale to the origins of Indian civilisation and the factors that moulded the Hindu psyche. In these early chapters he discusses the earliest ingredients of the stuff the "dream" is made of. In discussing the more recent "reality" he draws upon his experiences and perceptions as a journalist. And in both exercises he emerges as a man deeply and sincerely concerned over what is happening in and to India. The dominant tone of the book is of anguish.

Hari Jaisingh

But the book lacks that which would have fused these separate qualities into a notable act of authorship—a unified perspective and analysis. What passes for them is an outpouring of lament. In the absence of analysis of causes, let alone cures, the book does not help one to understand either the reality or the dream or to discover the future path.

The wide range of subjects would not hamper this understanding if they were blended into a whole and if the author gave us his own understanding, analysis and reasoned assessment of this synthesised whole.

I for one would have preferred that he concentrate either upon the theme of the earlier parts of the book in which he tries to discover "The Spirit of India" and the origins of the Indian dream; or upon the later parts where he tries to trace independent India's journey into the modern world. I have no quarrel with the author's ambition to encompass both these parts. But then the two parts—the dream and the reality—should have been integrated, and each analysed in terms of the other. We would then have learnt how in the author's assessment the roots have hampered or assisted the journey, what inspiration or guidance the pilots of this journey drew from the social scene or how the "Burden of the Past" hindered them.

But that does not happen. The part of recent history in which he sees an abysmal "drift", is presented almost independent of the earlier parts. One could just as well agree or disagree with the second half of the book without reading the first, and vice versa.

In fact the main drawback of the book is that one cannot much agree or disagree with it, because it has no clear standpoint. There are a series of individual observations, many of which are restatements of well known facts, but not much of a new point of view about them or a systematic interpretation.

A more meticulous selection and deeper analysis crystallised in the crucible of his own understanding would have improved his discussion of many interesting subthemes he touches upon, such as the Hindu reform movements and the rise of the middle classes, the denial of individual rights in Hindu orthodoxy and caste-related violence. Right now the treatment seems too superficial.

Jaisingh has expended a great deal of labour in assembling statistics and quotations from a variety of authorities. But because the whole is not bound together in a personal vision and not sifted through a unified analysis, the quotations only help further fragment such vision and analysis that peep through here and there.

The book would have gained in value if the author had distanced himself a little from his material and contemplated a little more upon its totality before heaping together some attractive pieces picked up at random. In the absence of vision his anguish becomes a nightmare for the deeply concerned intellectual which he appears to be.

—PRAN CHOPRA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Men merely dream. Great men create a future.

Many years ago, Nehru looked deep into the eyes of India. And glimpsed the future.

Great factories at the pinnacle of productivity. Industrial workers beaming with pride. Sophisticated machinery combining accuracy with efficiency... An industrially vibrant India.

His dream sparked off a million others. An entire nation was galvanised into realising his vision. Among them United India Insurance Company.

At United India, we realised that fear of risk has no place in a nation eager and impatient to grow.

We thus began designing cover after innovative cover. For pumps and motors. Transformers and switchgear. Turbines and boilers. Covers for any kind of plant and machinery. For stocks and stores. Transportation and goods-in-transit.

All this with one conviction. That every risk conquered is a million dreams fulfilled. Dreams that will collectively propel India to a future Jawaharlal Nehru would have been proud of.

UNITED INDIA

UNITED INDIA INSURANCE CO. LTD.

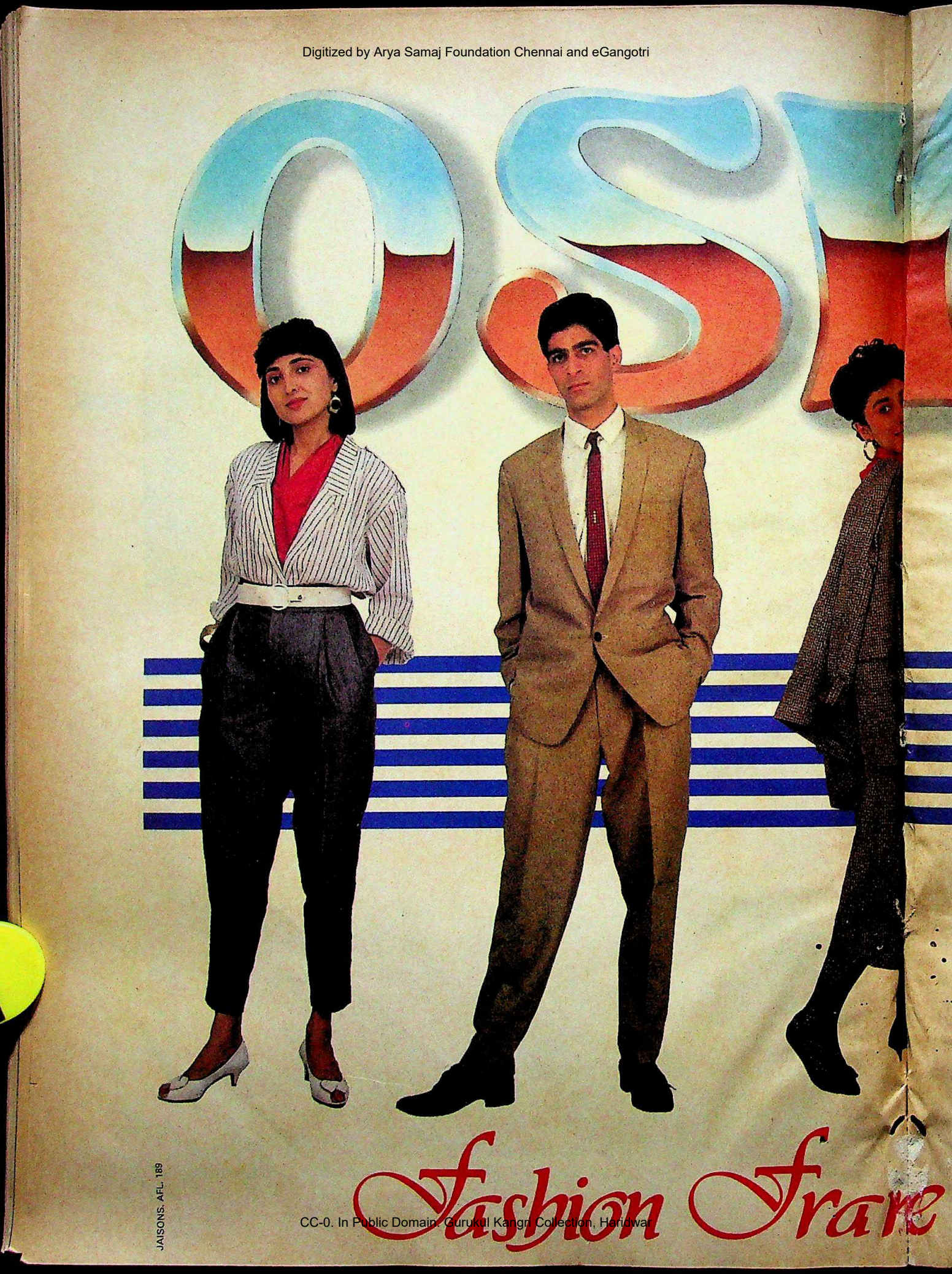
(A subsidiary of the General Insurance Corporation of India)
24, Whites Road, Madras - 600 014.

Building Modern India.

Mudra:M:UI:3640

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

A product of Arihant Fabrics Limited

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sterre and Bhandari: art highs

◆ While the husband dabbles in politics, she's covering a larger canvas. **Sterre Sharma**, 37, wife of Satish Sharma, Rajiv's flying buddy and aide, seems to have had enough of hiding her lights under a bushel. A successful businesswoman and designer, the Dutch-born Sterre is also a surrealist artist. Last week, she grabbed the limelight with her first exhibition of 22 oils in Delhi. That was occasion enough for the high and mighty—Sonia Gandhi, Home Minister Buta Singh, Delhi Lt-Governor Romesh Bhandari, industrialists K.K. Birla, G.P. Goenka and Mukesh Ambani among them—to show up for the opening. Almost all her paintings went—for an impressive Rs 5.65 lakh. Said a proud Sterre: "I have a life of my own separate from politics." Sharma had to admit: "Well, she paints better than I fly." Who says politics and art don't mix?

◆ She could have danced all night—and day—and she did. Last week, **Vidya Chandrashekhar**, 20, a former Miss India-USA, gave a 48-hour marathon Bharatnatyam recital in Detroit—to raise money for cancer research. She's raked in a fantastic $10,000 which she's donating to UNICEF. But Vidya's not content with her performance: "I'd like to break my own record. But in a bigger city—like New York or Bombay."

NAMAS BHOJANI

Waheeda: touch of class

Vidya: durable dancer

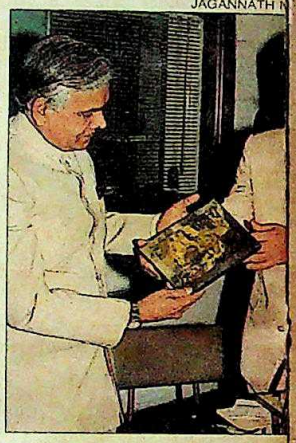
◆ Playing mother to the Amitabhs and Dharmendras is better left to the Nirupa Roys. For the graceful, consummate artiste, **Waheeda Rehman**, 51, only films made to her measure will do. And it takes a man like Mahesh Bhatt, who's run the gamut—from birth (*Janam*) to mid-life crisis (*Arth*) to old age anguish (*Saraansh*)—to fit the bill. Says Waheeda: "I understand Mahesh very well, and he me." Bhatt has now lured her out of virtual retirement to star in his telefilm, *Swayam*, a story with an Oedipus twist. The *Guide* girl, mellowed like fine wine, gives a sensitive performance as an ageing widow. Old actresses never fade away—they just switch to the small screen.

◆ Just yesterday, she was a shy, leggy teenager, hidden behind barricades and menacing commandos. Overnight, **Priyanka Gandhi**, 17, seems to have been transformed into a pretty young debutante. Last week she emerged from her cocoon charmingly draped in a silk sari at her parents' side. The place and time were perfect for her public appearance: the serene ambience of Santiniketan on its convocation day. Papa Rajiv seems to be encouraging her new role. When one girl student asked him: "Can't we be friends with Priyanka?" Rajiv replied, "Sure. She's here to meet you." Another Gandhi in the making?

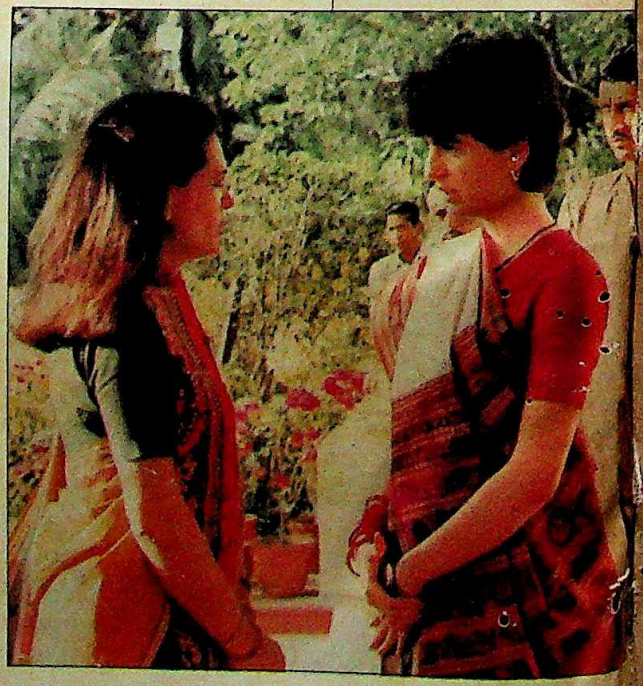
Sonia, Priyanka: new look

◆ What moves K. Natw**Singh** to pride is his Ca bridge label and his litera tastes. He enjoys Tolstoy, b his real love is E.M. Fors whom he'd met at Cambrid "He's a great man," gushes. Singh's passage to erary fame came last fortnig when he was presented t E.M. Forster Literary Awa for his work on Forster. A when Sir Geoffrey Howe ca calling recently, Singh dw on their common Cambrid background and the awar Quipped Singh: "You work f a prime minister who went Oxford. You can never li that down! I work for one wh went to Cambridge." And he living that up.

JAGANNATH



Singh: Forster fan



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

078599

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Compiled
1999-2000

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar